

Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs

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Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs

Edited by

Tess Knighton



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Cover illustration: Angel musician playing the vihuela de mano (Valencia Cathedral, second half of the fifteenth century) © PHOTOGRAPH BY PASCUAL JOSE MERCE MARTINEZ.

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Introduction

Tess Knighton

In the winter of 1504, Isabel made her last journey through the kingdom of Castile. Immediately after her death in Medina del Campo on 26 November 1504, preparations were made to take her embalmed body to Granada for burial, as she had specified in her will. The journey was long and arduous—over five hundred miles—and, according to the humanist scholar Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, it rained incessantly, with serious flooding en route (López de Toro 1953–57, 2: 92–94). The accounts for the ‘extraordinary’ expenses incurred by the journey provide details about the bier (carried on two mules draped in black velvet), the silver cross which preceded it, the torches and candles purchased for the funerary ceremonies that took place along the route, the alms given to the poor, and payments to boatmen to ferry the sizeable royal retinue across swollen rivers (Torre y del Cerro 1968: 441–43). The funerary entourage comprised twenty-five chaplains of the Castilian royal chapel, including d'Anghiera, fourteen singers, an organist, seven chapel boys and two chapel attendants, as well as nine chapel members—at least six of them singers—from the Aragonese royal chapel, all dressed in mourning (Torre y del Cerro 1968: 348–49, 438–39). In the wake of the clergy and musicians of the royal chapels went the personnel of the royal household responsible for guarding, portering, finding accommodation and provisions, cooking (six cooks were paid), and taking messages: well over a hundred royal servants in total (Torre y del Cerro 1968: 440). As this solemn funerary cortège advanced slowly under the leaden skies of Castile, it would have been accompanied by the continuous intoning of the Requiem Mass and Office of the Dead at each town through which it passed, and those who witnessed it must have been struck by the mournful sound. Yet the sight of the progress of the royal entourage would have been recognized as an integral part of the peripatetic existence of the monarchs, in life as in death.¹

1 The funerary cortèges of King Juan II of Aragon in 1479 (from Barcelona to the monastery of Poblet), of Prince Juan in 1497 (from Salamanca to Avila), of Philip the Fair in 1506–8 (his wife Juana was determined to take his body to Granada, but ended up perambulating around northwestern Spain until Philip's body was eventually buried in Burgos) and of Ferdinand himself early in 1516 (from Madrigalejo to Granada) are other examples from the period.

During their lifetimes the Catholic Monarchs travelled ceaselessly throughout their kingdoms,² accompanied by the hundreds of servants they employed and with many of their possessions packed into chests, boxes and saddlebags and transported on carts pulled by mules or oxen. As Roberta Freund Schwartz demonstrates in her essay, nobles and courtiers, including high-ranking clergymen, often travelled with them, each accompanied by their own entourage (see Chapter 5). The peripatetic existence of the court of Ferdinand and Isabel can perhaps be considered to have been one of its defining features, and affected not only their daily lives and the effectiveness of their government, but also the artistic projects they undertook and the cultural developments fostered in the court environment. This constant travel stemmed from the need to legitimize and impose royal power in kingdoms that had previously been torn apart by strife and civil war, and where certain nobles and bishops exerted their own power over lands and dynasties to an extent that proved a threat to the monarchy itself. Other reasons were lawlessness and banditry. The royal presence, and the quick and sometimes harsh dispensing of royal justice, helped to quell strife and increase the monarchs' prestige. As the royal entourage progressed through their kingdoms, ceremonies of diverse kinds resulted in the heightening of the perception of monarchy, as royal entries, civic processions and plays brought contact between urban centres and royal protocol; as Ronald Surtz shows, such pageantry enabled both self-promotion and image manipulation on all sides (see Chapter 4).

The importance and impact of princely presence were not, of course, restricted to the Spanish kingdoms, but the sheer extent and mountainous topography of the monarchs' lands meant that the distances travelled were long, and the way arduous, with at times inclement weather and the constant threat of bandits. A network of royal and noble palaces and monastic foundations—particularly those of the Jeronymite order much favoured by the Aragonese monarchy (Rumeu de Armas 1976)—served to provide lodgings, and some were reconstructed, enlarged or adapted to make sure they were suitable for royal sojourns (Domínguez Casas 1993; Yarza Luaces 1993). The monarchs rarely spent more than one year in any one place, the rhythm being established in the early part of the reign by the months spent in army camps in Andalusia—sometimes visited by the queen—as the final stages of the Reconquest gathered momentum. It was not until after the taking of Granada in early 1492 that the monarchs could embark on an extended sojourn in the Kingdom of Aragon.

2 The travels and principal sojourns of the Catholic Monarchs throughout their reigns can be reconstructed from Rumeu de Armas 1974.

All this was a far cry from the situation in other parts of Europe, even where itineracy was also a mark of princely status. In England, the royal palaces of the Tudors were clustered round London and mostly reachable by the Thames (Thurley 1993). Similarly, Louis XII of France tended to progress between Paris and the various satellite royal châteaux along the Loire or Marne. The French and English kings of the time did travel abroad, to Italy and France respectively, but these were occasional forays impelled by matters of war and peace, rather than an unremittingly peripatetic existence. The ruling élite of other important regions such as northern Italy and Flanders operated over much shorter distances, with a much higher density of urban centres that benefited from mercantile wealth as well as dynastic rivalries, notably among the great Italian noble families such as the Sforza, Este, Gonzaga and Medici who transformed Milan, Ferrara, Mantua and Florence into powerful and closely interconnected court-cities (Merkley & Merkley 1999; Lockwood 1984; Fenlon 1981; D'Accone 2006).

The highly developed princely rivalry in all matters, including artistic and musical patronage, characteristic of these Italian courts was not altogether absent from the Spanish kingdoms, but the dynamic was markedly different. During the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, nobles and high-ranking clergymen—particularly after 1492 when fewer resources and energies had to be directed towards the Granadine campaign—began to enlarge their households and to build palaces on a substantial scale. However, a good number of these nobles had to travel with the court and were as itinerant as the monarchs themselves. Princely rivalry was present, but rather different in nature, based more on the desire to follow the model of Prince Juan, heir to the thrones of Castile and Aragon, before his untimely death in 1497. Many of the younger members of the great noble families were educated at court alongside Prince Juan, who was by all accounts an avid music-lover and a fairly accomplished music-maker (Fernández de Oviedo 1870: 182–83). It would be simplistic to suggest that it was the heir to the throne's musical interests alone that gave impetus to music patronage among the nobility, but it has to be considered as a contributory factor, especially among his peers (see Roberta Freund Schwartz's discussion of the rivalry among nobles vying to attract royal favour in Chapter 5).

The monarchs' peripatetic existence held important ramifications for musical developments in the Spanish kingdoms in the decades around 1500, some positive, others less so. On all major journeys, Ferdinand and Isabel were accompanied by their separate households, including their heraldic and chamber musicians and royal chapels. The four-monthly accounts (*terçios*) of the Aragonese royal treasury, for example, detail payments made to all the

personnel of the king's household, from the teeth cleaner ('limpiadientes') to the mayordomo, in the different locations along the royal itinerary (Torre 1955; Fernández-Armesto 1975; Domínguez Casas 1993; Knighton 2001). Household members absent from service when their salaries were paid at the end of each *terçio* were noted, and were paid individually at a later date, presumably when they (or possibly their procurator) had caught up with the court. Absences from court service could be licensed on a regular basis; in 1508 Ferdinand obtained a *Motu Proprio* from Pope Julius II that allowed the members of the royal chapels leave of absence for up to a year in order to deal with matters arising from the ecclesiastical benefices and sinecures they held and to which they had been presented by the monarchs (Knighton 2001: 80). This would explain in part the increasingly large number of singers paid in the royal chapels, especially after 1492 when the monarchs were granted right of presentation to the new ecclesiastic posts created in the new cathedrals and churches of the kingdom of Granada: not all the singers were present at any one time. Individual chapel members, including singers, often sought benefices in or near their home towns, thus being able to combine business and family matters while they were on leave from royal service.³ When the monarchs sojourned in their home town, or the town where they held their ecclesiastical position, leave of absence was not required: this was the case, for example, with Francisco de Peñalosa, who held a canonry at Seville Cathedral and attended chapter meetings while Ferdinand was residing in the city in 1508 and 1510 (Knighton 1993; Knighton & Morte García 1999: 127–28).⁴

This situation, arising directly from the peripatetic existence of the court, had important musical ramifications for both the court and the Spanish cathedral network in a syncretic manner. As the monarchs travelled between the major cities and monastic foundations of their kingdoms, the best singer-composers were recruited for the royal chapels. In 1479, relatively early in the monarchs' joint reign, the trajectory followed by the Aragonese royal household went from the western province of Extremadura to Barcelona on the east coast and doubled back to Toledo by the end of the year (Knighton 2001: 103–4). Ferdinand's father, Juan II, had died in January, and the purpose of this journey was for Ferdinand to take the oath as King of Aragon in his own lands.

3 On the system of reward by ecclesiastical benefice involving Spanish musicians at this time, see Chapter 10.

4 Ferdinand's royal entry into Seville, with his household, took place on 28 October 1508. Peñalosa was clearly residing in the city in the autumn of 1510 when the cathedral chapter demanded that a book of polyphony in his possession should be appraised (Stevenson 1960: 147).

At least twelve singers were recruited for the Aragonese royal chapel on this journey—in Cáceres, Madrid, Hita near to Guadalajara, Saragossa, Barcelona, Tortosa, Valencia and Toledo. Some of these musicians seem to have been co-opted or rewarded in an honorific manner, notably the organist Gabriel Terraça (d. 1514) in Barcelona and the French composer Enrique de Paris (d. 1487–8) while the court was in Valencia: both had served in the royal chapel of Ferdinand's father, and neither reappear in the treasury accounts after 1479. Years earlier, in December 1461, Enrique de Paris had been appointed to prince Ferdinand's household following the death of his half-brother Carlos de Viana (Gómez Muntané 1993). Both royal musicians lived for some years in Barcelona after the royal visit of 1479, demonstrating that prestigious local musicians were also hired temporarily to boost the performances by the Aragonese royal chapel during the king's entry and sojourn in a city, giving rise for ample opportunity for the exchange of musical repertory and techniques.

In other instances, chapel singers recruited from cathedrals and private noble or ecclesiastical chapels en route served in the royal chapels for many years. In 1479, Juan Fernández de Madrid was recruited in the village of Hita near to Guadalajara where the Mendoza family had their main residence, often visited by the monarchs on their journeys to and from the kingdom of Aragon. His name appears in the royal treasury accounts for some years. Later, in 1493, a Juan Ruiz de Madrid, who had previously been in the service of Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza joined the king's chapel, and served there until shortly before his death in 1501. Four songs, a motet, a Gloria and, possibly, a setting of *Asperges me* are attributed to 'Madrid' in Spanish-related sources, and one of these musicians with this toponymic is likely to have been the composer.⁵

These processes of recruitment and reward established longer-term networks between the royal chapels, cathedrals and other chapels. While these institutions must at times have been left bereft of their best musicians, benefits were also gained through the appointment of singers to benefices that were—eventually—conceded and served. Some singers, like Juan Álvarez de Amorox or Esteban de Villamartín, left royal service to return to the cathedral environment but were then delegated by the cathedral chapters of Segovia and Palencia respectively to be their representatives at court when the need arose (López Calo 1981; López Calo 1988–89; Knighton 1993). Reward through ecclesiastical benefice had a particularly important impact following the diaspora

5 The close connection between the royal chapels and that of Cardinal Mendoza is also demonstrated by the appointment of four of his singers to the Castilian royal chapel following his death in January 1495 (Knighton 2001: 105).

of the over forty singers in the Aragonese royal chapel following Ferdinand's death in January 1516, when many of them must have fallen back on the benefices they held as a way to earn their living after Charles v arrived with his Flemish choir (Knighton 2014).

The exceptionally large group of singers at the time of Ferdinand's death can be seen as another ramification of the peripatetic existence of the court. Expansion in numbers was not only a matter of increasing royal prestige, but also a necessity to ensure that there were always sufficient musicians in any one place at any one time. The standard number of singers (or *xantres*) in the royal chapel of Ferdinand's father, Juan II, was eight; in Ferdinand's reign, the number hovered around twelve for much of the 1480s and '90s, but in 1498, five new appointments were made—including that of Peñalosa—and from then onwards the body of singers within the chapel continued to increase. Expansion on an unprecedented scale occurred with the bringing together of the Castilian and Aragonese royal households, although they continued to be maintained and financed separately. At least on certain major occasions, this resulted in a kind of superchapel, such as when Philip the Fair took the oath as heir to the Castilian throne in Toledo in 1502 (see Chapter 1): at that time, the joint chapels included up to thirty or forty singers, even allowing for some absences (Knighton 2005).⁶ The sheer volume of sound made by this number of singers during the celebration of Mass must have been quite extraordinary. It was also probably relatively exceptional, since the royal households often travelled separately. Even so, it is surely significant that when Isabel died in 1504, at least nine of the singers of the Castilian royal chapel were reappointed in Ferdinand's chapel and served there for many years. Even allowing for absences of individual singers, and the honorific positions of others, it is striking that such a large chapel choir was maintained. Each chapel appears to have had one major composer—Anchieta in the Castilian royal chapel and Peñalosa in the Aragonese royal chapel—as well as a number of minor, or apparently less prolific, composers (see Chapter 1). It should be borne in mind, however, that almost all the polyphonic manuscripts associated with the royal chapels have been lost (see Chapter 11) and these conclusions are drawn only on the basis of those that survive.

The maintenance of such a large body of singers, almost all of whom were of Castilian or Aragonese origin—with some notable exceptions, such as Juan

6 Antoine de Lalaing, Philip's chamberlain, estimated that there were sixty to eighty singers in Toledo Cathedral for the event on 8 May 1502; Lalaing may have exaggerated, but if the combination of the Castilian, Aragonese and Burgundian chapel singers and the choir of Toledo Cathedral are added together, his numbers may not have been so far off.

de Urreda (Johannes Wreede), chapel master in the Aragonese royal chapel from June 1477 until at least 1482 (Strohm 1985: 43, 142; Knighton 2001: 346)—led Anglés to suggest that the monarchs deliberately cultivated a ‘national’ school of composition in the royal chapels (Anglés 1940/61: 9–11).⁷ Significantly, this section of Anglés’s pioneering study was entitled ‘Reivindicación de la música española’ in response to earlier claims by nineteenth-century Belgian musicologists that a polyphonic school did not exist in Spain before Philip the Fair’s visit of 1502 (Gevaert 1852; Van der Straeten 1867–88/1969, 4).⁸ Anglés’s counterclaim was strong: ‘we trust that we can shed a little light on this dark corner of musical history that is Spain in the late fifteenth century and the early years of the sixteenth, the time when a characteristically national polyphonic music emerged (‘confiamos poder aclarar un poco este periodo tan oscuro de la historia musical del siglo xv y principios del xvi, época de gestación de la música polifónica típicamente nacional’ (Anglés 1940/61: 11)). As Juan José Carreras has argued, Anglés’s emphasis on a national style responded not only to an already established music historiographical tradition—that of the ‘national’ schools of composition—but also to the nationalistic concerns of the time when he was writing (Carreras 2001).

The notion that a new, inherently ‘Spanish’ musical style was forged in the royal chapels of Ferdinand and Isabel has continued to prevail among music historians (Kreitner 2004b: 158–61), but needs to be nuanced. Rather than stemming from an artistic desire to build a large body exclusively of Spanish singers or a deliberate policy to create a distinctive ‘national’ school, the high proportion of autochthonous singer-composers must have resulted at least in part from practical needs and circumstances. The system of reward through ecclesiastical benefices in Spanish territories by royal patronage meant that a foreign singer would have to become, again with royal support, a naturalized Castilian. This did happen, but only rarely. An example is offered by Juan ‘Henrart’ who can probably be identified with Johannes Hemart, originally from Saint Guilain in Hainault and master of the boys at Cambrai Cathedral between 1469 and 1484 (Fallows 1982: 249; Knighton 2001: 81–82, 101; Fallows 2009: 26–28). Henrart/Hemart was naturalized on 11 June 1492 with the name Juan de Arrarte/Amarte, and soon afterwards was nominated for prebends in Granada and Salamanca; he died in January 1496 without, as far as is known,

7 The notion of the ‘national’ school strongly influenced the writings of early Spanish music historians, such as Mariano Soriano Fuertes 1855–59/2007; Francisco Asenjo Barbieri 1890 and Rafael Mitjana 1920.

8 For an overview and evaluation of the political influences behind Anglés’s concern to establish a ‘national’ polyphonic school, see Carreras 2001 and Ros-Fábregas 1998, 2001b.

having obtained either benefice. As Juan Ruiz Jiménez demonstrates in his essay on cathedral music in this volume, there were clearly more musicians of north European origins working in cathedral choirs than was previously thought (see Chapter 7). Indeed, it seems more likely that the description by the humanist Damião de Gois of the Portuguese court of Manuel I as having musicians from ‘all over Europe’ in his chamber and chapel, making it ‘one of the best in Europe’ (see Chapter 6), would have applied equally to that of the Catholic Monarchs.⁹ It is not always possible to ascertain the provenance of the singers in the Castilian and Aragonese royal chapels, but a minority can be identified as having come from France, Flanders, Italy, Portugal and even England (Knighton 2001).

The presence of these ‘foreign’ musicians in the royal chapels, especially those of the status of Enrique de Paris, Urreda and Hemart, undermines Anglés’s argument that Ferdinand and Isabel deliberately created a ‘national’ school, although it is true that they did not—especially after the 1490s¹⁰—actively seek the *oltremontani* composers in the way that contemporaneous Italian princes, including the Aragonese kings of Naples, did, or as their Francophile Catalano-Aragonese predecessors of around 1400 had done (Gómez Muntané 1979; Atlas 1984). In addition, recent research shows that the Catholic Monarchs, rather than initiating a new trend—and so being responsible for the creation of a ‘national school’ along Anglés’s ideological lines—were following a well-established pattern of music patronage at the Castilian court. Francisco de Paula Cañas Gálvez’s study of the musicians employed by Isabel’s half-brother Enrique IV suggests that most of the singers employed in his chapel were almost certainly of Castilian origin, with toponymics indicating cities and towns such as Segovia, Vilches, Brihuega, Medina del Campo, Valladolid and Leon as their likely provenance (Cañas Gálvez 2006: 226–27). Other singers, such as the ubiquitous Cristóbal de Morales, who served Enrique IV, Prince Alfonso and the Catholic Monarchs, as well as the Duke of Medina Sidonia, were decidedly Castilian, although it should be

9 ‘& assi pera esta musica de camara, quomo pera a sua capella tinha estremados cantores, & tangedores que lhe vinhão de todas as partes Deuropa, ... pelo qual tinha huma das melhores capellas de quantos Reis, & príncipes então viuião’ (Gois 1566–67, 4: 224). Manuel I had spent his formative years at the Castilian court (see Chapter 6).

10 The northern singers in the Aragonese chapel mostly date from the early part of Ferdinand’s reign; in addition to Enrique de Paris and Urreda, Gasquin de Claquin, who served Ferdinand from 1474 to at least 1492, was probably also French. Some Portuguese and Italian singers were employed over the years, notably *mossén* Pietro Abrique, who was appointed on 1 December 1506 while Ferdinand was in Naples, and who served until the king’s death in January 1516 (Knighton 2001: 101).

emphasized that the data on Enrique IV's chapel is far from complete. Both Enrique IV and his father, Juan II, also employed at least some non-Spanish musicians too. Juan II of Castile had employed a French singer, Guillemin Menasir, as 'tenor' of the royal chapel (Cañas Gálvez 2000: 383–84), while the French musician Jean Curiel, was appointed chapel master to Isabel's brother, Alfonso, declared King of Castile by one faction of the nobility in June 1465, but who lived only a few years, dying in July 1468 (Cañas Gálvez 2006: 228, 274). The presence of these French musicians in high profile positions in the Castilian royal chapel over the course of the fifteenth century shows that their contribution was considered important, but that they were present in relatively small numbers—as in the case in the chapels of Ferdinand and Isabel and the cathedrals.

Given this well-established mix of Spanish and non-Spanish, it is not surprising that the polyphonic idiom cultivated in the early years of Ferdinand and Isabel's reign was also a combination of the largely unwritten autochthonous tradition—with its roots in the semi-improvised techniques of *contrapunto* (see Chapters 12 and 13)—and elements of the northern written tradition. This idiom is well represented in the works of Juan de Urreda, chapel master of the Aragonese royal chapel, whose polyphonic setting of the canción *Nunca fue pena mayor* travelled well beyond the Pyrenees and was drawn on by Pierre de La Rue as the cantus firmus of a polyphonic Mass (Stevenson 1960: 158–63; Meconi 2003: 192–94). Music by northern composers, both sacred and secular, circulated widely in the Spanish kingdoms in the fifteenth century, as is clear from the number of French songbooks owned by Isabel (Knighton 2008a). David Fallows has discussed the vestiges of French-texted chansons in some of the earlier songs included in the Colombina and Palace Songbooks, and has shown conclusively that a section of the Colombina book (now to be found in *F-Pn* 4379) originally contained songs by northern composers (Fallows 1992a and Fallows 1992b). The international polyphonic repertory continued to circulate in the Spanish kingdoms, as is reflected in the contents of the Segovia manuscript, now believed to have been copied by 1499 (see Chapter 11). There can be little doubt that the incorporation of northern elements was boosted by the presence of Philip the Fair's Flemish choir in 1502–3 and 1506–8; in his Masses, Peñalosa was to use three of the 'top hits' of that repertory, including the *L'homme armé* melody, Hayne van Ghizeghem's *De tous biens plaine* and Josquin's *Adieu mes amours* as cantus firmi. Thus, I would suggest, this process of musical hybridization was longstanding and not dissimilar to the cultural mix of local and mainstream elements found in much of the architecture and art of the period (Knighton 1987).

In the 1490s, if not rather earlier, a shift in this pattern of musical hybridity seems to have occurred, with sacred polyphony tending towards the incorporation of more northern techniques, to the point that some of Peñalosa's music is very similar in style to Josquin's idiom, while polyphonic song went in a decidedly different direction, away from the international Franco-Netherlandish chanson, as reflected in Urreda's *Nunca fue pena mayor*—in favour of a new idiom in both text and music. With its roots in oral tradition, the 'new' song suddenly appears in written form in the earliest surviving songbooks dating from the latter part of the fifteenth century, by which time the popularity of the villancico had been gathering pace in court circles over several decades, and, as Jane Whetnall shows, was injecting new vitality into the courtly love lyric (see Chapter 2). The shift in favour of the villancico did not happen in isolation, but seems to have been part of a more general European trend towards greater diversity in song forms and styles (Strohm 1993: 50–84).¹¹ The unprecedented flourishing of popular song forms in simple, largely homophonic, settings did not occur only in Spanish court circles, but also at Italian courts, where the frottola—in many respects similar to the villancico—also experienced a new wave of popularity which was consolidated there through Petrucci's frottola publications from 1504 (Prizer 1980).¹² As Giuseppe Fiorentino points out, printing speeded up the shift from orality to written musical culture (Chapter 13), although only a few Castilian-texted songs from this period found their way into Petrucci's prints. Many of the composers of villancicos were singers in the royal chapel or held cathedral posts, and as Giuseppe Fiorentino and Pilar Ramos discuss in their essays in this volume, the application of the rules of two-, three- or even four-voice *contrapunto* to plainchant or song melodies was not substantially different, and often resulted in simple, repeated chord sequences (see Chapters 12 and 13). It is thus important to think in terms of a multilingual, multi-genre song repertory in the Spanish kingdoms at the time of the Catholic Monarchs, with polyphonic settings of the court poets who cultivated the autochthonous genres of the Castilian-texted canción, villancico and romance developing in parallel to song traditions elsewhere in Europe.

11 'Despite significant differences flowing from the different languages, European polyphonic song around 1500 was developing along parallel lines' (Strohm 1993: 84–85).

12 Eleven frottole were copied into the Palace Songbook, almost certainly from Petrucci prints that began to circulate quite soon after publication in Spain (Ferrari-Barassi 1993; Knighton 2005b). Certainly, Ferdinand Columbus, son of the eponymous discoverer, began to acquire and collect these books, and appears to have sung and played frottole in his house in Seville (see Chapter 3).

Ferdinand and Isabel appear to have been content to expand on existing traditions, and these tended to be reinforced by the geographical location of the Spanish kingdoms which did not fall comfortably on the route south followed by north European clergy (and so musicians) and pilgrims, drawn in their thousands to Rome. In this sense, musical culture at their court inevitably flourished at one remove from the network of *oltremontani* so highly valued in the papal chapel and the north Italian courts. Rome was, nevertheless, an important hub for musical developments, and many Spanish musicians also travelled to the city and successfully found employment in the papal chapel. As Richard Sherr shows, musicians from the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon were present in sufficient numbers there to form a 'Spanish Nation' from at least the time of the Valencian pope Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503) (see Chapter 10). Curiously, it is in the context of the papal chapel, to which singers from all over Europe were drawn (in part for the advantages in securing benefices in their home regions, a process that Sherr describes as 'exquisitely corrupt') that distinctions were indeed made between three different 'nations': the French, Spanish and Italian. In 1518, Paris de Grassis, the papal master of ceremonies, described the different styles of singing the Lamentations in the papal chapel, with the French singing in a 'learned' way, the Spanish singing in a 'lamenting' manner and the Italians 'sweetly and well' (see Chapter 10). Sherr raises the issue as to exactly what de Grassis might have meant with his characterizations of three different singing styles (at least in the performance of the Latin-texted Lamentations): could singers from different European regions really be distinguished in this way in the early sixteenth century, or were other political and religious stereotypes also being brought into play even then?

In this period—well before the Council of Trent and its long-lasting impact on church music—it was not only singing styles that differed throughout Catholic Europe, but also liturgical traditions, including local ritual, texts and chant melodies. The Aragonese and Castilian royal chapels were granted papal license from 1474 onwards to celebrate the Toledan rite in their chapels, although it is not known to what extent they did so as the liturgical books copied for and used by their chapels have not survived (Knighton 2001: 113).¹³ As Mercedes Castillo-Ferreira discusses in her essay, liturgy and royal power were often closely intertwined, notably through the creation of new liturgies for the feasts celebrating their predecessors' as well as their own victories in the age-old campaigns of the Reconquest (see Chapter 8). Bernadette Nelson reveals similar concerns and patterns of patronage among members of the Portuguese

13 The Castilian royal chapel was authorized to use the Roman rite as well as the Toledan, and the Aragonese royal chapel the Roman, Toledan and Cistercian rites.

monarchy (see Chapter 6). As the Reconquest gathered momentum in the 1480s, Ferdinand and Isabel sought to provide the liturgical books, vestments and ornaments needed for the celebration of the liturgy in the newly founded churches in the Kingdom of Granada, and were generous patrons as regards the copying of series of large chant books for different ecclesiastical institutions, such as Badajoz and Cordoba Cathedrals, the Franciscan monastery of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, and the Jeronymite monastery of Santa Engracia in Saragossa (Morte García 2012; Ruiz Jiménez forthcoming; Knighton forthcoming c). It is less clear to what extent they intervened directly in Cardinal Cisneros's project to restore the so-called Mozarabic rite in the Mozarabic chapel of Toledo and a few other designated Toledan churches, and to publish the corresponding liturgical books, including the *Intonarium toletanum* (1515), but it would be consistent with other royal projects and with their close relationships with their royal confessors, who, in the case of Cisneros especially, were also political advisers (Boynton 2015) (see Chapter 8).

The monarchs, influenced by royal confessors such as Hernando de Talavera and Cisneros, were much concerned with religious and liturgical reform, and standards in the royal chapels were improved so that they might serve as models. The employment of the Sicilian humanist Lucius Marineus Siculus as a chaplain in the Aragonese royal chapel with the responsibility of teaching Latin to the royal chaplains, had an important impact on royal singer-composers such as Peñalosa and Juan Ponce, who discussed Latin motet texts in their correspondence—also written in Latin—with their teacher (Lynn 1937; Jiménez Calvente 2001; Knighton 2002). In general, however, Marineus was scathing about the general standard of Latin he found, complaining that the royal chaplains did not understand the words of the hymns they sang daily (Lynn 1937: 196–97). Queen Isabel was described by Marineus as paying great heed to the celebration of the Divine Office in her chapel to the extent that she would correct any errors she detected in her chaplains' pronunciation or placement of a syllable after the service (Knighton 2002: 249–50). Such anecdotal information must be considered within the panegyric aims of Marineus's *De las cosas memorables de España* (1539); royal chroniclers and other commentators consistently represented Ferdinand and Isabel as model Christian monarchs, above all else devout and filled with religious zeal. This view was both confirmed and promulgated still further by the successful Reconquest of Granada in 1492 and the expulsion of the Jews later in the same year; two years later, the title of 'Catholic Monarchs' was bestowed on them by Alexander VI (Kamen 2005: 37). Church reform was promulgated throughout their kingdoms with the dissemination of printed synod acts, the press also serving to produce

liturgical books for almost every see of their realms during their reigns from the last decades of the fifteenth century (see Chapter 8).

It is interesting to consider the extent to which this emphasis on liturgical understanding and ceremony in the royal chapels and the religious trends at court promulgated by the monarchs' spiritual advisers might have influenced the composition of sacred music there. Undoubtedly, as in other chapels and churches throughout Europe, plainchant continued to be the musical mainstay of liturgical celebration in the royal chapels of Ferdinand and Isabel. The chant sung there must have been to some extent customized through the creation of new liturgies and the use of the Toledan rite. A clear example is that of Urreda's setting(s) of the Toledan melody (*more hispano*) for the hymn *Pange lingua*; indeed, Eva Esteve has suggested that this hymn can be inextricably linked with the projection of royal power (Esteve [Roldán] 2010). Solemnification of the liturgy through the use of added voice parts—and the chroniclers often refer to 'músicas acordadas'—occurred both through composed polyphony and the semi-improvised techniques of *contrapunto* (Knighton 2011a; Fiorentino 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015a, 2015b). Cathedral ceremonials or *consuetas* from the time of the Catholic Monarchs show that *contrapunto*, or the related technique of *fabordón*, existed alongside chant and polyphony as a way of solemnifying and adorning the celebration of the liturgy. A more detailed study remains to be undertaken, but it is clear that both semi-improvised and written polyphony co-existed even while another shift can be observed during their reign: a general increase in the categories of feast and liturgical genre that called for written polyphonic settings, notably in those texts in verse form that belonged to the Office—the Magnificat, hymns, and even psalms—performed in alternatim in a number of ways that continued to include *contrapunto*.

The reconstruction of the polyphonic repertory of the chapels is hampered by the dearth of polyphonic sources from the fifteenth century; even those manuscripts of sacred polyphony that do survive—notably *E-TZ* 2/3—almost certainly date from after the death of Ferdinand, and, as Emilio Ros-Fábregas discusses in his essay, the most recent research suggests that quite possibly none of the manuscripts listed by Anglés in his pioneering *La música en la corte de los Reyes Católicos*, was directly compiled for their royal chapels or court, although they contain a high percentage of works attributed to royal singer-composers (see Chapter 11). The Isabelline inventories, together with many others from cathedrals, demonstrate that a very large number of polyphonic books, manuscript and printed, have been lost over the centuries; the devastating fires in Philip 11's royal chapel in Madrid (1734) and the Alcázar in Segovia (1862) were alone responsible for the loss of several hundred sources (Ruiz García 2003; Knighton 2008a). This historical loss of polyphonic books

has almost certainly resulted in some element of distortion with regard to the genres and styles of polyphony sung in the royal chapels, particularly before the generation of Peñalosa (Kreitner 2004b). Analysis of the works attributed to the two main composers in the royal chapels—Anchieta and Peñalosa—would suggest that developments there broadly mirrored the process of polyphonization occurring in the rest of Europe, but quite often with a time lag of anything from a few years to a generation (Kreitner 2012, 2014a).

The spread of polyphony to a wider range of liturgical and devotional genres is reflected in the liturgically organized Tarazona manuscript (*E-TZ* 2/3) (see Chapters 7 and 11). An entire hymn cycle (which has been associated with Seville Cathedral (Ruiz Jiménez 2005)), a substantial cycle of three- and four-voice settings of the Magnificat, the settings required for aspersion and for the response at the start and end of Mass, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah sung during the Tridue of Holy Week, all including works attributed to composers of the royal chapels, reflects the widening range of composed polyphony sung in the liturgy, presumably both in the royal chapels and elsewhere. Polyphonic settings in *E-TZ* 2/3 of the responsories for the Office of the Dead and of the Requiem Mass are among the earliest in Europe, although it now seems clear that the composer of the Mass, Pedro de Escobar, cannot be identified with the Pedro do Porto (del Puerto) who was a member of the Castilian royal chapel in the 1490s (Villaneueva Serrano 2011a). Ruiz Jiménez has suggested that the Requiem may be more closely connected to Seville Cathedral, where Escobar served between 1507 and 1514 (Ruiz Jiménez 2010), although nothing is now known about his career outside of these dates. The Spanish theorist Ramos de Pareja claimed to have composed a polyphonic Requiem in the latter part of the fifteenth century, but this has been lost, as have the three-voice settings of the responsories sung in Valladolid Cathedral following Isabel's death in 1504 (Knighton 2011c; Robinson 2013). The musical idiom of Escobar's Requiem is rather different to settings by Franco-Netherlandish composers of the same period: the relevant chant melodies (peculiar to the Spanish kingdoms, although at times similar to the Roman tradition) are solemnified by the sustained chordal writing that has its roots in the *contrapunto* tradition (Knighton forthcoming b).

Beyond the liturgy, the extant devotional motets attributed to composers of the royal chapel display a notable consistency in choice of text and musical idiom and are also rather different to the works of their northern counterparts. The texts, mostly found in Books of Hours from within and outside of Spain, focus to a very large extent on the Crucifixion, whether in the contemplation of and identification with the suffering of Christ on the Cross or that of his Mother, the Virgin Mary, whether at the foot of the Cross (the *Stabat mater*

theme) or with the dead body of Christ in her arms (the *piedad*), which was a particular devotion of Isabel (Ishikawa 2004, 2008; Yarza Luaces 2005; Knighton 2008b). These texts invite the participation of the listener or listeners (both first person singular and plural are used in the motet texts) in accordance with contemporary spiritual trends, such as the Flemish *Devotio Moderna*, that placed the *passio Christi compassion Maria* at the heart of devotional practice. The royal chapel composers employed musical rhetoric—the use of rests in all voices, a kind of declamatory homophony, harmonic inflections, and variety of vocal texture, and sustained exhortations or perorations—to highlight key words or phrases in the texts so as to make them particularly audible and thus conveyed the underlying meaning of the text to great effect. Some of these techniques are also found in motets by northern composers, notably some of the Crucifixion motets included in Petrucci's *Motetti B* ('De passione, de cruce, de sacramento, de Beata Virgine') of 1503, which Warren Drake has described as a musical Book of Hours (Drake 2002), but not to the same extent nor with quite the same impact. Once again, the Spanish kingdoms were not isolated from wider European spiritual trends and compositional techniques, but certain devotional practices seem to have been cultivated there to a greater extent—especially, but not exclusively, in royal circles—because they had particular relevance and resonance there.

The emphasis on Christ's Passion and on his Virgin Birth, as well as the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin herself—a theological doctrine adopted early and much supported by the Catholic Monarchs—takes on new meaning in the context of multi-confessional Castile and, indeed, of the establishment of the Inquisition in 1478. These doctrines lay at the heart of Christian Spain and were anathema to both Muslim and Jewish religions (Knighton 2008b). The complexity—and for modern historians—problematic nature of the impact of multi-confessionalism on culture at the time of the Catholic Monarchs and earlier has recently been studied by the art historian Cynthia Robinson (Robinson 2013) and is addressed here as regards musical practices in the Spanish kingdoms in the essay by Eleazar Gutwirth (Chapter 15). He considers how music was at times a defining element between Jewish and Christian religious practices, even if the underlying thinking on music was more closely intertwined according to longstanding scholarly traditions. The age-old presence of diverse and substantial ethnic groups—even after 1492 among the *converso* communities—inevitably led to a porosity of thinking and cultural hybridization. Members of the royal and noble families valued certain aspects of Arabic culture very highly, as is clear from the decoration of Gothic-style cathedrals or proto-Renaissance palaces with *artesonado* ceilings (as in the monastery of San Juan de los Reyes, built by the Catholic Monarchs to

celebrate the victory at the Battle of Toro in 1476). Enrique IV was renowned (and criticized) for wearing Moorish dress and adopting certain Moorish customs; Arabic musicians are found in court circles, notably at the Portuguese court of Manuel I (see Chapter 6).¹⁴

This raises the question of to what extent—if at all—cross-fertilization between Arabic and Western musical performance styles and repertoires occurred; many modern interpretations of the Castilian-texted song repertory from the time of the Catholic Monarchs introduce Arabic instruments such as ouds or nakers, even though most evidence would seem to point in the direction of a high degree of self-containment between Arabic and Western musical traditions. Before 1492, the different ethnic groups were represented in processions on major civic occasions, such as royal entries or Corpus Christi processions in which, as an integral—if not integrated since they were effectively segregated at the back of the procession—part of urban society, they sang and played their own songs and dances. In certain regions, particularly in the south and east of the Peninsula, Arabic instrument-makers and musicians flourished, being hired to play at weddings and teach the vihuela to members of the nobility, as occurred in Saragossa (Chapter 3). Negotiation of cultural identity after the completion of the Granadine campaigns is attested to by the Catholic Monarchs' confirmation of the appointment of an Arabic organizer of the *zambra* (both an ensemble and a specific repertory) in Granada (see Chapter 8). Indeed, the distinctive sound of the *zambra* would have been heard quite commonly at weddings and other festivities celebrated throughout the city and kingdom of Granada well into the sixteenth century. Moorish-style trumpets and drums were used to accompany courtly and civic entertainments such as the mock battles between Muslims and Christians ('*moros y cristianos*') staged on important occasions (Ruiz 2012).

Black musicians were employed in the royal and noble households to perform in the heraldic ensembles of trumpets and drums as a symbol of prestige, and this became a European-wide phenomenon (Lowe & Earle 2005; Gómez Fernández 2016: 254–70) (see Chapter 3). With forays into and trade with the African coast and following Columbus's discoveries in the Americas, the Iberian Peninsula became a major gateway for slave-musicians, and the employment of non-white musicians by members of the higher echelons of society became increasingly pronounced in the early decades of the sixteenth century as sailings to and from the Indies became more frequent (Chapters 3

14 According to Damião de Gois, the Portuguese king had 'Moorish musicians who sang and played lutes, and tambourines and drums' ('*tinha musicos mouriscos, que cantavam, & tangião com alaudes, & pandeiros, & tamboris*') (Gois 1566–67, 4: 224).

and 9). As Javier Marín López discusses in his essay, this was a bi-directional process, with the diffusion of western European musical traditions—from playing plucked string instruments to the singing of plainchant and polyphony—quickly being established as part of colonial socio-political life (Chapter 9). Music was used as a tool among all ethnic groups to establish collective identity and negotiate social status. It is difficult to assess how far and how established these traditions had become by the time of Ferdinand's death in 1516, but the rapidly increasing emigration of members of the monastic orders and ruling classes needed to convert and contain the indigenous peoples was a major factor in this process. During this early period, the foundations were laid for the complex patterns of cultural and musical influence, exchange and syncretism that emerged later in the sixteenth century, with a vastly increased demand for professional musicians to serve in the newly founded cathedrals and the exportation of musical artefacts from church organs to vihuela strings and music books (Gembero Ustároz 2011).

Cultural activity in the Spanish kingdoms, with the centuries-old presence of different ethnic communities, and the spread of that cultural mix across the Atlantic, must inevitably have included musical elements that differed from the rest of Europe, but it is important to stress the extent to which musical culture in Spain was not isolated from pan-European trends and to nuance questions of a division between centre and periphery (see also Juan Ruiz's discussion of the question with regard to the central position of cathedrals in urban space in Chapter 7). As I have already mentioned, geographically, the Iberian Peninsula was peripheral to the mainstream north European-Italian routes of trade and pilgrimage that also enabled mobility among musicians. Trade routes between Castile, France and Flanders, as well as between the Aragonese Levant and the Mediterranean, were well established, and diplomatic links between the monarchs and other princes as well as the papacy (see Chapter 6) were abundant and strongly served by some of the most intelligent and powerful men at court (Torre 1949–66; Torre & Suárez Fernández 1958–63; Fernández de Córdova Miralles 2014). Traffic, both political and cultural, between the peninsula and Aragonese Naples was maintained during peace and war through family connections, while shrewd dynastic alliances—mostly created to contain French power—were forged with Portugal (see Chapter 6), Habsburg Burgundy and Austria, and Tudor England through the marriage of the monarchs' five children into foreign princely dynasties. This political and diplomatic European network was an important conduit for cultural exchange that brought the Spanish kingdoms into contact with the musical mainstream on several fronts. Success in the 'crusade' in Andalusia and North Africa helped to put the monarchs on the political map; the taking of Granada in 1492 was

celebrated throughout Europe, and no more so than in Rome, with the publication of eulogies, and the performance of plays and festivities of all kinds, including the running of bulls (Rincón González 1992).

However, it was above all the double marriage between the Trastámara and Hapsburg dynasties that would prove to be the most decisive politically—and musically: in 1496, Philip the Fair, son of Maximilian I, married Juana (known as ‘la loca’), and Maximilian’s daughter, Margarite of Austria, was wed to Prince Juan, heir to the thrones of both Castile and Aragon. The unforeseen deaths of Juan (1497), the monarchs’ eldest daughter Isabel (1498) and of her young son Miguel (1500)—according to the royal chronicler Andrés Bernáldez the knives that pierced Isabel’s heart—led to Juana and Philip being sworn as heirs to the Castilian and Aragonese thrones in Toledo in 1502 (Knighton 2005a). On this first visit to Spain, Philip, as befitted a Burgundian duke who found himself unexpectedly to be the heir to a royal crown, travelled with a substantial retinue, including the members of his chapel in which Marbriano de Orto, Pierre de La Rue and Alexander Agricola numbered among the singer-composers (Duggan 1976; Knighton 2005a; Ferer 2012). When Philip returned as King of Castile after the death of Isabel in November 1504, La Rue and Agricola travelled south again, and were possibly joined by the most celebrated composer of the age, Josquin des Prez (Fallows 2009: 229–31). Agricola died in the early autumn of 1506, but La Rue remained in Spain in Juana’s service for the best part of two years (Knighton 2014). Reinhard Strohm has suggested that the visits of Philip’s choir seemed to have made little immediate impact on composers in the royal chapels (Strohm 1993: 605–6), but Kenneth Kreitner’s recent analysis of the Masses and motets composed by members of the royal chapels, as well as the major cathedrals, has led him to conclude that Philip’s visits marked a watershed in their approach to composing these genres in the early years of the sixteenth century, specifically in the emergence of the cyclic Mass (Kreitner 2012, 2014a) (see Chapter 1). Given the well-established political, diplomatic, trade and cultural links between the Spanish kingdoms and other parts of Europe where the mainstream Franco-Netherlandish musical idiom flourished, the notion of a Flemish *coup de foudre* needs to be nuanced, but the prolonged sojourns in the Spanish kingdoms of La Rue and his companions cannot have been without impact.

Musical culture at the time of the Catholic Monarchs was thus consistently dynamic: unprecedented expansion in the employment of musicians in a peripatetic court that came into regular contact with other ecclesiastic and civic environments, played a major part in stimulating musical activity in the peninsula, while highly developed political and diplomatic networks were reinforced across Europe and, after 1492, extended to the New World. Musical develop-

ments were not linear, but in a constant state of flux: French chansons were still sung alongside Castilian-texted canciones in the earlier part of the period, while Italian frottole were performed together with the villancico as the reign of the Catholic Monarchs progressed. Polyphonization of specific genres—the secular romance, or liturgical music for the Office, particularly in important occasional genres such as the Lamentations or Requiem Mass—is marked during the period, as is the general shift from consumption of music to participation in music-making among those members of society with leisure time at their disposal. Yet even these trends did not evolve in a logical, ever progressing Darwinian fashion, and often flourished concurrently with earlier traditions. The romance provides a good example (see Chapters 2 and 3): polyphonic versions of ballads, composed and performed by musicians employed in the royal chapels, seem to have emerged around the 1460s and '70s, the genre thereby taking on an official, image-making role. During the Granadine campaigns of the 1480s and early 1490s, the polyphonic romance seems almost to have become a kind of *Staatsmusik* in the vernacular, extolling the monarchs—Ferdinand for his skill at arms, Isabel for her prayers—and becoming the vehicle for the communication of the greatness of their deeds and achievements. Yet they do not seem to have entered the wider, more popular imagination once the campaign was concluded as did, for example, the frontier ballads and those with their roots in much earlier chivalric deeds. The texts of the official Granadine romances are not to be found in the poetic anthologies, even the otherwise all-encompassing *Cancionero general* of 1511, and certainly not among the romances—intended to be performed in the traditional manner for voice and vihuela—included in Luis Milán's *El maestro* (1536). Traditional romances—*Paseábase el rey moro* or the tale of Gaiferos, for example—had a much longer shelf-life and were never ousted by the brief period of official appropriation of the genre.

This introduction has not aimed to be a review of the musical historiography of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel, but rather to place the different chapters into a broader context, both historically and historiographically.¹⁵ The classic studies of Anglés and Stevenson have been highly influential in this field for well over half a century, and their research has in many ways remained valid and useful, as illustrated by the more recent historical overview of the period to be found in the second volume of the series *Historia de la música en España e Hispano América* covering the period from the Catholic Monarchs to

15 Recent studies by Juan José Carreras, Pilar Ramos López, Emilio Ros-Fábregas, Alejandro Planchart and others already present a good overview (Carreras 1994, 2001; Ramos López 2003b; Ros-Fábregas 1998, 2001a, 2001b; Planchart 2010).

Philip II (Gómez [Muntané] 2012b). This volume, covering more than a century and focusing on the musical history of the Spanish-speaking world, is perhaps inevitably tied to a linear chronological approach that is essentially inward-looking in its charting of what happened in Spain. This is not to discredit some fine contributions, notably those by Juan Ruiz Jiménez, one of the authors in this collection of essays. General historians have made important recent contributions that consider various aspects of the personnel, spaces and ceremonies of the royal court (Domínguez Casas 1993; Fernández de Córdova Miralles 2002).

A companion of the present kind, with the potential for a more discursive consideration of the relevant material and related concepts, offers a more multi-faceted approach that will hopefully throw up new connections both within the Iberian world and looking outwards to its European and transatlantic context. Thus this collection of essays aims to provide a synthesis of research and knowledge to date, to draw attention to new research and to open up new directions to follow. It cannot aim to be totally comprehensive: much research remains to be done, for instance into the impact of private devotions on musical developments, on the presence of different ethnic musics and the contribution of unwritten popular traditions in general, or on the rise of domestic music-making and the activities of instrument-makers and music copyists in the larger urban centres of the Spanish kingdoms in this period. One area in particular that has received little attention to date is that of women and music; numerous general studies on Queen Isabel and her daughters mention music *en passant*, often in largely anecdotal fashion, but little is known about the broader picture at court and beyond, and this is the focus of Ascensión Mazuela's contribution to this volume (see Chapter 14). Women, she argues, can be given a greater degree of protagonism in religious contexts, and through a closer consideration of them in the light of change brought about by education and other cultural developments such as printing. Pilar Ramos, too, emphasizes the importance of printing in stimulating the publication and diffusion of the largely practical treatises or handbooks produced by Spanish authors during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, works that show an incipient awareness of the dialectic between tradition and innovation (see Chapter 12). This volume attempts, within what is possible with the current state of research, to map different aspects of musical life and experience at the time of the Catholic Monarchs and to bring them to the attention of all scholars of this period, whether musicologists or those working in other areas of cultural history, in order to begin to understand how the Iberian world related to developments, activity and creativity in the broader Western European music cultural tradition.

Music for the Royal Chapels

Kenneth Kreitner

Throughout their reigns, Ferdinand and Isabel maintained separate courts, which were both essentially itinerant, not based at a particular capital, but moving from city to city within the two realms as politics, war, and occasion demanded. When the monarchs were together, their courts were together; when not, not. Both courts included corps of trumpeters and drummers for ceremonial purposes and bands of *ministriles altos* for dancing and entertainment. Both royal households also had chapels, each with a group of singers who took the responsibility of performing the daily Mass and Office and who could and did sing polyphony, and at least some of this polyphony was composed by chapel members. As was the case with royal musicians everywhere, the Aragonese and Castilian royal chapels benefited from the power and prestige of their position; their periods of residing together afforded an unusual opportunity for collaboration and musical cross-pollination, and their travels meant that they met with cathedral and church musicians throughout both kingdoms. Together these chapels formed the most influential musical institution on the peninsula.

As is so often the case, there are some useful things that we know about them and some important things that we do not. What we do not have, most conspicuously, are musical sources; of the half-dozen or so principal manuscripts of sacred music from this period preserved in Spain, none is definitively associated with either court. If we are to recover the repertory of the royal chapels at all, then, we must start with one of the things that we do know: the names of the chapel singers. For most of the years between 1474 and 1516, we have complete lists of the chapel singers in both the Aragonese and the Castilian courts. Table 1.1 below, derived from the work of Tess Knighton, will give an approximate idea of the size of these chapels and their composers of known sacred music (Knighton 2001: 168–97).¹ I say approximate because more is known for some years than others, and the figures (which represent the maximum personnel in a given year) include a few interpolations and extrapolations,² and because, as the question marks may suggest, there is a

1 See also Anglés 1941/60 and Stevenson 1960.

2 See the detailed explanation in Knighton 2001: 167.

certain amount of inescapable name confusion in this land of common first names and toponymic last names.

With proper cautions in place, however, Table 1.1 suffices to show, first of all, a general inflationary trend over the years, with jumps in the early 1490s for Castile and in the late 1490s for Aragon, and another in 1505 as Ferdinand hired ten of the singers and one of the organists of the Castilian royal chapel after Isabel's death,³ and second, that at least by the end of their reigns, very substantial groups of musicians were employed in their chapels. At their peak, the Castilian chapel choir in 1503 had thirty-six singers, and in 1514 the Aragonese royal chapel had forty-six—exceptionally large for the time,⁴ and, indeed, larger even than the papal chapel in Rome during Palestrina's time.⁵ As with the papal chapel, the numbers should probably be taken as supporting a deep bench and possibly reflecting a certain amount of political or personal sinecureship, rather than actual performing ensembles of thirty or forty singers. Yet it is clear that sheer size bore a prestige of its own and could be exploited when necessary, as, for example, during the visit of Philip the Fair and his wife Juana (Ferdinand and Isabel's second daughter) to Toledo in 1502. There, a solemn Mass was sung at the cathedral and, according to the Burgundian chronicler Antoine de Lalaing: 'sixty to eighty singers of the king sang'.⁶ As Knighton points out, the king himself had only twenty-five singers on the household rolls at that point, so presumably a combined choir and/or an element of hyperbole must have entered into this calculation; but the point for the moment is that these large choirs, even if not used as such all the time, had their purpose as a show of pomp and power.

A second table will draw us in a bit closer for a snapshot. Table 1.2 summarizes the membership of Ferdinand's choir in the third *tercio* (four-month period) of the fairly typical year of 1501, arranged in order of seniority.⁷

3 See the tables in Knighton 2001: 181–83 and 194–95. The singers were: Pedro de Alicante, Juan de Cespedes, Alfonso Martínez de Olivares, Bernaldo de Vozmediano, Pedro Hernández de Tordesillas, Antonio de Corral, Blas de Corcoles, Francisco de Piña, Alonso de Mondéjar, and Bartholomé Simón de Albion, and the organist Lope de Baena.

4 For comparison with other church and chapel choirs of the time, see for example: D'Accone 1976 and Fallows 1985.

5 On the fluctuating size of the papal choir and the difficulty of disciplining its numbers, see especially Sherr 1994. Sherr records the choir's size as officially set at twenty-four, but in practice hovering around the lower to upper thirties.

6 Gachard 1878: 'Le dimence, viiie de may, Monsieur et Madame ouyrent la messe avec le roy et la royne, à laquelle chantèrent le lx à liiii xx chantres du roy'; cited in Knighton 2005a: 90 fn. 25.

7 Table 2 is adapted from Knighton 2001: 179–80, with information from the surrounding tables.

TABLE 1.1 *Overview of the royal chapels during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel*

Year	Aragón		Castile	
	Max. no.	Composers	Max. no.	Composers
1475	6	Cornago		
1476	4	—		
1477	11	Urreda		
1478	10	Urreda		
1479	12	Urreda, Madrid?		
1480	13	Urreda, Madrid?		
1481	14	Urreda, Madrid?		
1482	11	Urreda, Madrid?, Almorox		
1483	?	Almorox, Torre		
1484	?	Almorox, Torre, Diaz?	7	—
1485	18	Almorox, Torre, Diaz?	9	—
1486	?	Almorox, Torre, Diaz?	11	—
1487	17	Almorox, Torre, Diaz?	12	Segovia
1488	17	Almorox, Torre, Diaz?	14	Segovia
1489	15	Almorox, Torre, Diaz?	17	Segovia, Anchieta, Porto
1490	15	Almorox, Torre, Diaz?	17	Segovia, Anchieta, Porto
1491	15	Almorox, Torre, Diaz?	18	Segovia, Anchieta, Porto
1492	15	Almorox, Torre, Diaz?, Madrid?	24	Segovia, Anchieta, Porto
1493	13	Almorox, Torre, Diaz?, Madrid?	27	Segovia, Anchieta, Porto, Diaz?
1494	14	Almorox, Torre, Madrid?	29	Segovia, Anchieta, Porto, Diaz?
1495	13	Almorox, Diaz?, Madrid?	31	Anchieta, Porto, Diaz?, Sanabria?
1496	11	Almorox, Diaz?, Madrid?	31	Anchieta, Porto, Diaz?, Sanabria?
1497	12	Almorox, Diaz?, Madrid?	33	Anchieta, Porto, Diaz?, Sanabria?
1498	16	Almorox, Diaz?, Madrid?, Peñalosa	35	Anchieta, Porto, Diaz?, Sanabria?
1499	20	Almorox, Diaz?, Madrid?, Peñalosa	34	Anchieta, Diaz?, Sanabria?, Tordesillas?
1500	23	Almorox, Diaz?, Madrid?, Peñalosa	34	Anchieta, Diaz?, Sanabria?, Tordesillas?
1501	23	Almorox, Diaz?, Peñalosa	34	Anchieta, Diaz?, Sanabria?, Tordesillas?
1502	25	Almorox, Diaz?, Peñalosa, Tordesillas?	35	Anchieta, Diaz?, Sanabria?, Tordesillas?, Mondéjar
1503	26	Almorox, Diaz?, Peñalosa, Tordesillas?	36	Anchieta, Diaz?, Sanabria?, Tordesillas?, Mondéjar

TABLE 1.1 *Overview of the royal chapels during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel (cont.)*

Year	Aragón		Castile	
	Max. no.	Composers	Max. no.	Composers
1504	24	Almorox, Diaz?, Peñalosa, Tordesillas?	34	Anchieta, Sanabria?, Tordesillas?, Mondéjar
1505	33	Almorox, Diaz?, Peñalosa, Tordesillas?, Mondéjar		
1506	33	Almorox, Diaz?, Peñalosa, Tordesillas?, Mondéjar		
1507	31	Peñalosa, Tordesillas?, Mondéjar		
1508	37	Almorox, Peñalosa, Tordesillas?, Mondéjar		
1509	36	Peñalosa, Tordesillas?, Mondéjar		
1510	40	Almorox, Peñalosa, Tordesillas?, Mondéjar		
1511	42	Peñalosa, Tordesillas?, Mondéjar		
1512	44	Peñalosa, Tordesillas?, Mondéjar, Anchieta		
1513	44	Peñalosa, Tordesillas?, Mondéjar, Anchieta		
1514	46	Peñalosa, Tordesillas?, Mondéjar, Anchieta		
1515	42	Peñalosa, Tordesillas?, Mondéjar, Anchieta		
1516	39	Peñalosa, Tordesillas?, Mondéjar, Anchieta		

Perhaps the first thing to notice in Table 1.2 is that it contains only one real celebrity, Francisco de Peñalosa, who would prove to be the most eminent composer at either court, and whose music will be reviewed below. After him, the number of known composers, with at least one work in the extant sources of the period, thins out quickly: Juan Álvarez de Almorox has left a Mass and three songs; Gabriel de Texerana eighteen songs; Antonio de Contreras two songs; Miguel de Salzedo possibly one song; and Pedro Diaz de Aux possibly

TABLE 1.2 *The Aragonese royal chapel in 1501*

Name	Years of service
Alfonso Cortes	1478–1508
Juan Álvarez de Almorox	1482–1506; 1508–1510
Pedro Díaz de Aux	1484–1506
Miguel de Salzedo	1485–1502
Antonio de Contreras	1485–1516
Alonso de Uzeda	1487–1505
Francisco de Alagon	1491?–1505
Pascual Yvanyes	1493–1503
Francisco Munyoz de Jaén	1494–1516
Thomas García (organist)	1495–1516
Gabriel de Texerana	1496?–1502
Domingo Serrano	1498–1509
Juan de Loriz	1498–1514
Francisco Fernández de Rascon	1498–1515
Francisco de Pastrana	1498–1516
Francisco de Peñalosa	1498–1516
Luis Munyoz	1499–1502
Diego de Castro	1499–1503
Juan de Jenagusi	1499–1504
Luis de Requesens	1499–1506
Gines Sanchez	1500–1505
Juan de Requesens	1500–1506
Rodrigo de Soto	1501–1506

one motet.⁸ It was not, at least so far as the surviving attributions suggest, a choir full of active, prolific composers.⁹

The list of names in this 1501 snapshot looks very Spanish, filled with common Spanish surnames (Díaz, García) and toponymics referring to towns around the peninsula (Almorox, Tejerana, Pastrana). This may be a little misleading: Pascual Yvanyes (or Ibáñez), despite his seemingly unambiguous

8 On Peñalosa, Almorox, and Díaz, see below; on Contreras, Gabriel Texerana and Salzedo, see Knighton 2001: 326, 331 and 343.

9 The same pattern, with the chapel master taking chief responsibility for composing, can be seen in the cathedral choirs of the period (see Chapter 7).

Spanish surname, arrived at Ferdinand's court in 1493 from the court of Naples, and there are a few other documented cases of singers coming in from outside and their names being hispanized later (Knighton 2001: 100–103).¹⁰ But for the most part, throughout the reigns of the Catholic Monarchs, rather than employing prestigious musicians from abroad, the Castilian and Aragonese royal chapels drew very largely on and nurtured local talent (see Chapter 7 for the situation in the cathedrals). The most conspicuous exception to this pattern is Juan de Urreda, born in Bruges as Johannes de Wreede, who served in the Aragonese chapel for several years in the late 1470s and early 1480s, although Urreda had already been in Spain for some years and seems to have been thoroughly naturalized by the time he entered first the service of the Duke of Alba in 1476 and then that of the king the following year (see Chapter 5) (Kreitner 2004a; Kreitner 2004b: 67–78; and Knighton 2011a). The 1501 choir also looks, in general, like a relatively young crowd—twelve of the twenty-three had arrived in 1498 and after—yet a solid half-dozen had already been there for ten years or more; Alfonso Cortes had joined the choir before Ferdinand was even crowned King of Aragon. Five of the 1501 singers would stay on until the king's death fifteen years later. In general, then, the personnel of the chapel were relatively stable.

The principal function of the chapel, and the bulk of the day-to-day work of its members, revolved around celebrating the daily Mass and Office. This went on whether the king and queen were there to hear or not; but, in fact, they may have been there rather often. Isabel's piety was legendary, an emblem of her individual style of feminine leadership; 'the principle', in William H. Prescott's impassioned words, 'which gave a peculiar coloring to every feature of Isabella's mind' and 'shone forth from the very depths of her soul with a heavenly radiance, which illuminated her whole character' (Prescott 1893, III: 172).¹¹ According to the royal chronicler and chaplain Lucas Marineus Siculus, Isabel not only attended Mass but all the daily canonical hours, made private devotions often, and was wont to correct the diction and syllable placement of her singers (Knighton 2002: 234–36, 249). Ferdinand, too, was said to have attended Mass every day, including during times of war (Knighton 2001: 111–12). While these accounts of royal piety must be filtered through the agendas that moved their chroniclers to record it, the singing of the royal chapels appears at the

10 Yvanyes may well have been Spanish just the same, given that Ibáñez is not at all a common Italian name, and a fair number of Iberian singers served at the Neapolitan courts in the fifteenth century; see Atlas 1985.

11 For a more recent and critical view, see for example: Weissberger 2004: 57–58 and 231 n. 84.

very least to have been an important part of the monarchs' daily lives and a conspicuous part of the image they both wished to show the world.

By far the majority of this singing was, it must be remembered, of plainchant. Polyphony, here as everywhere in Europe in the decades around 1500, would have been reserved for special occasions and the major feasts of the church year, of which there were quite a few: the calendar of sung feasts in the Castilian chapel (and the Aragonese chapel would have observed a similar schedule) includes eleven days in January, ten in February, nine in March, five in April, six in May, seven in June, ten in July, thirteen in August, five in September, five in October, nine in November, and fourteen in December, in addition to movable feasts, Sundays, and Saturdays (when a *Salve* service was celebrated in addition to the usual Mass and Vespers).¹²

Nevertheless, exactly how often, and how much, polyphony was sung in either of the royal chapels remains something of a mystery. No document outlining their usual procedures around this time is known to survive, nor is there any documentary or literary reference to the performance of any particular composition. What would be exceptionally useful, of course, would be all, or even some, of the books of polyphony they sang from—but those, again, have not survived, although a good number of polyphonic books, of both sacred and secular music, are known to have belonged to the queen at various times in her reign (Knighton 2008a). The closest thing we still have is the famous unnumbered manuscript preserved at Segovia Cathedral (*E-SE ss*), which, because it has so many works attributed to Anchieta and so few Spanish works given to anyone else, has long been suspected of having a connection with one of the Castilian courts where he worked. But with all its secular music, both foreign and local, its proportional duos, and its workaday appearance, it seems clearly to have been a pedagogical or recreational book and not a proper chapel choirbook—whoever may have owned it. Its contents mean something for us—and I shall return to them—but the book itself is not quite the genuine royal chapel choirbook that we seek.¹³

12 The calendar of sung feasts is preserved at the Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 25, 1, entitled 'Calendarium Dominicarum et festorum in quibus missa et Vespere Cantatur aut sermo fit in Capella serenissimi et catholici Regis Hispaniarum'; transcribed in Knighton 2001: 235–44.

13 For a collection of the most recent thinking on the Segovia manuscript, see Urchueguía & Fuhrmann forthcoming. In my own contribution to this volume, 'What Was Segovia for?', I outline my reasons for believing the source was created for a pedagogical or recreational purpose, possibly, though by no means necessarily, for one of the royal children. On the historiography of the manuscript, see especially Ros-Fábregas 1992, 1: 206–23, some of which has been updated in his article, 'New Light on the Segovia Manuscript:

There is only one way, then, to gain a general picture of the music written for the royal chapels of Castile and Aragon, and that is to collate their members' names with the Latin sacred music in the sources that have survived: principally *E-SE* ss (copied c. 1498; Ros-Fábregas 1992; Ros-Fábregas forthcoming); *E-Sco* 5–5–20 (which may have begun to be copied possibly c. 1514; Freund [Schwartz] 2001b; Wagstaff 2002; Knighton 2009; Knighton 2012b); *E-Bbc* M454 (copied in a number of distinct stages between 1500 and the 1520s; Ros-Fábregas 1992); and the largest and most comprehensive, *E-TZ* 2/3 (currently undated, but possibly from the 1520s);¹⁴ plus a few minor and chiefly concordant manuscripts (see Chapter 11). The result is Table 1.3: some seventy-six compositions altogether, including ten complete Masses (one of them Kyrie-Sanctus-Agnus, now fragmentary), nine Mass Ordinary movements (three of them troped), two aspersions antiphons, two Mass Propers (both settings of the same tract), thirteen Magnificats, four Lamentations, seven hymns, two Salves, two items from the Office for the Dead, and twenty-seven motets. All and all, this list of works attributed to members of the royal chapels represents a repertory of gratifying, and reassuring, size and variety.

The list is very much dominated by two names. One, again, is that of Francisco de Peñalosa, whose biography is on the surface straightforward: he joined Ferdinand's chapel in 1498 and remained there till the king's death in 1516, then spent a few years in the papal chapel in Rome (but as a singer and not a composer—at any rate none of his music appears to survive in any Vatican source), retired to Seville in 1520, and died there in 1528 (Stevenson 1960: 145–51; Hardie 1983: 1–35; Knighton 2002: 231–38). I have included all his attributed Latin music in my list, but must register two important qualms: first, that the royal chapel was not his only job, and that he maintained strong Sevillian connections for much of his life, even keeping a house there from 1510. He may thus have written some of his music for the choir of Seville Cathedral—notably his five hymns, which are part of a cycle that appears to have been assembled in Seville (Ruiz Jiménez 2005). My second qualm is that the works that are attributed to him only in *E-TZ* 5,¹⁵ or in the keyboard intabulations of Gonçalo de Baena's *Arte novamente inventada pera aprender a tanger*, published in Lisbon

Watermarks, Foliation and Ownership', and others in the forthcoming volume edited by Urchueguía and Fuhrmann (see also Chapter 11).

14 The literature on this source is extensive, and well summarized in Esteve Roldán 2006; for the most recent summary of my own thoughts, see Kreitner 2014b: 278–79.

15 The best study to date of this poorly understood manuscript is still Russell 1979. On Peñalosa's music in *E-TZ* 5, see Lamar 2000. I have elected not to include a number of works attributed to Peñalosa in later inventories of the Tarazona Cathedral music library and anonymous in the manuscripts themselves (Calahorra [Martínez] 1992).

TABLE 1.3 *Sacred polyphony likely composed for the royal chapels of Ferdinand and Isabel*

Composer	Title (verses, mode)	Voices	Sources	Chapel
Peñalosa	Missa Adieu mes amours	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Peñalosa	Missa Ave Maria peregrina	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Peñalosa	Missa El ojo	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 +1	F
Peñalosa	Missa L'homme armé	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Peñalosa	Missa Nunca fue pena mayor	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Peñalosa	Missa Por la mar	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Peñalosa	Missa de feria (KSA)	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 5	F
Almorox	Missa sine nomine	3	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Anchieta	Missa sine nomine	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	I
Tordesillas	Missa sine nomine	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	both
Anchieta	Kyrie ... Rex virginum	4	<i>E-Bbc</i> M454; <i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	I
Peñalosa	Kyrie	2?	Baena 1540	F
Peñalosa	Kyrie	2?	Baena 1540	F
Peñalosa	Kyrie	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 5	F
Madrid	Gloria	3	<i>F-Pn</i> 4379	F
Anchieta	Gloria ... Spiritus et alme	4	<i>E-SE</i> ss; <i>E-Bbc</i> M454; <i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	I
Peñalosa	Gloria ... Spiritus et alme	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Anchieta	Credo	4	<i>E-SE</i> ss; <i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 +1	I
Peñalosa	Credo	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Madrid	Asperges me	4	<i>I-Rvat</i> C VIII 234	F
Madrid	Vidi aquam	4	<i>I-Rvat</i> C VIII 234	F
Madrid	Domine non secundum	4	<i>F-Pn</i> 4379	F
Anchieta	Domine non secundum	4	<i>E-SE</i> ss	I
Anchieta	Magnificat (even)	3	<i>E-SE</i> ss; <i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	I
Porto	Magnificat (even)	3	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	I
Segovia	Magnificat (even)	3	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	I
Mondéjar	Magnificat (even)	3	<i>E-Bbc</i> M454	Both
Peñalosa	Magnificat (odd, 1st)	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 +3	F
Peñalosa	Magnificat (even, 4th)	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Peñalosa	Magnificat (even, 4th)	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Peñalosa	Magnificat (even, 6th)	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 +1	F
Peñalosa	Magnificat (even, 8th)	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Peñalosa	Magnificat (even, 8th)	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Anchieta	Magnificat (even)	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	I
Tordesillas	Magnificat (even)	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	Both
Tordesillas	Magnificat (even)	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	Both

TABLE 1.3 *Sacred polyphony likely composed for the royal chapels (cont.)*

Composer	Title (verses, mode)	Voices	Sources	Chapel
Peñalosa	Aleph. Quomodo obscuratum	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Peñalosa	Aleph. Quomodo obtexit	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Peñalosa	Et factum est	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Tordesillas	Zay. Recordata est	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	Both
Anchieta	Conditor alme siderum	3	<i>E-SE</i> ss	I
Sanabria	Ad coenum agni (v. 2)	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	I
Peñalosa	Jesu nostra redemptio (v. 2)	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Peñalosa	O lux beata trinitas	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Peñalosa	Sacris solemniis	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Peñalosa	Sanctorum meritis	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Peñalosa	Gloria laus	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 5	F
Medina	Salve Regina (even)	4/5	<i>E-Sco</i> 5–5–20	I
Ponce	Salve Regina (even)	3	<i>E-Sco</i> 5–5–20	F
Anchieta	Salve Regina (even)	4	<i>E-Sco</i> 5–5–20; <i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	I
Anchieta	Libera me	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 +9	I
Torre	Ne recorderis	4	<i>E-SE</i> ss; <i>E-Bbc</i> M454; <i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 +25	F
Peñalosa	Adoro te	3	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Peñalosa	Ave Regina cælorum	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Díaz / Mondéjar	Ave sanctissimum	4	<i>E-Bbc</i> M454; <i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 +4	Both
Peñalosa	Ave vera caro Christi	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 +1	F
Peñalosa	Ave vere sanguis	4	<i>E-Bbc</i> M454; <i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 +2	F
Anchieta	Congratulamini mihi	3	Baena 1540	I
Peñalosa	Deus qui manus tuas	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Anchieta	Domine Jesu Christe qui hora	4	<i>E-SE</i> ss; <i>E-Sco</i> 5–5–20; <i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 +6	I
Peñalosa	Domine Jesu Christe qui neminem	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 +1	F
Peñalosa	Domine secundum actum	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Peñalosa	Emendemus in melius	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 +1	F
Peñalosa	In passione positus	4	<i>E-Bbc</i> M454; <i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 +2	F
Peñalosa	Inter vestibulum	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 +2	F
Sanabria	Lilium sacrum	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	I
Peñalosa	Ne reminiscaris	3	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Peñalosa	Nigra sum	3	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Anchieta?	O bone Jesu	4	<i>E-SE</i> ss; <i>E-Bbc</i> M454; <i>E-Boc</i> 5; <i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 +8	I
Peñalosa	O Domina sanctissima	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 +1	F

Composer	Title (verses, mode)	Voices	Sources	Chapel
Peñalosa	Pater noster	4	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 +1	F
Peñalosa	Precor te Domine	4	<i>E-Bbc</i> M454; <i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 +3	F
Peñalosa	Sancta Maria succure miseris	3	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Peñalosa	Sancta mater istud agas	4	<i>E-Bbc</i> M454; <i>E-Sco</i> 5–5–20; <i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 +1	F
Peñalosa	Transeunte Domino	5	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	F
Peñalosa	Tribularer si nescirem	4	<i>E-Bbc</i> M454 +1	F
Peñalosa	Unica est columba mea	3	<i>E-TZ</i> 2/3 +1	F
Peñalosa	Versa est in luctum	4	<i>E-Tc</i> 21	F
Anchieta	Virgo et mater	4	<i>E-SE</i> ss; <i>E-Sco</i> 5–5–20; <i>E-TZ</i> 2/3	I

some time after his death (Knighton 2012a), are troublingly different in style from those known from *E-TZ* 2/3 and the other sources listed in Table 1.3. So some of the music under his name may not be his, and some that is genuinely his may not have been written for the royal chapel.

Juan de Anchieta's story, likewise, appears straightforward enough on the surface, although a number of queries remain. He joined Isabel's chapel in 1489—almost a decade before Peñalosa's arrival—and essentially stayed with the Castilian court, through its various vicissitudes, for the rest of his career. The vicissitudes were admittedly many: he became chapel master to Prince Juan in 1495, returned to Isabel's service when the prince died in 1497, then on the queen's death in 1504 moved to the chapel of her daughter Juana, with whom he spent time in Flanders and probably England before returning to Spain with her in 1506; then in 1512, after Ferdinand had had Juana declared incompetent to govern, he went to work for the Aragonese royal chapel, until the king's death in 1516. Around that time he returned to his hometown, Azpeitia in the Basque country, where he had been living sporadically since 1510; he was pensioned by Charles v in 1519 and died in 1523 (Knighton & Kreitner forthcoming). So, like Peñalosa, Anchieta had strong local connections outside the court and may have written some of his music for others, and like Peñalosa he spent a certain amount of time outside the Spanish kingdoms. His worklist also has an additional problem: a number of anonymous works have been assigned to him by modern scholars without much hard evidence. I have left these dubia out of Table 1.3, and also omitted the *Missa de nostra dona* included anonymously in *E-Bbc* M454 with two movements attributed to Anchieta elsewhere, despite some suspicion that the whole thing is his

work.¹⁶ I have, however, included the much-debated motet *O bone Jesu*, attributed to Anchieta in *E-SE* ss, but ascribed to three other composers (including Loyset Compère) in other sources.¹⁷

Title by title, these two men's works make up four-fifths of the compositions in Table 1.3—but really a good deal more, since their entries include so many Mass-settings. After them, things become not only sparse but murky: the sources for this music tend to identify their composers by last name only, and both choirs had numerous duplicated last names, leaving the field, for our purposes, full of *Doppelmeister*—hence the number of question marks in Table 1.1. Some of these need to be briefly explained. Table 1.3 includes four compositions ascribed to 'Madrid', who could be Juan Fernández de Madrid (Aragonese royal chapel, 1479 to at least 1482) or Juan Ruiz de Madrid (Aragonese royal chapel, 1493 till his death in 1500 or 1501) (Knighton 2001: 334; Kreitner 2004: 56–61), as well as four works, including a substantial Mass, to 'Tordesillas', who could be either, or both, of a pair of brothers, Pedro Hernández de Tordesillas (Castilian royal chapel 1499–1504, then Aragonese royal chapel 1504–11) and Alonso Hernández de Tordesillas (Aragonese royal chapel 1502–16) (Knighton 2001: 344–45). In neither case is there much reason to choose between the candidates, but clearly in both cases we can say the music was likely written for one royal chapel or the other. *E-Bbc* M454 contains several pieces under the name of Alonso de Mondéjar (Castilian royal chapel 1502–4, Aragonese royal chapel 1505–16) (Knighton 2001: 338), including a three-voice Magnificat and a motet with the text *Ave sanctissimum et gloriosum corpus*, the latter of which also appears anonymously in four later Portuguese sources and under the name 'Díaz' in *E-TZ* 2/3—this may refer to Pedro Díaz de Aux (Aragonese royal chapel 1484–1506) or to Diego Díaz (Castilian royal chapel 1493–1504), but admittedly it is a common last name (Knighton 2001: 328).¹⁸

A somewhat more complex case is presented by the two pieces attributed in the sources to 'Sanabria' and the one given to 'Torre'. I have elsewhere suggested that they could all be by the same person, called by various versions of Juan Rodríguez [de la Torre] de Sanabria, who served in several cathedrals beginning in the 1480s, joined the Castilian royal chapel in 1495, and served till the queen's death in 1504 (Kreitner 2004b: 145–50). Even if the popular and

16 See Knighton & Kreitner forthcoming: Chapter 4; and Ros-Fábregas 1992, 1: 229–303, 2: 98–138.

17 My reasoning for this, expressed with suitable caution I hope, is outlined in Kreitner 2004b: 117–22.

18 On the motet attributed to 'Díaz', which has a number of text and musical variants in the sources, see especially Ros-Fábregas 1992, 1: 256–8, 2: 17–28.

long-lived *Ne recorderis* setting was, in fact, written by Francisco de La Torre (to whom, admittedly, it is explicitly attributed in three sources, including *E-TZ* 2/3),¹⁹ Francisco served in the Aragonese royal chapel from 1483 to 1494, so the piece belongs on our list in any case (Knighton 2001: 345). *E-TZ* 2/3 has a single three-voice Magnificat attributed to 'Jo. Segovia', who may be a singer paid in the Castilian royal chapel in 1493, who in turn may have been a royal chaplain presented to benefices between 1487 and 1494. I have added this Magnificat to the list while recognizing that Juan was a common name and Segovia a good-sized city (Knighton 2001: 344; Kreitner 2004: 151). Pedro de Porto, who until recently was identified with the more prolific composer Pedro de Escobar, served at Isabel's court from 1489 to 1498 and had a long career afterward, but I have included his Magnificat in *E-TZ* 2/3 because its style seems more of the fifteenth century than the sixteenth,²⁰ and I have also included the *Salve regina* of his longtime colleague Fernando Pérez de Medina, who served Isabel from 1477 till her death (Knighton 2001: 336), and another setting by Juan Ponce, who served Ferdinand from 1506 till the king's death (Knighton 2001: 340). And finally there is Juan Álvarez de Almorox, who served Ferdinand from 1482 till 1506 and sporadically a little beyond, though he seems to have lived, first working and then (one hopes) retired, at Segovia Cathedral till 1551; I have included his three-voice Mass on the strength of its style, which would fit better into the earlier years of his career than the later.²¹

With some regret I have omitted from Table 1.3 the works of Escobar, who is now documented only at the Cathedral of Seville (Villanueva Serrano 2011a); those of Juan de Urreda, who did work at the Aragonese court from 1477 to 1482 but a good deal of whose music can be firmly associated with previous jobs (Kreitner 2004: 67–78); and those of Johannes Cornago, who served Ferdinand briefly in 1475 but whose sacred music was evidently written in Naples (Gerber 1984; Kreitner 2004: 62–65). I have also left out the works of Alonso de Alba,

19 On La Torre's *Ne recorderis*, see Wagstaff 1995: 129–60, especially the table of sources on pp. 138–39. It is attributed to Francisco in *E-TZ* 2/3, *E-Tc* 1, and *E-Tc* 21, which are normally reliable sources, but to Sanabria in a sixteenth-century inventory of *E-TZ* 5 (though not in the manuscript itself): see Calahorra 1992: item 310. My theory is that the piece might have been written by Sanabria, attributed to him under the name Torre, and reattributed in error to the more famous Francisco de La Torre later.

20 The most detailed account of Escobar/Porto's life is still Alexander 1976: 4–19. On Porto in the Castilian royal chapel, see Knighton 2001: 330 et passim. The connection between the two was dissolved only recently in Villanueva Serrano 2011.

21 Kreitner 2004: 153, based on López-Calo 1990b: docs. 404–6 et passim. Earlier biographical sources, including Knighton 2001: 322, did not have access to the Segovia phase of his career. On the Mass, see Kreitner 2014a: 280–82.

even though there was an Alonso de Alva who served as a royal chaplain in the Castilian royal chapel—first serving Isabel from 1497 to 1504 and then Juana till his death in 1522 (Knighton 2001: 322–23)—out of a conviction that the composer was in fact a different man, Alonso Pérez de Alva, who died in 1504 after a long career at Seville Cathedral (Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 82–84; Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 221–22; Kreitner 2014b). There are one or two other possible debates, and some conflicting attributions and what not—but let us not be distracted. Even if, from the few surviving sources, there is no way to reconstruct a repertory for either of the chapels without hacking through some serious thickets, the central message is clear. Each court had its own, as it were, staff composer: for the Castilian royal chapel, beginning in 1489, it was Anchieta, and for the Aragonese royal chapel, beginning in 1498, it was Peñalosa. If this chapter is to be about music composed *for*—rather than merely performed by—the royal chapels, it must perforce be mostly about the music of these two men.

What was their music like? The easy answer, but worth saying out loud just the same, is that in most respects it was like everyone else's. Spain was never as isolated from the mainstream of European culture as has been suggested by the traditional historiography, and Latin sacred polyphony was an international commodity (Planchart 2010). Sources like *E-SE* ss, *E-Bbc* M454 and *E-Boc* 5 provide all the evidence we need that Masses, motets, and service music by figures like Josquin, Obrecht, Isaac, and Busnoys found its way into churches and chapels on the peninsula, including, there can be little doubt, the royal chapels of Aragon and Castile (Kreitner 2014b: 271–79, 294–97).

It is instructive, freely admitting that both lists are artificial and subject to continuing debate, to compare Table 1.3 with the authentic works of Josquin as currently judged in *Grove Online*.²² The composers of the Castilian and Aragonese royal chapels have, according to the works listed in Table 1.3, left ten Masses, he eighteen; they nine Mass movements, he seven; they two aspersion antiphons, he none; they two tracts, he one; they thirteen Magnificats, he only two; they four Lamentations, he none; they seven hymns, he two; they two items from the Office for the Dead, he none, but one other responsory; they three Salves, he two; they twenty-seven motets, he forty-four. For what it is worth, then, Josquin exceeds them in Masses and motets, and they outnumber him in Magnificats and shorter service music—which may perhaps be explained by the difference between men who were working for established chapels under intensely religious patrons and an individual who had, for one

22 *Grove Music Online*, s.v. 'Josquin des Prez', by Patrick Macey et al., dated 23 February 2011. My list excludes contrafacta, Virgil settings, *partes* preserved individually, and song-motets.

reason or another, earned a degree of artistic independence (Fallows 2009: 105–7 et passim). But, again as a rough-and-ready metric, the kinds of sacred music they have left are the same kinds as we see in the Northern European and Italian mainstream, and the proportions of genres are not at all incompatible. Indeed, that Peñalosa's motet *Sancta mater istud agas* found its way, on the basis of a rogue attribution in *E-Bbc* M454, into the Josquin edition in 1969 (Antonowycz & Elders 1969: 41–44; Ros-Fábregas 1992, 1: 137–38), and that *O bone Jesu* is still commonly given to Compère despite a source situation that clearly favours Spanish origin, show that our court composers could write in the Northern style well enough to fool people then and now.

Four genres of the polyphony composed by members of the royal chapels—Magnificats, Lamentations, Mass ordinaries, and motets—draw the attention above all.²³ Of these, the Magnificats seem to show the clearest connection to international traditions. As Table 1.3 shows, there are thirteen Magnificats: four in three voices, nine in four.²⁴ All set alternate verses, and in all but one case it is the even verses that are set in polyphony. The three-voice Magnificats tend to stay in three voices throughout (although there is one duo in the setting in *E-SE* ss), but all the four-voice settings have trio and duo movements. In all these ways, they are perfectly typical of their age.

Music Example 1.1, the opening of Peñalosa's sixth-mode Magnificat,²⁵ will give some idea of the nature of the writing here, with the chant formula paraphrased, vigorously but still clearly, in the top voice and the lower voices providing an active, contrapuntal but not (in this case) imitative accompaniment below, with occasional surprising (but not, so far as I can see, readily

23 On the Mass Propers and aspersion antiphons, see Kreitner 2004b: 56–60 and 106–7. On the hymns—at least some of which may have been written for Seville Cathedral—see Gerber 1953 and Gerber 1957; and Ruiz Jiménez 2005. On the music for the dead, see Kreitner 2004b: 122–23 and 142–48; and Wagstaff 1995, especially Chapter 4. On *Anchieta's Salve Regina*, see Knighton and Kreitner, forthcoming.

24 Peñalosa's Magnificats are edited in Preciado 1991; an edition of the setting by Mondéjar is found in Ros-Fábregas 1992, 2: 273–79. Tordesillas's Magnificats are still, to my knowledge, unpublished. The situation is more complex with *Anchieta's* settings: the three-voice Magnificat was published in Rubio 1980: 109–19, as well as verses 1–8 and part of verse 10 of the four-voice Magnificat in Rubio 1980: 120–29. The rest of the work was presumed lost at the time Rubio made his edition, but has since been recovered and will be published in Knighton and Kreitner, forthcoming. On the Magnificat in Spain in this period, see Esteve Roldán 2013.

25 All editions are my own, made from the originals in consultation with the modern editions; note values are halved and ligature and coloration brackets are omitted. In the present case, the chant for verse 1 (not in *E-TZ* 2/3) is taken from Preciado 1991: 135.

1. Mag - ni - fi - cat a - ni - ma me - a — Do - mi - num.

2. Et ex - sul - ta - vit spi -

2. Et ex - sul - ta -

2. Et ex - sul - ta - vit

2. Et ex - sul - ta - vit —

5

- ri - tus me - us in De - o sa - lu -

- vit spi - ri - tus me - us in —

spi - ri - tus — me - us in —

— spi - ri - tus — me - us

9

- ta - ri me - o.

De - o sa - lu - ta - ri me - o.

De - o sa - lu - ta - ri me - o.

in — De - o sa - lu - ta - ri me - o.

EXAMPLE 1.1 *Francisco de Peñalosa, Magnificat sexti toni, verses 1–2*

avoidable) short dissonances here and there to interrupt the blandly agreeable texture.

I present this as a specimen only: all the four-voice Magnificats, but perhaps especially Peñalosa's, strive for variety in style among the verses, so that there are some that use the chant as a fairly strict *cantus firmus* and others that allude to it more distantly than in the example from Peñalosa's setting. It is beautiful and highly competent music if not, at least to modern ears, obviously profound. This is the way Magnificats often are: music written not as a self-conscious artistic expression but for practical use in a liturgical context; at least in the case of Peñalosa's Magnificats, there is good evidence that indeed they were used, and for a considerable time thereafter. Three were copied into a now-dismembered manuscript of Magnificats in Toledo in 1543, fifteen years after the composer's death,²⁶ and his one odd-verse Magnificat was copied in its entirety into *P-Cug* 12 and *P-Cug* 32, and two of its verses into *P-Ln* 60, in Portugal in the 1540s or early 1550s.²⁷ At least two of Peñalosa's surviving movements show signs of recomposition along the way: the Gloria Patri to the odd-verse Magnificat is a duo in *E-TZ* 2/3, *P-Cug* 32, and *P-Ln* 60, but has two added voices in *P-Cug* 12, and the Sicut locutus verse of the sixth-mode setting of the canticle is provided, on the same opening of *E-TZ* 2/3, in a conventional four-voice setting and a spectacular eight-voice setting, an 8-ex-4 canon.²⁸ It is useful, in short, to think of these Magnificats as works in long-term progress, freely altered and even rewritten to fit different ensembles and circumstances.²⁹

Lamentations, with their biblical text, their position in the Office rather than the Mass, their multiple verses, and their reliance on recitational tones, share some common ground with Magnificats. But naturally there are important differences too: they were sung not every day at Vespers, but once a year, in a dramatic sequence during Matins of the last three days of Holy Week, and the Lamentation tone in Spain at this time varied a good deal from place to

26 Part of this book has been lost and part was later rebound into two other Toledo choir-books (*E-Tc* 18 and *E-Tc* 34); see, for example, Noone 1982, 1: 68–90; and Kreitner 2007: 22–24.

27 On these later Portuguese sources, and the presence therein of a substantial 'Spanish court repertory', see Rees 1995: 185–94, 215–27 and 431–36; on this Magnificat, see Rees 1995: 416. On *P-Ln* 60 in particular, see Rees 1994–95.

28 Both pairs were published in Preciado 1991, and in his introduction Preciado explains both well, though he was evidently unaware of the other Portuguese sources besides *P-Cug* 12.

29 On the performance of Magnificats in this period, see Esteve Roldán 2011.

place.³⁰ In addition, the verses of Lamentations are, in general, much longer than those of the Magnificat, and interlarded with the Hebrew letters of the acrostic in the Bible, giving rise to a polyphonic tradition that contrasts the musical style of the letters and the verses. As Jane Hardie has observed, Peñalosa's three Lamentations (and, I would add, Tordesillas's Lamentation setting as well) are all based on the Lamentation tones that were printed in the *Passionarium Toletanum* of 1516 (*Passionarium* 1516).³¹ Music Example 1.2 below, from the first of the three, will give a glimpse of Peñalosa's approach and usual style in his Lamentations.

Peñalosa places the cantus firmus, lightly paraphrased (much more lightly than in the Magnificats), into the Altus at first: the notes of the chant, for 'Aleph', are A-C-D-F-E-D-C-C-D, and the Hebrew letter is given a broad, expansive, rather gorgeous treatment in all four voices, with rests only in one voice at the very beginning. For the verse, he goes smaller, dropping the Superius out for the time being and keeping the chant, with its D reciting tone, in the Altus, which is now on top. At 'princeps provinciarum' the chant shifts upward (F-G-A A-B-A-G-A), and Peñalosa adds the Superius back in and moves the cantus firmus there.³² As in the Magnificats, Peñalosa varies the texture freely, going down to three and two voices for some verses, and in general (though not exclusively) contrasting smooth, full-texture writing for the letters and a sparser, more imitative style for the verses themselves. The cantus firmus normally (but again not always) flips between the Altus and Superius, in part according to its original range, and is much easier to trace than in the Magnificats. This is impressive, even haunting music, and it is a pity that none of it, so far as I know, has ever been recorded. But more to the point for the present: given that of the four Lamentations in *E-TZ* 2/3, three are by Peñalosa and one by Tordesillas, and that Peñalosa and both Tordesillas brothers spent years together at the Aragonese court, were these four pieces meant as a cycle? It is tempting to think so, especially in that Peñalosa's are labelled 'feria quinta',

30 Spanish Lamentation tones from the sixteenth century and earlier have received a great deal of careful scholarship from Jane Morlet Hardie, especially Hardie 1993; Hardie 1998; Hardie 2000; Hardie 2001; Hardie 2002; and Hardie 2003.

31 This section of the chant is edited in Hardie 2003: 21–48. This does not, of course, imply that Peñalosa's setting necessarily dates from after 1516, only that both the print and the compositions drew from the same chant tradition. Peñalosa's Lamentations are published in two editions: Preciado 1997; and Hardie 1999. On the 1516 print, see especially the introduction to Hardie 2003: vii.

32 For the chant, see Hardie 2003: 21–22. All three of Peñalosa's Lamentations have 'key' signatures of one flat; in this case, the written pitch of the original is preserved and a flat is added, but in the other settings, the chant is transposed.

51

A - - - - -

58

leph. Quomodo tacet.

leph. Quo - mo - do

leph. Quo - mo - do

leph.

65

se - det so - la ci - vi - tas

se - - det so - la ci - vi - tas ple - - na po -

Se - - det so - - la ci - - vi - tas

EXAMPLE 1.2A Francisco de Peñalosa, 'Et factum est', bb. 51–70

'feria sexta', and 'sabbato pasche' on the page and in fact represent the first readings for Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday (Hardie 2003: 21–23, 29–31, 36–38). The clefs and ranges of the three are such as to suggest that they were not written to be sung by the same choir, and Tordesillas's Lamentation, for the third reading on Maundy Thursday, puts the chant into

86

do - mi - na gen - ti - um: prin - - -

88

mi - na gen - - - ti - um: prin - - -

90

- na gen - ti - um: prin - - -

92

- ceps pro - vin - ci - a - - - rum

94

- ceps pro - vin - - ci - a - - - -

96

- ceps pro - vin - - ci - a - - - rum

98

- ceps pro - vin -

EXAMPLE 1.2B Francisco de Peñalosa, 'Et factum est,' bb. 86–97

the Tenor and sets all verses in four voices, so it, at least, was not meant to match the others, even if they might in some sense constitute a conscious cycle.³³

Nine complete five-movement Mass Ordinaries are listed in Table 1.3.³⁴ All are found in *E-TZ* 2/3, and only one has a concordance elsewhere, which means

33 For the chant, see Hardie 2003: 26–28 (also from the *Passionarium* 1516). The Tordesillas has not, to my knowledge, ever been published; I have relied on a manuscript edition kindly sent to me by Tess Knighton many years ago. It, too, is a lovely piece, well worth hearing.

34 Plus one three-movement ferial Mass—now fragmentary because of a missing page—attributed to Peñalosa in a later inventory of *E-TZ* 5, which, as mentioned above, is very different stylistically from the other known Peñalosa Masses. The Peñalosa attributions not in *E-TZ* 2/3 have been explored in Lamar 2000, but the whole question, and a lot of other questions about *E-TZ* 5, remains puzzling.

that our understanding of the Masses written for the royal chapels is very much at the mercy of this one source. Fortunately for us, it has a significant variety of Masses, and its organization shows an awareness of this variety. It is divided in the original *tabla* along practical lines, into ‘missas a tres’, which include the Mass by Almorox, and ‘missas a quatro’, which are organized (without indication) into four subsections: first, the six Masses attributed to Peñalosa; then five Masses by five different composers, including the two *Missae sine nomine* by Anchieta and Tordesillas; then two unusual composite Masses, with their different movements by different composers, both labelled *Missa de Nuestra Señora* and containing Marian tropes; and, finally, Escobar’s Requiem, which pivots into a section of other music for the dead.

These categories in the manuscript may be divided into earlier and later trends within the history of the polyphonic Mass as it developed in Spain.³⁵ On the early side, perhaps most conspicuously, was a practice of writing not complete Masses but individual freestanding Mass movements. This was clearly still happening in the 1490s, with the Credo and Gloria by Anchieta copied into *E-SE* ss and Madrid’s Gloria in *F-Pn* 4379, and it may be a revival, or even a survival, of a tradition a century or so old.³⁶ Both of the Anchieta movements found their way into one of the composite Masses in *E-TZ* 2/3, and in fact many, even all, of the movements in those Masses may be relatively early, and put together later by scribes after the cyclic Mass had become the norm.³⁷ Also early, I believe, are the three-voice Masses in *E-TZ* 2/3, including that by Almorox (who appeared on the scene as early as 1482). All three of these three-voice Masses are, for some reason, in low clefs, tenor or baritone on top and bass on bottom, so that the three voices are closely spaced and often overlap.³⁸ Almorox’s three basic styles can all be seen in Music Example 1.3, the beginning of the Gloria. One is a rudimentary sort of three-voice imitation, as in the first few bars, though he can sustain that texture quite a bit longer when he wants, as in the Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus; second is the kind of declamatory homophony, broken up only slightly by moments of contrasting rhythm, that we see beginning in bar 4; and the third is the extended, or semi-extended,

35 Most of this section is derived from Kreitner 2014a, which I shall cite only sparingly.

36 The Mass movements of the Ars subtilior period in Catalonia have been extensively explored by Maricarmen Gómez Muntané; for a succinct summary of her work, see especially Gómez Muntané 2001: Chapter 5; see also Kreitner 2004b, Chapter 2 and its bibliography.

37 The composite Mass with the three Anchieta movements is published in (amongst other places) Anglés 1941/60: 35–54; the other composite work remains unpublished, but the portions then decipherable from the existing microfilms appear in Carter 2007.

38 The Almorox Mass is published in Calahorra Martínez 2007: 103–28.

Et in ter-ra pax ho-mi-ni-bus bo-nae vo-lun-ta-tis.

Pax ho-mi-ni-bus bo-nae vo-lun-ta-tis.

Et in ter-ra pax ho-mi-ni-bus bo-nae vo-lun-ta-tis. Lau-

Lau-da-mus te. Be-ne-di-ci-mus te. A-do-ra-mus

Lau-da-mus te. Be-ne-di-ci-mus te. A-do-ra-mus

-da-mus te. Be-ne-di-ci-mus te. A-do-ra-mus

te. Glo-ri-fi-ca-mus te. Gra-ti-as a-gi-mus

te. Glo-ri-fi-ca-mus te. Gra-ti-as a-gi-

te. Glo-ri-fi-ca-mus te. Gra-ti-as a-gi-mus

ti-bi prop-ter mag-nam glo-ri-am tu-

-mus ti-bi prop-ter mag-nam glo-ri-am [...] Do-mi-

ti-bi

EXAMPLE 1.3 Juan Álvarez de Almorox, *Missa a 3, Gloria*, bb. 1-36

The image shows a musical score for a Gloria, measures 25 through 36. It is written for three parts: Soprano, Alto, and Bass. The key signature is B-flat (bb). The time signature is 8/8. The lyrics are in Latin. Measures 25-36 are shown in two systems. The first system covers measures 25-30, and the second system covers measures 31-36. The lyrics for the first system are: -am. Do - mi - ne De - us, Rex cae - les - tis, De - us Pa - ne De - us, Rex cae - les - tis, De - us Pa - ter. The lyrics for the second system are: - ter om - ni - po - tens. Do - mi - ne Fi - li u - ni - ge - om - ni - po - tens. Do - mi - ne Fi - li u - ni - ge - ni - te.

EXAMPLE 1.3 Juan Álvarez de Almorox, *Missa a 3, Gloria, bb. 1–36 (cont.)*

duo, as in bars 21 and following and then bar 33 and following, where the elements tend to move with more speed and syncopation. It registers, on the whole, more as a workmanlike piece of liturgical music than as a display of the composer's individual personality.

More substantial in every way, and surely representing a somewhat later stage of the musical development of this generation of composers in the royal chapels, are the four-voice Masses in *E-TZ* 2/3—for our purposes, one each by Anchieta³⁹ and Tordesillas,⁴⁰ both of them free or *sine nomine* Masses, and six

39 Anchieta's Mass was first published in Anglés 1941/60: 1–34, and later in Rubio 1980: 1–45. This *Missa sine nomine* (sometimes called the *Missa quarti toni*) is the only Mass by Anchieta to survive under his name; in Knighton and Kreitner forthcoming: Chapter 4, I make a tentative case for his authorship of the anonymous plenary Marian Mass, containing the Kyrie and Gloria from the composite mass of *E-TZ* 2/3, in *E-Bbc* M454, and suggest that the *Missa Eia Iudias a enfardelar*, referred to by Francisco de Salinas (Salinas 1577), may have been merely a myth; at any rate it no longer survives.

40 To my knowledge, the Tordesillas Mass remains unpublished; my knowledge of it is from a rather heroic edition made by my student Sarah Dietsche. For many years, those of us who worked on the music of *E-TZ* 2/3 had to depend on microfilms of very poor quality.

by Peñalosa, all of them based on, or at least named after, an external tune.⁴¹ One movement of Anchieta's Mass has attracted a certain amount of attention over the years: the Agnus Dei, which is in only one section (ending with 'misereere nobis') and which uses the *L'homme armé* tune—but in E—as a long-note tenor cantus firmus. Otherwise, this Mass and that by Tordesillas are both solid pieces of craftsmanship: middle-of-the-road *Missae sine nomine*, their movements united by mode (E phrygian for Anchieta, F lydian for Tordesillas) and some inconsistent head-motives, but without any obvious unifying scheme overall.

It is in the six Masses by Peñalosa that we at last see a Spanish composer doing what northern composers had been doing for several generations already: creating clear cyclic masses based on pre-existing pieces of music. Two of his Masses are based on obviously Spanish tunes that, as far as is known, do not otherwise survive, *El ojo* and *Por la mar* (Kreitner 2014a); two are based on well-known French tunes, *L'homme armé* and *Adieu mes amours*; and one is based on a tune somewhere in between Juan de Urreda's *Nunca fue pena mayor*, a song by a Flemish composer who moved to Spain, setting the text of his patron the Duke of Alba, and a song that became popular all over Europe. The sixth Mass, listed as 'Ave Maria peregrina' in the *tabla* to *E-TZ* 2/3, is somewhat mysterious: its movements do not match particularly well, and it may have been made from, or recycled some movements written separately (Kreitner 2014a).

The six Masses by Peñalosa form a remarkable body of music, deserving of a full-length analytical and stylistic study; especially valuable would be a sense of their chronology over the composer's lifetime. For now I shall focus on a reasonably typical specimen that shows the level of variety, imagination, and contrapuntal skill that Peñalosa brought to the construction of the cyclic Mass. Table 1.4 below outlines the general structure, section by section, of the *Missa L'homme armé*.

No table of this sort will ever quite do justice to a complex piece of music, but this will at least show that Peñalosa puts the *L'homme armé* tune to recognizable, but varied, use in every section except the Pleni and Benedictus

The manuscript itself, in its restored state, is gloriously legible, and there is reason to hope for a renaissance of *E-TZ* 2/3 studies once it is photographed and put online.

41 Peñalosa's Masses have been trickling into print very gradually over the decades since 1941. The *Ave Maria* and *Nunca fue pena mayor* Masses were both included in Anglés 1941/60; these Masses plus the *Missa El ojo* (called 'Delejo') were published in the first volume of the complete Peñalosa Masses by Preciado 2000; the second volume has not appeared. All six have, however, been published in single editions from Mapa Mundi: Imrie 1978; Imrie 1993a; Imrie 1993b; Imrie 1994; Imrie 2000; and Knighton 2010.

TABLE 1.4 *Structure of Francisco de Peñalosa's Missa L'homme armé*

Section	Treatment*
Kyrie I	cantus firmus in Tenor: §A in phrases, each sung $\times 1$, then $\times \frac{1}{2}$
Christe	cantus firmus in Altus and Bass: §B in canon at octave, $\times 1$
Kyrie II	(a 5) cantus firmus in Tenor and Bass: §A&B in mixed rhythm, on G and C
Et in terra	cantus firmus in Altus: §A&B more or less coherent; later kaleidoscope
Qui tollis	kaleidoscope
Patrem	kaleidoscope
Crucifixus	kaleidoscope
Sanctus	cantus firmus in Tenor: §A entire $\times 1$; part of §B down octave, then up 5th, $\times 1$
Pleni	(a 3) A bit of §B, $\times 1$, makes a brief appearance in the Altus
Osanna I	cantus firmus in Altus: §B, $\times 1$
Benedictus	(a 3) No cantus firmus
Osanna II	ut supra
Agnus I	cantus firmus in Tenor and Bass: part of §B in mixed rhythm, broken freely
Agnus II	cantus firmus in Superius: §A $\times 2$, then §B $\times 2$ down 4th

* §A = original *L'homme, l'homme ...*; §B = *L'on a fait ...*;
 $\times 1$ = BSBS in the original; $\times \frac{1}{2}$ = SMSM, etc.;
 octaves as appropriate for SATT clefs.

(which are in three voices). The Gloria and Credo use what I have elsewhere called a kaleidoscope technique: the tune is broken into little bits which are scattered everywhere and audible somewhere all the time in a rather dazzling display of wit and invention (Kreitner 1993). Elsewhere, Peñalosa tends to be more systematic within each section, but without a perceptible overall scheme to the Mass as a whole; the plan seems to be one of playful variety more than anything. Two short quotations will give some of the flavour of this Mass. Music Example 1.4 is from the Kyrie II, where Peñalosa goes, unusually, into five voices, adding a tenor-clef 'quinta vox'.⁴² The Kyrie I has already played around with the A section of the tune, and the Christe with the B; now it is time

42 Imrie's edition transposes the whole Mass down a step, with a key signature of two flats; mine here is adapted from a project that Laura Macy and I undertook many years ago but

47

Ky - - ri - e

Ky - - - - - ri - e

Ky - ri - e

Quinta vox

Ky - - ri - - - - e

Ky - ri - e

52

EXAMPLE 1.4 Francisco de Peñalosa, *Missa L'homme armé, Kyrie II, bb. 47–56*

for the composer to present the whole thing, which he puts into the Tenor, on G as usual, and Bass, down on C. In the *Christe* he had worked out a strict 4-ex-3 canon with the cantus firmus, but here he chooses to keep the pitches relatively faithful to the original while adjusting the rhythm, somewhat in the Tenor, a bit more in the Bass—but not so much that the melody is quite lost. The effect to the ear (mine at least) is of a kind of pleasurable bafflement in the struggle to keep the tune intact as it proceeds at two different times, at two different pitch levels, in unpredictable rhythm, deep within a thick texture.

never published. *E-TZ* 2/3 is miserly with text underlay in its Kyries, so for clarity I have omitted repetitions.

A - - - gnus De - - - i

A - gnus De - - - i

A - gnus De - - - i

A -

8

qui

qui - tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - -

qui - tol - lis, qui - tol - - - lis, qui -

- gnus De - - i qui - tol - lis, tol -

14

tol - - lis pec - - ca - - ta

- di, mun - - di mi - se - - re - re

tol - lis, qui - tol - - - lis

- lis, qui - tol - lis, qui -

EXAMPLE 1.5 *Francisco de Peñalosa, Missa L'homme armé, Agnus 11, bb. 1-19*

Music Example 1.5 shows the beginning of the Agnus II, in which, inspired perhaps by the example of Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*, Peñalosa puts the melody into the Superius, in long note values (achieved via an undiminished \circ metre signature against $\text{c}2$ in the other voices, one of Peñalosa's favourite tricks), floating above delicate, sparing, constantly shifting, imitative lines below, so that the Mass ends, like Josquin's, not with a grand technical gesture but with a long passage of pure ravishing beauty.

It is useful to compare Peñalosa's treatment of the *L'homme armé* tune with Anchieta's one foray into the same tradition, in the Agnus (the single Agnus section, ending 'miserere nobis') of his *Missa sine nomine* (Music Example 1.6). The similarities to Peñalosa—the motivic construction, with little figures passed from one voice to another in a generally sparse texture over a long-note cantus firmus—are significant, but more striking is Anchieta's effort to conceal the tune by putting it into an E mode and stretching its note values so irregularly. Where in Peñalosa's Mass you hear the tune nearly all the time, over and over, sometimes everywhere, in Anchieta's you hear it just once and have to strain your ears to hear it at all. This body of Masses, taken together, is an impressive and still much underestimated monument to what the composers of the royal chapels were trying to do.

The last section of Table 1.3 contains twenty-seven motets.⁴³ 'Motet' is an eternally slippery word to define, so I have allowed myself to be guided by the scribe of *E-TZ* 2/3, who has labelled his sections 'Motetes a tres' and 'Motetes a quatro' in the *tabla* and included some items that we might be inclined to place elsewhere in the liturgy: Peñalosa's *Pater noster*, for example, and settings of the sequence text *Stabat mater* by Escobar and Alba, as well as Peñalosa's *Ave Regina cælorum*. Anchieta's *Salve Regina* is placed in a special category headed 'Salves'—an indication that the growing importance of the Salve service had already pulled this Marian antiphon apart from its companions in his mind. This section contains some of the better-known sacred music by this generation of Spanish composers.⁴⁴

43 Peñalosa's motets have appeared in print three times: Preciado 1986; Hardie 1994; and a pair of performing editions from Mapa Mundi: Knighton 1988 and Imrie 1990. Anchieta's motets are all (but one, discovered since) edited in Rubio 1980; the recently discovered motet, *Congratulamini omnes*, is edited, from the tablature and in reconstructed form, in Knighton 2012a. The two remaining motets, attributed to Diaz/Mondéjar and Sanabria, are both published in Calahorra Martínez 1995.

44 Much of this discussion is derived from Kreitner 2012, which I shall cite only when necessary.

A - - - gnus a -
 gnus De - - i, a -
 gnus De - - - [De?] - - -
 De - - - - -
 gnus De - - - i,
 -i, - - - qui tol -
 De - - - i
 i,

EXAMPLE 1.6 *Juan de Anchieta, Missa sine nomine, Agnus Dei, bb. 1-21*

None of these motets stands out as a technical masterpiece of the order of, for example, Josquin's *Benedicta es*; individually, they strike the eye and ear as very much of a piece with motet composition worldwide, the sort of music that Petrucci was putting out in his motet prints in the first decade of the century. One is in five voices, several in three, most in four—in the Spanish kingdoms as elsewhere. However, stepped back from and looked at as a group, these motets are distinguished from the European mainstream in several ways. The first, perhaps more noticeable in the full texts than the titles, is a certain dark, sombre, morose, sometimes even grisly quality. By my count, five of the twenty-seven motets in *E-TZ* 2/3 (*Ave vera caro*, *Ave vere sanguis*, *Deus qui manus tuas*, *In passione*, and *Precor te*) set vivid depictions of the Passion; three more (*Sancta mater*, *Virgo et mater*, and *Domine ... qui hora*) show Mary at the foot of the Cross; seven (*Domine ... qui neminem*, *Domine secundum actum*, *Emendemus in melius*, *Inter vestibulum*, *Ne reminiscaris*, *O bone Jesu*, and *Tribularer si nescirem*) have a generally penitential cast, several focusing on the day or moment of death; one (*Versa est in luctum*) was a traditional funeral motet; and three (*Lilium sacrum*, *O Domina sanctissima*, and *Sancta Maria*) plead the Virgin's intercession in times of trouble. Possibly some of these statistics have straightforward explanations that escape us now—an otherwise unrecorded institutional tradition, for instance, of creating a new motet for every Good Friday. But neither is it hard to connect this music with the mood of the royal courts from the death of Prince Juan in 1497, to the 'knives of sorrow' that assailed Isabel over the succeeding years as other children and grandchildren died one by one (Liss 1992: 324–46 et passim), to the queen's own death, that of Philip the Fair, and beyond. There was a lot to mourn in precisely these years, and in a rising tide of urgent and emotional spirituality, motets about death and penitence and grieving mothers would certainly have found a tender audience.

Possibly related to all this, or at any rate more conspicuous here than in the happier motets, is an unusually intense rhetorical approach to the texts these composers set. And the best place to see it, even though the motet is unusual for its low clefs (alto-tenor-baritone-bass), length, and problems of transmission, is Peñalosa's *Precor te Domine*.⁴⁵ *Precor te* is a plea to Christ for forgiveness and mercy at the moment of death; the prayer constitutes the beginning and

45 The motet is preserved in three versions: in *E-TZ* 2/3, *E-Bbc* M454, and *E-Tc* 21 it is incomplete, and in *P-Cug* 12 it is shortened even from there; only *P-Cug* 32 appears to give the whole piece; see Kreitner 2011. My edition (2011) of the long version of the motet is available (as of June 2014) as a free download from Mapa Mundi, at <www.mapamundimusic.com/brunoturner.html>. The example here is taken from this edition, but my remarks

end, and the middle is taken up with a truly gruesome description of the physical stages of a crucifixion—set up as a series of short parallel phrases, each beginning with the word ‘cum’. The motet opens in stark, broad, dramatic homophony, breves and semibreves in the original, in the three lowest voices, with the top voice joining, in imitation, in bar 4, all on the text, ‘I beseech thee, Lord Jesus Christ’, ending with a breve and fermata in bar 11; and then the next two phrases of the prayer are given to imitative voice pairs: ‘for the sake of that inestimable love’ to Superius and Tenor, and ‘when thou, the King of Heaven, didst hang upon the cross’ to Altus and Bass. Half a bar’s rest in all voices, and Peñalosa switches to declamatory homophony, again in all voices, and syncopated, drawing our attention suddenly and with a jolt to the beginning of the execution and the first ‘cum’ phrase: ‘with divine love’, (minim rest in all voices), ‘with most grieving soul’, also homophonic and syncopated, parallel to the previous phrase. Then for the succeeding stages of the process, more voice pairs: ‘with most wretched posture’ for Altus and Bass, ‘with troubled senses’ for Superius and Tenor, ‘with pierced heart’ to a sort of doubled voice pair, Altus-Bass then Superius-Tenor, ‘with bloody wounds’ to Altus and Bass, and ‘with outspread hands’ to Superius and Tenor. This brings us to bar 57 and following, the most celebrated part of the piece (Music Example 1.7).

As the agony approaches its climax, ‘with swollen veins’ goes back to four-voice homophony, syncopated and thrown off by a rest, now moving fast, mostly in minims (bb. 57–59); after another syncopating rest, ‘with shrieking mouth’, parallel in rhythm and a little higher (bb. 60–62); ‘with raucous voice’ at first still in homophony, but broader, in semibreves, dissolving into counterpoint as the final gasps give out over a gloriously sustained six bars (bb. 62–68). Meanwhile, for the lapse into unconsciousness and death, a passage of gentle drooping four-voice imitation, in short parallel phrases has quietly begun, ‘with blood-drained face’, ‘with deathly colour’, ‘with tearful eyes’, and ‘with groaning throat’.⁴⁶ The motet goes on from there—in its full version, it goes on for more than a hundred more bars—but this will be enough to show what Peñalosa can do with a powerful and suggestive text.

Precor te is an exceptional case in a number of ways, but I do not think it is a misleading one. Peñalosa’s manipulations of timing, of note speed, of rest

will be restricted to the first part, which is in all sources and all the editions; the full translation, by Leo Franc Holford-Stevens, can be found in Kreitner 2011: 295–96.

46 At the words ‘cum lacrimosis oculis’, the version in *P-Cug* 12—the most familiar version to most people owing to influential recordings by Pro Cantione Antiqua and Gothic Voices—substitutes different words, working its way to a different and more efficient—some would say more successful—ending; see Kreitner 2011.

72

- e, cum mor - ta - li co - lo - re,

- ta - li co - lo - re, cum la - cri - mo - sis

fa - ci - e, cum mor - ta - li co - lo - re,

cum mor - ta - li co - lo - re, cum la - cri -

77

cum la - cri - mo - sis o - cu - lis,

o - cu - lis, cum ge - mi - bun - do gu -

cum la - cri - mo - sis o - cu - lis,

- mo - sis o - cu - lis, cum ge - mi - bun - do

EXAMPLE 1.7 Francisco de Peñalosa, *Precor te Domine*, bb. 54–81 (cont)

placement, of syncopation, of pitch level, of full choir versus voice pairs, of homophony versus imitation—all of these are put to work for a unified rhetorical purpose, and the result, both at short range and over the length of the passage and its growing, then released tension, is both overwhelming and unmistakable as a deliberate plan. The same techniques, if to somewhat subtler effect, can be seen in a good many of his motets, and indeed they can be clearly traced back into the 1490s with works like Anchieta's *Domine Jesu Christe* and *Virgo et mater* in *E-SE* ss.⁴⁷ Maybe madrigalian is too strong, and too glib, a word to use, but it points us in the right direction. The explicitly

47 For more on both of these points, see Kreitner 2012: 462–65 for an analysis of a perhaps more typical Passion motet by Peñalosa, *Ave vera caro Christi*, and Kreitner 2012: 466–69 for a discussion of *Domine Jesu Christe*; see also Knighton 2008b.

rhetorical approach that Anchieta and Peñalosa took to the motet does seem to prefigure the next international generation more than it reflects their own, and it speaks of a more than superficial humanistic background in both composers and in the whole musical community of the royal chapels.⁴⁸

This is, all in all, a significant body of music; it is one of the best things that we still have, five hundred years later, from the courts of Isabel and Ferdinand. And I mean this only partly in the obvious way: yes, I do believe there is some very fine music here, well worth singing and hearing, well worth the kind of patient long-term study that the rest of the Josquin generation has received. Most readers of this book, I would imagine, are already disposed to agree. Yet there is more to it than that: this seems also to be the story of something done on purpose, a deliberate approach to a turning point. Let us consider the edges first and then try to explore the middle.

For the decades before and the years just after Isabel took her throne in 1474, we do not have much Latin sacred polyphony from Spain at all. There are some outliers like Cornago and Urreda, both of them with strong foreign connections, and a few miscellaneous pieces here and there, but not enough to form a very coherent picture.⁴⁹ Loss of sources is undoubtedly partly to blame, but perhaps not entirely. For when we do start to see church music written down in substantial amounts in the 1490s—for example among the anonymous pieces of *E-SE* ss (copied in about 1498) and among the works attributed to Alonso de Alba (d. 1504)—much of it is chant-based and breve-oriented in a way that gives the impression of being just one or two steps away from improvisation around, or below, a steady chant line.⁵⁰ There appears, in short, to be reason to believe that before Isabel's reign and for a while afterward, sacred polyphony in Spain was in large part an improvised art form of a sort that we can only glimpse in the shadows it left in the written sources later on.

By the time Ferdinand died in 1516, however, Spanish composers were not only writing down their sacred music, but also writing music seriously comparable to anyone else's. Maybe they had not quite caught up with the rest of the world in sheer quantity of first-rate music—that would happen with Morales

48 On Peñalosa's correspondence with the humanist Lucius Marineus Siculus, see especially Hardie 1994: 18–25, and Knighton 2002: 234–37 and 245–46.

49 Cornago spent much of his career in Naples and Urreda was born in Bruges; see, for example, Kreitner 2004b: Chapter 5; Chapters 3 and 4 outline the bits of surviving music from the period before *E-SE* ss.

50 I consider these repertories in more detail in Kreitner 2004b: Chapters 6 and 10, and in Kreitner 2014b; for a fascinating parallel discussion of improvisation and Spanish secular music at this general time, see also Fiorentino 2013b, especially part III, and Chapter 13 in this volume.

and the generations after him—but they certainly had something to be proud of in the works of Peñalosa and Tordesillas and Anchieta (not to mention Escobar, Rivaflecha, Ribera, and other contemporaries not directly employed at the royal chapels).

What happened in between, and when, and how? These are the hard questions, made harder by a source situation that does not give much help in establishing any sort of detailed and precise chronology. Such a chronology may gradually unfold as we collectively get a better analytical grip on the repertory, a good deal of which has not even been published yet. But for now, let me suggest four mileposts that may give us a start:

- 1498: Those chant-based anonymous works are not the only Latin sacred music in *E-SE* ss by any means. The manuscript also includes a wealth of Masses, motets, Magnificats, and so forth, by Josquin, Obrecht, Isaac, Agricola, and the rest of their northern generation—some of the most advanced and challenging music of the age—and a number of early works by Anchieta that seem to split the difference between the two, using the basic Josquin toolbox of imitation, homophony, and voice pairs for variety and some rhetorical effect, but not quite achieving the technical polish of the northern music, or of Anchieta's own later works, or Peñalosa's.⁵¹ The Segovia manuscript seems, in other words, to freeze a moment when an old quasi-improvised musical world, an imported musical culture, and a new Spanish experiment were all coexisting.
- 1502–6: The Catholic Monarchs' daughter Juana (known as Juana the Mad) married Philip the Fair of Burgundy in 1496, and the couple made two long trips to Spain in 1502–3 and 1504–6, together with their chapels, which included at various times La Rue, Agricola, Divitis, and de Orto among others. Here, then, were two prime chances for Spanish musicians to

51 To these I would add an anonymous motet *In passione Domine* (*E-SE* ss, ff. 96v–97, which has been omitted from many of the Segovia manuscript inventories (including Anglés 1941/60: 107–12, and my own handlist in Kreitner 2004b: 163–66) on the assumption that it is a *secunda pars* to its predecessor, Anchieta's *Virgo et mater*. However, as Eva Esteve pointed out in her unpublished paper 'Works for the Office by Juan de Anchieta', read at the 2012 Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music (Nottingham, July 2012), it is clearly a separate composition, although very possibly also by Anchieta. In any case, it is in the same general style as his works in *E-SE* ss, though I did not include it in Table 1.3; it is edited in Rubio 1980: 170–4.

mingle with some of the most distinguished composers of the larger stage.⁵²

- 1504–6: Also during this period, Anchieta himself, in his early forties, spent a brief but doubtless intense couple of years at Juana's court, residing in Flanders, possibly visiting England, and living in the company of, again, a number of famous and accomplished northern composers (Duggan 1976). And so far as we can see among his works, the later sacred music—or more precisely, the music in later sources but not Segovia—is of a markedly different, more advanced character.⁵³
- 1510: In this year, the chapter of Seville Cathedral commissioned a manuscript, of at least 246 folios, that is now lost but which at one point would be described as 'Otro libro de misas, de Peñalosa', and which was copied from material in the composer's own possession.⁵⁴ There is no way of knowing exactly what was in this volume, and quite possibly it did not consist only of Peñalosa Masses; but at the very least it shows that enough Peñalosa Masses had been written by that point to dominate such a book in later eyes, which in turn suggests that Peñalosa himself had hit his compositional stride by the end of the first decade of the century.

If all of this holds true, then, it would appear that we can put things into a surprisingly small frame and say that sacred polyphony in Spain shifted from an improvised or semi-improvised tradition of chant elaboration to one of written compositions of remarkable maturity between the 1490s and 1510 or so—and that much of this movement happened at the hands of Anchieta and Peñalosa at the Castilian and Aragonese courts respectively.

The role of the king and queen themselves here is not clear. I know of not a single document to suggest that either of them took any kind of critical interest in music at all. Their children, however, seem to have been a different, and an especially intriguing, story. Just to cite the two best-known anecdotes, both of them apparent eyewitness accounts: the teenaged Prince Juan kept an impressive collection of musical instruments and often spent his afternoons singing polyphony with Anchieta (his chapel master) and four or five choir-

52 For the Burgundian side of this interchange see, for example, Meconi 2003: 29–40; for the Spanish side see, for example, Knighton 2005.

53 I have made this case briefly in Kreitner 2004b: Chapter 7; for more, including much more on his biography, see Knighton and Kreitner, forthcoming.

54 See Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 228–30; Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 92 and 317; and Kreitner 2014a: 262–63 and 300. The full entry, from an inventory dated 1588, is: 'Otro libro de misas, de Peñalosa, arcediano de Carmona, puntadas en pergamino, en marca mediana, viejo'.

boys,⁵⁵ and Queen Juana, despondent after Philip's death, for some time refused to sign any official documents but one, the pay voucher for the Flemish choir, who stayed in Spain with her for two years and were said to be her only comfort in her widowhood (Duggan 1976: 86–88). It is quite possible that the royal children deserve some of the credit for the direction Spanish church music began to take in the 1490s when they were young. But there can be little doubt that the Catholic Monarchs' practice, begun fairly early in their reigns, of hiring Spanish singers for the Castilian and Aragonese royal chapels, rather than importing composers from abroad, helped to allow a generation of native talent to rise unshadowed. Certainly, the development of a native Spanish tradition of Latin sacred music, along northern lines, fits well into the Catholic Monarchs' overall programme of making their united Spain an equal power, politically and culturally, with the other great monarchies of Europe, and with their reliance on and imitation of Burgundian models of pomp and ceremony (Knighton 1987). And certainly, the body of sacred music that survives is well adapted to the dark mood that overtook the courts beginning in 1497. How much of all this was the expressed will of the monarchs themselves, and how much was simply Anchieta, Peñalosa, and the others working to write and sing what they thought their patrons would respond to, may never be known.

In the end, we are left with the music we are left with—which at its best is pretty impressive. One last example, a not particularly famous section of Peñalosa's most famous, or at least his most recorded, Mass: the Kyrie II of the *Missa Nunca fue pena mayor* (Music Example 1.8).⁵⁶

The passage begins a little less than three minutes into the Mass,⁵⁷ and in the echo of a remarkable gesture: for the Kyrie I, Peñalosa puts the Superius of the A section of Urreda's famous song, virtually note for note, into the Superius of his Mass, and at its original notated speed, and then writes three new voices (with occasional little references to Urreda's Tenor) below. To anyone familiar with the song—which presumably would have been almost any courtly listener in Spain in about 1500—the obviousness of this reference right at the beginning, especially as it continues so literally through the whole section, comes as a kind of curious and pleasant shock: we do not quite know whether

55 The passage from Fernández de Oviedo *Libro*, edited in Blake 1975: 123–24, has been cited and discussed a number of times; see, for example, Stevenson 1960: 133; Kreitner, forthcoming; and Knighton and Kreitner, forthcoming, Chapter 1.

56 I have omitted text because the texting of the Kyries in *E-TZ* 2/3 is so approximate as to render any underlay purely speculative.

57 In the standard recording: Westminster Cathedral Choir, dir. James O'Donnell, *Francisco de Peñalosa: Missa Ave Maria, Sacris Solemnis, Missa Nunc[a] fué pena mayor*, Hyperion CDA 66629 (1993).

The musical score is presented in three systems, each containing four staves. The first system begins at measure 64, the second at measure 68, and the third at measure 73. The notation is written in 3/2 time. The first system shows a complex melodic line in the upper staves, with the bass staff providing a steady accompaniment. The second system continues the melodic development, featuring a key signature change to one sharp (F#) in the upper staves. The third system concludes the excerpt with a final cadence in the upper staves and a sustained bass line.

EXAMPLE 1.8

Francisco de Peñalosa, Missa Nunca fue pena mayor, Kyrie II

to be charmed or insulted. Then the Christe goes down to three voices, with the Tenor dropping out and no coherent reference to the song, followed by the fourteen bars of Music Example 1.8.

Here, Peñalosa switches voices for his cantus firmus. He quotes the Tenor of Urreda's A section in his Tenor, again literally, though with two important

changes: in bar 72 he omits a semibreve's worth of rest, so that the C after it, and everything following, comes a beat earlier than in the song; and he ends some six bars before Urreda did. Above this solid structure he does a rather breathtaking paraphrase of Urreda's *Superius*, starting out fairly close to the original and then, phrase by phrase, getting farther away as he goes on. The Bass evokes Urreda's Bass for two bars, then goes its own way, and the Altus is (if only because the song is in three voices) completely new, to create an overall effect of instant familiarity gradually and gracefully dissolving, an inventive and elegant jazz solo over a standard, compressed into less than a minute's performance time. It is the work of a mature master, in full control of his materials and in possession of a playful spirit and formidable powers of invention—and able, evidently, to rely on an audience that would understand and appreciate it all.

Secular Song in Fifteenth-Century Spain

Jane Whetnall

¿Qué se hizo aquel trobar,
las músicas acordadas
que tañían?
¿Qué se hizo aquel dançar
y aquellas ropas chapadas
que traían?¹

Where are the songs of yesteryear,
the melodies and harmonies
we heard being played?
Where are they now, those dancers,
the heft and sway of their gowns
of gold brocade?



Songbooks and *Cancioneros*

The astonishing legacy of polyphonic song of late-medieval Spain is codified in the magnificent Palace Songbook (CMP), which was compiled in stages between 1490 and 1520, and the slightly earlier, and more modest, Colombina Songbook (CMC).² Together they contain a great wealth of close to five hundred mainly secular compositions representing—as far as we know—the repertory of song composed and performed by professional musicians during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs.³

The CMP was assembled in stages over a period of thirty years.⁴ For the purposes of this essay I shall focus on the contents of the original layer (*redacción primitiva* is José Romeu Figueras's term), completed in around 1505. It was

- 1 Jorge Manrique, *Coplas por la muerte de su padre*, lines 199–204 (Morrás 2003: 252). Longfellow's translation of this passage reads: 'Where is the song of Troubadour? / Where are the lute and gay tambour / They loved of yore? / Where is the mazy dance of old, / The flowing robes inwrought with gold / The dancers wore?' (Longfellow 1833: 47).
- 2 Robert Stevenson discusses both songbooks in his chapter 'Secular polyphony during the Reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella' (1960: 201–305). For the context in which this music was performed, see Knighton 2001: 154–61.
- 3 This repertory is augmented with Spanish-texted pieces included in other musical sources, some earlier than CMC, such as the Italian songbook *I-Mc* 871N (Pope & Kanazawa 1978).
- 4 For a description and breakdown of the manuscript see Romeu Figueras 1965, 3A: 7–22; on the chronology, pp. 22–23; see also Chapter 11.

made up of four discrete sections differentiated by genre, after each of which the copyist-compiler left pages and even whole quires blank with a view to filling them later with kindred pieces.⁵ The first section (fols 0v–49r) comprises forty-four courtly songs, all but one of them canciones; the second (fols 51v–87v) consists of thirty-nine ballads and related lyrics; the third and largest section (fols 99v–258v) contains an admix of one hundred and sixteen courtly and traditional villancicos by Juan del Encina and others, and includes a block that seems to have been copied wholesale from a source close to the chapel of the Duke and Duchess of Alba.⁶ The fourth and final section (fols 260v–274v) comprises fifteen devotional lyrics.⁷

Romeu Figueras regards the canción section as the most ‘arcaizante’ (1965, 3A: 7), probably because some of the lyrics had been in circulation for a long time and feature settings by some of the earliest composers (Cornago, Enrique, Urreda). Strikingly, the first few to be copied are the famous ones, with concordances in CMC and the Segovia Songbook (CMS) and often the subject of quotation and/or gloss, whereas towards the end of the series the number of unica increases. Nominally following the dictates of the courtly ethos of the troubadours, these love lyrics fall basically into two modes, complaint and attack, by turns fretful or angry. The tone is set by the opening piece, *Nunca fue pena mayor* (CMP-1, Urreda), and reiterated with variations in others: *Pues con sobra de tristura* (CMP-16, Enrique), *Muy triste será mi vida* (CMP-23, Urreda), and *Mortal tristura me dieron* (CMP-44, Encina). Despair at the lady’s ingratitude becomes bitterness in *Pues servicio vos desplaze* (CMP-27, Enrique), which tips over into invective in the palinodes *Ruego a Dios que amando mueras* (CMP-41, Gijón) and *Plega a Dios que alguno quieras* (CMP-58, anonymous).⁸ This somewhat restricted palette should not be taken as a cross-section of the full spectrum of canción moods: no doubt the composers of polyphony were

5 In the event, the blank leaves were filled promiscuously in stages. There are nine further phases of addition to the manuscript, plus a twelve-leaf insertion of seven pieces taken from an extraneous source contemporary with the original layer.

6 In part of this third section (fols 197v–224v) the texts by Encina, atypically for a collection with musical notation, are often extensive and in drafts that appear to predate the versions printed in his *Cancionero* of 1496 (Romeu Figueras 1965, 3A: 8–9; also 210–11, and note 53).

7 Subsequent phases of incorporation bring the total number of extant pieces to four hundred and fifty-eight. The contents of forty-eight missing leaves can be reconstructed from the index (reproduced in Dutton 1990–91, 2: 503–7) and would have added another ninety or so pieces to the collection.

8 Both of these canciones acquire additional point as they are interwoven with a Latin chant from the liturgy in the tenor voice (see Stevenson 1960: 232, 299). Cornago’s *Porque más sin dubda creas* (CMP-27), with words by Juan de Mena, also belongs in the palinode tradition.

attracted by the strength of feeling in such lyrics, preferring them to the bland paeans of disinterested praise or pledges of undying loyalty.

The ballad section is much more heterogeneous in character, with settings by a younger generation of composers. In no surviving source before the Palace Songbook are ballads grouped together as a genre in their own right, so it is all the more remarkable that they encompass a gamut of different types, from the 'romance viejo', the novelesque, the 'noticiero' or newsbearing ballad, to the courtly or 'artificioso'.⁹

But from the point of view of the literary historian, the most interesting component of the original layer of CMP are the folk songs: direct, spontaneous, and lively, they open a window on to a natural landscape (*So ell encina, encina*, CMP-20) and the cast of characters who inhabit it.¹⁰ In terms of linguistic register, theme, and spirit they are like a breath of fresh air after the brooding abstractions of the courtly lover: they can be playful (*Dindirín, dindirín*, CMP-359, *Pase el agoa*, CMP-363), seductive (*Al alva venid*, CMP-7), tragic (*En Ávila, mis ojos*, CMP-215), coy (*Buen amor, no me deis guerra*, CMP-238), or bawdy (*Caldero y llave, madona*, CMP-249). With the traditional repertory comes the rise of the female voice (*Aquel cavallero, madre*, CMP-350, *No querades, fija*, CMP-240), little heard in the poetry of the court.¹¹ The copying of folk songs increases incrementally with successive additions to the manuscript, being particularly plentiful in Romeu Figueras's fifth inclusion of about 1515.

Juan del Encina tapped into this rich seam of popular song, perhaps initially as part of the programme of entertainments staged at the Alba court, but also in response to the appeal of the pastoral (*Ay, triste, que vengo*, CMP-293). The strong folkloric strain in Encina's work makes it difficult to distinguish between his borrowings from the popular domain—*Nuevas te traigo, carillo* (CMP-281) (see Morais 1997: 57); his villancicos in imitation of their refrains and melodies—*Pedro, i bien te quiero* (CMP-278), *Ya no quiero ser vaquero* (CMP-302); and the boisterous mock-rustic songs that feature in his *Églogas* (shepherd plays)—*Gasejémonos de huzia* (CMP-165), *Ninguno cierre las puertas* (CMP-167), and *Oy comamos y bebamos* (CMP-174). He is also the composer of four of the devotional villancicos that close the initial phase of compilation.¹² Twenty-nine

9 For a typology of the ballads in CMP, see Morley 1945: 282–84. For more on ballads see 'The traditional repertory', below.

10 See Jorge Rubio's essay on traditional influences in the courtly love song in Romeu Figueras 1965, 3A: ix–xvii.

11 But note *El bien que estuve esperando* (CMP-68), a rare example of a courtly canción in a woman's voice.

12 Encina is credited with setting three Marian lyrics (CMP-395, 406, 408) and a villancico addressed to the Three Kings (CMP-412). In his *Cancionero* of 1496 he is named as the author of all but CMP-395.

sacred pieces, under the heading 'Villançicos omnium sanctorum', are listed in the index to the volume (Dutton 1990–91, 2: 507), but most of them are hymns to the Virgin Mary or to Christ Crucified.

The purpose and provenance of the Palace Songbook has not been established, but it clearly constitutes an attempt at comprehensiveness, a register of available songs that gives some indication of the range of repertory—much of it written by the composers of the royal chapels—enjoyed in court circles. Successive accretions reflected new initiatives, the work of new composers, changes in fashion, and many of the added pieces will no doubt have displaced earlier ones.

By contrast, the more limited scope and organization of the Colombina Songbook, which includes a larger sacred element, is consistent with the repertory of a body of professional musicians.¹³ In other respects, the CMC is like the CMP in microcosm. As with the CMP, the standard courtly canción dominates the first part before giving way to the villancico. It numbers twenty pieces by Triana, six by Cornago, and four by Urreda among the fourteen composers who are named in the manuscript or can be identified from concordance with other songbooks; fifty-three works are not ascribed to any composer.¹⁴ CMC boasts some of the best-known canciones of the era: *Al dolor de mi cuydado* by Gijón, *Bive leda si podrás* and *Oyga tu merced y crea* (both anonymous), *De vos y de mí quexoso* and *Nunca fue pena mayor* by Urreda, *Dónde estás, que non te veo* and *Pues que Dios te fizo tal* by Cornago; and one famous villancico, *Mortales son los dolores* (anonymous).¹⁵ It also carries the first recorded arrangement of a traditional favourite, *Niña y viña*, which is lost from the original layer of CMP, and six lines of a song of political propaganda, *Muy crueles bozes dan* (CMC-6; the CMP-103 text has 31 lines), which is datable to 1469. The absence of any composition by Encina, along with the fact that some of the songs they have in common appear with a four- instead of a three-voice setting in CMP, contribute to the accepted view that Colombina predates Palace.¹⁶

13 Over a quarter of its (extant) contents (ninety-five texted pieces) are religious, including parts of a Mass, settings of other liturgical texts in Latin and Spanish, several Marian hymns and two sacred contrafacta of secular canciones.

14 See Stevenson on the anonymous pieces in CMC (Stevenson 1960: 245–49) and CMP (Stevenson 1960: 297–302).

15 Despite its smaller scope, CMC is an important supplement to CMP, which does not include either *Bive leda* or *Dónde estás*; *Mortales son los dolores* figured in the original compilation of CMP with two different settings, but both are missing.

16 '[W]here divergencies exist the CMC can usually be shown to have been the primitive version' (Stevenson 1960: 207).

The sheer volume of the song repertory in these collections defies ready analysis. Although confined to a few decades at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it none the less includes lyrics that go back at least to the 1430s and polyphonic settings that incorporate the tunes of earlier monodic versions. Great strides have been made in recovering the identities and provenance of the composers whose names are known, and in reconstructing an earlier stage in the development of secular Spanish polyphony (Fallows 1992a and 1992b). Less work has been done in matching up the songbook repertory to the repertory of lyric verse that circulated in the courts of Iberia in the decades before the compilation of CMC and CMP. My aim in this essay is to try to bridge the divide between the musical and the poetic records, and provide some background to the sudden and unexpected flowering of song represented by the songbooks.

• • •

The often vast anthologies known as *cancioneros* are our principal source of information about the production of song lyrics up to the time of the Catholic Monarchs.¹⁷ For the greater part of the fifteenth century, when the late-medieval poetic heritage of the Spanish kingdoms begins to emerge, hundreds of short fixed-form lyrics are recorded in these manuscript, and later printed, compendia, from the 1430s until well into the sixteenth century; but the concordance between literary and musical collections is negligible: most of the lyrics in CMC and CMP are without attestation in the literary sources, and vice versa.¹⁸

Verse of all kinds was copied indiscriminately into these *cancioneros*, which are furnished with minimal rubrication. Poems and songs were differentiated by generic labels of the most basic kind. Songs were ‘cantiga’ or ‘canción’, or

17 The most complete register of fifteenth-century poetic material is found in the seven volumes of Dutton 1990–91, to which I refer for the abbreviated forms of manuscripts and early printed sources and, more sparingly, the four-digit ID numbers of individual texts. Dutton lists the contents of the Palace Songbook in a sequence that corresponds to the different phases of compilation (MP4a to MP4j) so from now on I shall give both numberings in citations: thus, for example, *Al dolor de mi cuydado* is CMP-40 / MP4a-25. As a general rule I refer to the musical sources as songbooks and the poetic anthologies without musical notation as *cancioneros*. Titles of songs that survive with a musical setting are presented in italics, while those for which only the verse survives are given between quotation marks. For a chronological overview of the major collections, see Whetnall 2003.

18 I can now revise upwards the estimated number of texts in the *Cancionero general* of 1511 (11CG) that are also found in the songbooks (Whetnall 1989: 197, 204–5), but not by much.

'otra', and anything else was a 'dezir' or a 'pregunta' or 'respuesta'. This is a rather crude simplification: there are of course exceptions;¹⁹ but there was nothing like the range of terminology that existed to distinguish the French songs and dances enjoyed by Pero Niño during his adventures in France in the early 1400s.²⁰ So, where only the name of the author is given in a rubric, the shape of a text has to be our guide to the nature of the composition. The term *cantiga* or *canción*, throughout this period, usually refers to a lyric with an initial refrain or *estribillo* of three to five lines, about half the length of a regular stanza, whereas a *dezir* starts straight out with full-length stanzas, and ends with a half-stanza *fin*, *finida*, or *cabo* (*envoi*).²¹ Latterly, the *dezir* mutated into *coplas*, and in the *Cancionero general* the *canción* was joined by the *villancico*, which refers to a formal subcategory of the *canción*, a lyric with a three-line *estribillo* and usually two glossing *coplas*.²² Another song genre, the *astrophic* Spanish ballad (*romance*) makes an occasional appearance in *cancioneros* dating from the second half of the fifteenth century.

19 In a few compilations, particularly the *Cancionero de Baena*, the rubrics are more expansive. Other song types that occur sporadically in rubrics include *cossaute*, *desfecha*, *estribote*, *lay*, *rondel*, *serrana*, *serranica*, and *serranilla*. (On the *rondeles* and *cossautes* in Fernando de la Torre's *cancionero*, see Le Gentil 1949–52, 2: 279–82.) In rubrics to *contrafacta* and in quoting poems we also find the nouns 'canto' and 'cantar', usually referring to a song from the traditional repertory. The 'copla esparsa' (single-stanza lyric) may also have been destined for singing. Among the types of poem less likely to have attracted a musical setting are the 'carta' (letter poem) and numerous longer pieces with generic titles such as the 'debate', 'perqué', 'razonamiento', and 'testamento'.

20 See Knighton 2008a: 32–33 for references to French song in *El Victorial*. Santillana in the *Prohemio* uses such terms when talking of French poetry (Lapesa 1957: 83), but he does not apply them to any of the Spanish lyrics he mentions.

21 Structurally a *canción* was made up of three elements: an *estribillo* (refrain) followed by one of more full stanzas made up of a *mudanza* + *vuelta*: the *mudanza* ('switch') introducing a change of rhyme scheme, the *vuelta* being a 'return' to the rhyme scheme of the *estribillo*. The usual metrical line was the octosyllable, but a six-syllable line was also in use; half-lines of four or five syllables were often a feature of the *canción*. Two influential studies of the fifteenth-century *canción* are Whinnom 1968–69 and Beltrán 1988, but neither is comprehensive. For a metrical analysis of all the texts reproduced in Dutton 1990–91, see Gómez-Bravo 1998.

22 This use of the label accords with Encina's definition in his *Arte de poesía castellana* (Temprano 1973: 339). Cognate terms 'villançillo' and 'villançete', meaning 'rustic song', are found in earlier *cancioneros*. For the history of the *villancico*, see Sánchez Romeralo 1969, Malkiel & Stern 1984, and Tomassetti 2008. On the meaning of 'villancico' in musical sources, see Pope 1954b and Romeu Figueras 1965, 3A: 8, 33–35, and 136–39.

A Culture of Song

Song was integral to the court culture of late medieval Iberia, the natural accompaniment to every kind of celebration and ceremonial (Knighton 1997: 661). As an essential part of courtship rituals, the composition and performance of song in the courts of late-medieval Spain were as much the province of the amateur as of the professional: 'The truth is that these court poets—most of them members of the nobility—are amateurs. The conventions of elegance and good taste require them to know how to put a song together, to be able to dance, sing and even play one or two instruments. But their knowledge seldom goes any further'.²³ Best documented for their musical aptitude are kings and princes, amateurs par excellence. Most prominent members of the Trastamaran dynasty had keenly developed musical tastes and well-nurtured talents and, in the accounts of chroniclers and humanists, testimony to this effect attaches to the pen-portraits of Juan II of Castile, his cousin Enrique the Infante of Aragon, and, rather poignantly, the ill-fated heir of Ferdinand and Isabel, Prince Juan.²⁴ Juan II, Enrique, and Alfonso V the Magnanimous are all credited with the composition of famous songs that circulated under their names.²⁵ Enrique is probably the only one of whom this is true. He is compared to Orpheus in the *Comedieta de Ponza* and in a Latin poem by an Italian humanist, who pays tribute to the sweetness of his singing and the virtuosity of his playing ('Quid vero dicam de cantu, atque arte sonandi / dulciflua, variaeque sibi?').²⁶

A step down from royalty and nobility, we have the extraordinarily rich chronicle of the musical activities of the household of Miguel Lucas de Iranzo, which has been brought to life and analysed by Tess Knighton (Knighton 1997).²⁷ A constable under Enrique IV with a palace in the border province of

23 'La vérité est que ces poètes de cour—grands seigneurs por la plupart—sont des amateurs. Les lois de l'élégance et du bon ton exigent qu'ils sachent tresser une chanson, qu'ils dansent, chantent et jouent même d'un ou plusieurs instruments. Mais leur science, souvent, ne va pas plus loin' (Le Gentil 1949–52, 2: 307–8).

24 For Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's description of the prince's singing voice, see Anglés 1941/60: 75; González Cuenca 1980: 5–10; and Knighton 1992: 566b.

25 Juan II with 'Amor, yo nunca pensé', one of the best-known songs of the first half of the fifteenth century (SA7–241); Alfonso with a canción and Enrique with two villancicos (LB2–53; 185, 186). On Juan II's musical talents, see Domínguez Bordona 1954: 118; on Alfonso V, see Ryder 1990: 332–39; and on Enrique IV, see Benito Ruano 1964.

26 Giuseppe Brivio (1370–1450), *Epístola*, lines 42–43, *apud* Benito Ruano 1964: 199. For the *Comedieta* see Rohland de Langbehn 1997: 148, lines 269–70.

27 *Hechos del Condestable Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo*, Madrid, BNE, MS 2092 (MN1). This chronicle contains the only secular Spanish piece surviving with musical notation

Jaen, Miguel Lucas's public appearances, in both formal and recreational mode, at banquets for civic dignitaries, at family weddings, and during the festivals of Christmas and Twelfth Night, were invariably marked by singing and dancing, to the accompaniment of hired minstrels and (possibly) household musicians; singing especially was an activity in which the whole company took part (Knighton 1997: 665–71).

But the *cancioneros* themselves provide evidence enough of the musical interests and aspirations of the courtier poets.²⁸ Suero de Ribera lists the ability to sing well and compose verses and rhymes ('bien cantar e conponer / por coplas e consonantes') among the standard accomplishments of the would-be man-about-court (*galán*). To which end,

Flautas, laud y vihuela
al galán son muy amigos;
cantares tristes antiguos
es lo más que le consuela...²⁹
(The recorder, the lute and vihuela are his close companions;
sad songs and old songs are his greatest comfort.)

In the highly charged atmosphere of the court, song is particularly valued for its effect on the sensibilities of the gentler sex.³⁰ In a loving but stern poem addressed to Leonor de los Paños, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán warns her against the danger of looking in mirrors lest she succumb to the fate that befell Narcissus. She may, he grants, gaze on meadows and roses in bloom, but he would rather she listened to 'dulces cantigas de amores', sweet songs of love.³¹ And we see Suero's advice enacted in references to singing as part of the *galán*'s armoury. For example, in 'Yd mis coplas desdichadas' Tapia instructs his poem to go to his lady: 'Remind her of the songs I composed in her service, the verses

outside a songbook, the ballad *Lealtat, o lealtat*. Knighton translates the sixteen-line text and reproduces a facsimile page from the manuscript (Knighton 1997: 662). See also Gómez Muntané 1996b.

28 On *cancionero* references to the professional musicians Martín el Ciego and Villasandino, see Gómez Muntané 2001: 287.

29 From 'Non teniendo que perder' (11CG-88, 'Coplas que hizo Suero de Ribera sobre la gala'), lines 43–44, 57–60. This poem is found in six manuscripts.

30 On the function of words and music as seduction in Renaissance Spain, see Valcárcel 2003.

31 'Prados, rosas e flores / otorgo que los miredes, / e plázeme que escuchedes / dulçes cantigas de amores', from 'El gentil niño Narciso' (PN1–551, lines 33–36; Dutton & González Cuenca 1993: 422–24).

and letters which tell of the suffering she causes me without reward'.³² In Luis Milán's *Libro de motes* one lady requires her partner in a game of forfeits to serenade her in the evening to the accompaniment of the vihuela with 'Nadie de mi mal se duela'.³³ On a coarser note, in the *Obras de burlas* section of the *Cancionero general* Per Álvarez de Ayllón complains of a woman who expected to be paid for her favours: 'I courted you with sighs, with verses set to music, but you wanted to be wooed in cash'.³⁴

But the most eloquent advocate of the role of song in the pursuit of love is Diego de San Pedro. Towards the end of the *Cárcel de amor*, Leriano gives twenty reasons why men are under obligation to women. The seventeenth reason is the gift of song: 'because they organize concerts of music for us and make us enjoy its sweet delights. For whom are sweet canciones set to music? For whom are pretty ballads sung? For whom are the voices arranged in harmony? For whom do we hone and refine all the elements which singing entails?'³⁵

This fervent tribute to the power of song is echoed in the lyrics of other cancionero poets, some of whom show a familiarity with the whole process of composing and performing, and a technical knowledge beyond the level of the casual rhymester. Jerónimo Pinar, for example, references polyphony in an extended musical metaphor:

Es la boz de mi canción
de un dolor que al alma toca:
quel tenor lleva la boca,
las contras el corazón.
(My song voices an ache that comes from the soul;
my mouth sings the tenor line, my heart, the contras.)³⁶

32 'Acordalde mis canciones / que hize por su seruicio, / las coplas y las razones / en que digo las passiones / que me da sin beneficio' (11CG-828, lines 61–65).

33 'A la noche yo quería / que canteys en la vihuela / "Nadie de mi mal se duela"' (Milán 1535: 56). The reference is to *Nadie se duela de mí*, a villancico found in the Elvas Songbook (EH1–16).

34 'yo os servía con suspiro,' / con músicas y trobar: / vos queriédeslo en moneda' ('Con mi crescido cuydado', 11CG-1004, lines 23–25).

35 'La dezisiete razón es porque nos conciertan la música y nos hazen gozar de las dulcedumbres della: ¿por quién se asuenan las dulces canciones? ¿por quién se cantan los lindos romances? ¿por quién se acuerdan las bozes? ¿por quién se adelgazan y sotilizan todas las cosas que en el canto consisten?' (Whinnom 1971: 164).

36 These are lines 1–4 of a 4, 8 canción (11CG-354, LB1–60); see González Cuenca 2004, 2: 453, #344. For similar references to polyphony in Catalan poems, see Marfany Simó 2009: 19.

In a question-and-answer exchange with Jorge Manrique, Juan Álvarez Gato invokes the struggle to maintain harmony between two singers of (semi-?) improvised polyphony:

trabajando que el tenor
con la contra se concierte,
remediándovos, señor,
del amor con el amor,
de lo bravo con lo fuerte.³⁷
(By making sure that the tenor is in harmony with the
contra, you reconcile love with love, the wild with the strong.)

María Morrás has drawn attention to the musical imagery that threads through Manrique's occasional verse.³⁸ Hence the pun on 'prima' (female cousin and top string) in his *esparsa* 'a una prima suya que le estorbava unos amores' ('to a cousin who got in the way of a love affair'):

Cuanto el bien temprar concierta
al bien tañer y conviene,
tanto daña y desconcierta
la prima falsa que tiene. (Morrás 2003: 177)
(Just as good tuning is conducive to good playing, so the false
top string / treacherous cousin damages and disrupts.)

But the most telling indication of Manrique's interest in song is his quoting poem 'Según el mal me siguió', datable to 1470, when he married Guiomar Castañeda Ayala Silva de Meneses.³⁹ Celebrated for the ingenious way in which all the five names of his wife are hidden in the text, it ends four stanzas with the incipit of a lyric reflecting his devotion to her or her feelings for him. He sets the scene in the second stanza:

Tañed agora, pues, vos
en cuerdas de gualardón,

37 Morrás 2003: 205–9, #41, 'Pregunta de don Jorge Manrique' and 'Respuesta de Juan Álvarez Gato', lines 59–63.

38 'El paralelismo entre la armonía melódica y la que deve existir en el amor era fácil que surgiera en el entorno cortesano' ('The analogy between musical harmony and the harmony pertaining to love would naturally arise in a courtly context') (Morrás 2003: 38).

39 'Según el mal me siguió' is found only in the *Cancionero general* (11CG-202; 14CG-221).

como cante a vuestro son:

‘Muy contento soy, par Dios’.

(You play, then, on the strings of our mutual love, while I sing to your accompaniment, ‘A very happy man, I swear’).⁴⁰

The identity of this quotation has eluded editors, but one of the others, *Señora, non me culpéys* is found with a polyphonic setting in the Colombina Songbook (SV1–7).⁴¹

We have it on the authority of one of the most influential poets of the fifteenth century that music was an indispensable part of the business of making poetry. There can be no questioning the sincerity of Santillana’s rhetoric in the dedicatory preface to a collection of his verse sent to Don Pedro, Constable of Portugal, between 1444 and 1449:

Who can doubt but that, just as the green leaves in springtime dress and adorn the naked trees, [so] the sweet and beautiful notes of music clothe and bedeck every rhyme, every foot, every line of verse, whatever its style, rhythm, or measure?⁴²

For the poets, song-making was very much the order of the day, and we should not be misled into thinking that the absence of musical notation from the numerous poetry collections means anything more than that the consumers of these volumes—compilers, readers, booklovers—could not read music, and did not need to.⁴³ In other words, with the *cancioneros* we are in the realm of unwritten music: lyrics sung to a single melody with instrumental accompaniment, or to a melodic line that lent itself to improvised harmonies (see Chapter 13).

The distribution of song texts in the *cancioneros* follows a number of patterns, which range from the occasional inclusion of a short lyric as the envoi to a longer poem to straight runs of lyrics that probably had their origin in a

40 Morrás 2003: 143, #11, lines 13–16; on the difficulty of interpreting ‘gualardón’ here, see her note to line 14.

41 And as *Donçella, non me culpéys* in the Montecassino, Pixérécourt, and Capella Giulia songbooks (MA1–16, PN15–86, VG1–41). The composer is named as Petrequin in VG1 (see Dutton 1990–91, 7: 157, #ID3486).

42 ‘¿E quién dubda que, así como las verdes fojas en el tiempo de la primavera guarnesçen e acompañan los desnudos árboles, las dulçes bozes e fermosos sones no apuesten e acompañen todo rimo, todo metro, todo verso, sea de qualquier arte, peso e medida?’ (‘Prohemio e carta’, in Rohland de Langbehn 1997: 11–29, at 21).

43 Transcribing musical notation was a specialist skill, beyond the competence of the ordinary scribe.

portfolio of sheet music. The song-to-poem or canción-to-dezir ratio varies considerably from collection to collection, and there are other variables too. Many *cancioneros* have prose components—prefatory material, wisdom texts, epistles, and sentimental fiction—as well as a range of verse compositions that could be either poems or songs. The label ‘*cancionero*’ may be a misnomer in respect of some of these poetic compendia, but in three or four manuscripts song lyrics are the main genre represented.⁴⁴

Since few *canciones* are found in duplicate across unrelated manuscript families, we have to rely on secondary or circumstantial evidence to identify the most successful ones, those that received the widest diffusion. The phenomenon of the quoting poem, which survives in surprising numbers in the *cancioneros* of Spain and Portugal, provides the most compelling evidence for the popularity of a given song. Between eighty and ninety quoting poems, or ‘*decires de estribillos*’, written over the period 1430–1516, contain snatches of verse from earlier texts, either singly as one-off quotations or, more often, as set-piece showcases for a selection of songs on a particular theme.⁴⁵

The concordance with songbooks is relatively high for the lyric fragments quoted towards the end of the century, but there is no such unequivocal evidence that the lyrics quoted before about 1460 did in fact circulate as songs. However, the quoted songs tend to share a number of incidental features that serve as criteria for identifying the lyrics of other successful songs.⁴⁶ These include a haphazard pattern of survival, the high incidence of anonymity, and the frequent coincidence with poetic glosses (‘*glosas*’). Half of the twenty-two most-quoted *canciones* of the period 1467–1516 were also the subject of *glosas*;⁴⁷ anonymity, a normal condition of oral transmission, can apply also to lyrics of doubtful or disputed attribution: songs that are, effectively, more

44 See Severin 1994 on the type of manuscript collection for which the term ‘*cancionero*’ (= songbook) is inappropriate. A more sceptical view of the extent to which the *cancioneros* carry the song repertory of the fifteenth century has been expressed by Ana María Gómez-Bravo (Gómez-Bravo 1999a, 1999b and 2000).

45 Neither ‘*dezir de estribillos*’ or any equivalent designation is found in the rubrics to quoting poems in the Spanish *cancioneros*, but see the rubric to João Manuel’s ‘*Ja era casy de dia*’: ‘*Outras suas em que mete no cabo de cada copra huma cantigua feyta per outrem*’ (‘Another of his poems, in which he places a song by someone else at the end of each stanza’) (16RE-195; and see Ribeiro 2001: 356, for other examples). For different approaches to the practice of quotation, see Whetnall 1986: 67–189 and 294–369 (index of quotations); Whetnall 1989 and 2005; Casas Rigall 1995: 171–91; and Tomassetti 1998 and 2000.

46 About a third of all verse quotations are untraced and likely to remain so, despite the sizeable corpus of lyric that is preserved.

47 See Whetnall 1989: 200–201 for a summary of the evidence in relation to the sung component of the *Cancionero general* of 1511. The poetic *glosa*, a genre prevalent at the end of the

famous than their authors. The haphazard pattern of survival entails anything from the complete absence of a text from the literary record to its chance appearance as a flyleaf lyric.⁴⁸ These conditions characterize the transmission history of three of the best-loved songs of the first half of the fifteenth century, 'Cuydados e maginança', 'Ay, señora, fasta cuándo', and the Galician lyric 'Ay, donas, porque hei tristura': none of them was collected in a poetry anthology, so they are all anonymous by default.⁴⁹ The texts of a number of lyrics attested as songs in the songbooks are uniquely preserved as flyleaf lyrics in literary sources.⁵⁰ It is hard to escape the conclusion that the more famous a song, the less likely it was to be written down; unless or until, that is, there was a polyphonic setting to be reckoned with.

This combination of features can be illustrated by reference to one of the chart-toppers of the second half of the fifteenth century, *Pues no mejora mi suerte*, which is found in fragmentary form in the Colombina Songbook (sv1–37).⁵¹ Without formal recognition in any contemporary *cancionero*, its only independent attestation is as a flyleaf lyric in one collection (PN6–37a) and as a probable flyleaf lyric in the transmission history of another (MN19–211).⁵²

century, incorporates the lines of a *canción* at regular intervals into *coplas* with a rhyme scheme which accommodates that of the embedded lyric.

- 48 The term 'flyleaf lyric' is used by Julia Boffey to refer to an 'enormous number of Middle English lyrics' which 'take the form of fortuitous additions made by an owner or reader to an already-completed manuscript, inserted into some inviting empty space left by the original compilers' (Boffey 1985: 28). Boffey does not link the flyleaf lyric with its possible status as song. Not all Spanish flyleaf lyrics originate with the extant manuscript: some were added to an earlier (lost) witness to the transmission. Such is the case with two *canciones* in the *Cancionero de Baena* (PN1–470 and 470bis); see Dutton & González Cuenca 1993: 721, note.
- 49 'Cuydados e maginança' is known from a four-line quotation in one poem (SA7–118) and by its incipit in two others; 'Ay, señora, fasta cuándo' was copied into a notarial document of 1416, and was quoted twice; 'Ay, donas' is preserved only within a gloss in a single witness, but it was quoted three times. On these last two, see Whetnall 1998: 204–5. For a reconstruction of 'Ay, donas', see Tomassetti 2003.
- 50 *La gracia de vos, donzella* is one such case, found only in a garbled Italianate transcription as the last of seven lyrics added to spaces left blank by the scribe in the *Cancionero de Módena* (ME1–125e). In her edition, Marcella Ciceri relegates the interpolated texts to an appendix; *La gracia* is rvb (1995: 7 and 318). For further examples, see Whetnall 1989: 201.
- 51 In Dutton's transcription the surviving text consists of five-and-a-bit lines: 'Pues no mejora mi suerte ... / sospiros ... / hazen mi vida tan fuerte / quel morir mas me conviene / por ver si terna la muerte / lo que la vida no tiene' (Dutton 1990–91, 4: 295).
- 52 The *canción* is the last text copied into PN6, on fol. 140r. MN19 is an eighteenth-century copy of a lost *cancionero*. Once again the poem occurs at the end of the manuscript (fol.

Since both these sources are defective, we must look to an acephalous gloss in the British Library Cancionero to make good the gaps in the songbook text:⁵³

<p>Pues no mejora mi suerte <i>çedo morir me conviene:</i> <i>quicá que terná la muerte</i> <i>lo que la vida no tiene.</i></p>	<p>Since my fortune fails to prosper the sooner I die the better: who knows, it could be that death has more than life has to offer.</p>
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<p>Sospiros, <i>lágrimas, fuego</i> <i>me matan en no dexarme</i> <i>sola un ora de sosiego</i> <i>para poder alegrarme;</i> hazen mi <i>pena</i> tan fuerte quel morir más me conviene, por ver si terná la muerte lo que la vida no tiene.</p>	<p>Sighs, tears, and passion's fire are killers and don't allow me even a single hour's peace to gain heart and recover; so painful is my sorrow that dying would be better, and I might find out if death has something that life doesn't offer.</p>
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The aphoristic quality of the estribillo—part-repeated in the vuelta—is celebrated in quotations: lines 1–2 are put into the mouth of one Diego de Mendoza ('luego cantando viene') in Garci Sánchez de Badajoz's *Infierno de amor*, 'Caminando en las honduras';⁵⁴ Tapia commands line 2 to be sung in 'Si querés que buelva acá';⁵⁵ line 3, 'Quicá que terná la muerte', is the theme of an eight-line gloss by João de Meneses in the *Cancioneiro de Resende* (16RE-25); and lines 11–12 are quoted by Fernão da Silveira in 'O cuydar e sospirar', a collaborative poem of 1483–84, also in Resende (16RE-1–58). A little later on, the estribillo pops up again in an ensalada by the Valencian poet Juan Fernández de Heredia

731r), after three other canciones without attribution. Since these three are by Gómez Manrique, who is named elsewhere in the cancionero, I am inclined to interpret all four canciones as later additions to the original compilation.

53 The reconstruction (in italics) is based on 'No sé si quexe de ti' (LB1–89). As the following poem, headed 'Otras suyas' (LB1–90), is attributed to Pinar in the *Cancionero general* (11CG-881f), we can confidently ascribe this gloss to Pinar.

54 11CG-274, lines 209–10; this quotation has given rise to the assumption that Diego de Mendoza (otherwise unknown as a poet) was the author of *Pues no mejora mi suerte*. On the unreliability of Garci Sánchez's attributions, see Romeu Figueras 1965, 3A: 204, note 7, and passim; Whetnall 1986: 105–7.

55 "Cedo morir me conviene"/ mándese cantar allá' (11CG-831, lines 29–30).

(c. 1485–1549).⁵⁶ Notwithstanding its Peninsula-wide diffusion, the fame of this song was not great enough to ensure the memorability of its first line, which appears variously as ‘Por fuir de triste suerte’ in PN6, and ‘Pues que mi mal es tan fuerte’ in MN19.⁵⁷

Quotation and gloss were not the only ways in which authors acknowledged the pull of a favourite song. The age-old practice of contrafaction—of setting new words to a pre-existing tune—seems to have been a standard option for court poets from the earliest times, the most incontrovertible cases involving folk songs or ballads.⁵⁸ As Le Gentil pointed out, ‘A melody need not have been expressly composed to fit a particular text; it could be adapted to fit several’ (‘Une mélodie n’avait pas besoin d’être spécialement composée pour tel ou tel texte; elle pouvait s’adapter à plusieurs’; Le Gentil 1949–52, 2: 309), and there is plenty of evidence for this in the songbooks.⁵⁹ Contrafacta are more difficult to detect in the literary sources. Without the helpful rubric, ‘mudada por otra que dize “Siempre cresce mi seruiros”’, we should be hard put to recognize Quirós’s ‘Enojaros no es razón’ (11CG-384) as a contrafactum of this famous song.⁶⁰ At first sight the affinity is not obvious, but closer examination reveals some select recycling of rhymes and rhyme words.⁶¹ The expression ‘mudada’ or ‘mudado por’ occurs at the head of some ballad contrafacta in the *Cancionero general* (1511), interchangeable with ‘trocado por’ and even ‘contrahaziendo’, but such signposting is rare.⁶²

56 ‘Que todas las desventuras’, lines 77–80, from the 1562 printing of his works (Ferrerres 1955: 100).

57 Discrepancies between the versions in PN6 and MN19 and their divergence from the songbook text are strongly suggestive of what Barry Ife calls ‘memorial transmission’ (Ife 2002: 80). PN6 is the closer of the two, with a mudanza beginning ‘Sospiros, lagrimas, fuego’, but the next few lines are incoherent and make a poor fit with the vuelta found in sv1. MN19 has a completely different mudanza, possibly representing a second stanza.

58 One of the first examples is Mayor Arias’s version of ‘Alta mar esquivá’, datable to c. 1403, but there are several others in the *Cancionero de Baena* (see Whetnall 1997: 545–47).

59 To cite only early examples: *Pues con sobra de tristura* (sv1–2) is the model for *Pues con sobra de alegría* (sv1–2^{bis}), and *Pues servicio vos desplace* (CMP-27 / MP4a-12), for *El bevir triste me haze* (CMP-454 / MP4j-530) (see Romeu Figueras 1965, 3B: 254, 491); Cornago’s *Señora, qual soy venido* (sv1–22) is immediately followed by *Infante nos es nascido* by Triana in CMC (sv1–22^{bis}).

60 *Siempre crece mi serviros* was glossed five times and quoted twice: it is found in CMP-13 / MP4a-6, sv1–20, 11CG-942, and two late manuscripts, MP2–123 and MN14–51. MP2 ascribes it to Costana; elsewhere it is anonymous.

61 The ‘B’ or second rhyme of *Siempre crece* (in -aros) is repeated in the estribillo and vuelta of *Enojaros*, and the ‘A’ rhyme words of the estribillo (*serviros*, *pediros*) are recycled in the mudanza of ‘Enojaros’.

62 For some examples, see Whetnall 1997: 548–49.

Verbal clues in the opening line or coincidences in the rhyme scheme are usually the best guide to the identity of a contrafactum, whose author will have had a vested interest in making it recognizable. Such evidence is most valuable when it directs us to a model that does not survive in a songbook. One of Garci Sánchez de Badajoz's canciones bears an unmistakable resemblance to a lyric in the Cancionero de Herberay:

<i>Tan gentil vos fizo Dios</i>	<i>Tan contento estoy de vos</i>
<i>que so yo muy más contento</i>	<i>que está de mí descontento,</i>
<i>[d']yr mal librado de vos</i>	<i>porque no me hizo Dios</i>
<i>que d'otra con libramiento.</i>	<i>a vuestro contentamiento.</i>
(LB2–63, anonymous) ⁶³	(14CG-453, 'Otra suya') ⁶⁴

The Cancionero de Herberay is the only full witness to 'Tan gentil vos fizo Dios', but the first four lines are quoted in 'Como quem morre vivendo' by Ruy Moniz in the Resende Cancionero (16RE-251), whence the emendation to line 3. I suspect it is also the song cited as 'Muy contento soy, par Dios' by Jorge Manrique in 'Según el mal me siguió' (see above, pp. 69–70).

Early Polyphony

In most quoting poems the quotation is introduced by a *verbum canendi*, and in one of the most animated of them, 'En Ávila por la A', the lyrics cited were probably intended to be performed on the spot as part of an improvised entertainment.⁶⁵ This poem from the Cancionero de Herberay, and therefore datable to 1463, is central to David Fallows's reconstruction of the Spanish polyphonic repertory of 1450–70: four of the twenty-three texts cited in 'En Ávila por la A' are extant with musical notation in a Spanish or foreign songbook (Fallows 1992a: 23–24). Building on a skeleton team of three (*Lealtat, o lealtat, Yerra con poco saber, La pena sin ser sabida*), Fallows reclaims six further pieces, dating them from witnesses to the texts or settings or from the floruit dates of their composers: *La gracia de vos, donzella, Mi querer tanto vos quiere, Pues con sobra de tristura, Pues servicio vos desplaze, Señora, qual soy venido*, and *Viva, viva rey*

63 See Aubrun 1951: 89, line 3, 'yr mal librado de vos'.

64 'Tan contento' is ascribed to Garci Sánchez in 14CG and LB1–32; in MN14–30bis it is anonymous.

65 For the text of 'En Ávila por la A', see Aubrun 1951: 188–96; Rodado Ruiz 2012: 61–81. See also Knighton 1992: 563–64 and Giuseppe Fiorentino's essay in this volume (Chapter 13).

Ferrando.⁶⁶ *La gracia de vos, donzella and Señora, qual soy venido*, are quoted in 'En Ávila por la A', alongside *Fortune a tort* and *Je suis si pauvre de liesse*.⁶⁷

On the strength of these four identifications, and the fact that three other quotations are introduced as part-songs, Fallows says that 'There seems a good case for believing that all twenty-three [poems cited] were being sung in Spain at the time, and that a fair proportion had polyphonic settings' (1992a: 24).⁶⁸ A fifth candidate for the early polyphonic repertory, therefore, should be 'Non consienta Dios ni quiera', which represents the letter N in 'En Ávila por la A'. This quotation corresponds to the first line of the *mudanza* of a villancico, *Remedio para bevir* (CMP-256 / MP4f-429).⁶⁹

The songs quoted in 'En Ávila por la A' are not the only Cancionero de Herberay texts which need to be taken into consideration. On the basis of internal evidence, Aubrun dated the whole compilation very precisely to 1463, and it is the earliest poetic collection to contain a significant number of song-book concordances: eight other lyrics from the Cancionero de Herberay reappear in CMC and/or CMP (Anglés 1947–1951: ix–xi). For five of them (LB2–54, 57 + 82, 69, 72, 78), the Cancionero de Herberay is the sole literary witness; four of them are anonymous and *Porque más sin dubda creas* is the only one with a known composer, Cornago.

<i>Amor que con gran porfía</i> (LB2–78) ⁷⁰	CMP-35 / MP4a-19
<i>Bive leda si podrás</i> (LB2–119, Juan Rodríguez de la Cámara) ⁷¹	SV1–25

66 For details of other songbook witnesses for these pieces, see Fallows 1999.

67 These French-texted songs are important indicators of Franco-Flemish influence on the development of secular polyphony in Spain: see also Fallows 1992b; Knighton 1987, 1989, 2001: 156–57; 2008; Whetnall 2005: 180–87. For French influence on the poetico-musical culture of the Crown of Aragon, see Pagès 1936; Gómez Muntané 1979; Scully 1990; Knighton 1996–97 and 2011b: 520–28; and Marfany Simó 2009.

68 Six other Spanish lyrics cited in 'En Ávila por la A' are courtly canciones, two are folk songs, and five of the nine untraced items seem also to be traditional-style villancicos or ballads. On the assumption that they too may have had polyphonic settings, Fallows includes them in the Iberian section of his catalogue of polyphony before 1480 (1999: 604–36).

69 In CMP/MP4 the line reads 'No consienta Dios que quiera'. It is not uncommon for the interior lines of a canción to be cited, rather than its opening (see Whetnall 1998: 210 for other examples). Another candidate is *O vos omes*, representing the letter O in 'En Ávila por la A', and identifiable as CMP-232 / MP4f-422 (see Rodado Ruiz 2012: 73, note).

70 It is quoted by Diogo de Marcão in 'Por verdes em que cuidado' (16RE-284).

71 It is found in eight other poetic manuscripts, some earlier than LB2, and is much quoted and glossed.

<i>En el servicio de vos</i> (LB2–76) ⁷²	CMP-36 / MP4a-20; SV1–4–4
<i>Porque más sin dubda creas</i> (LB2–54, Juan de Mena)	SV1–27
<i>Señora, no preguntés</i> (LB2–69)	CMP-39 / MP4a-24, <i>Donzella...</i>
<i>Si dezís que vos offende</i> (LB2–53, Rey d'Aragón a Lucrecia) ⁷³	SV1–4–7
<i>Tan ásperas de sofrir</i> (LB2–72) ⁷⁴	SV1–4–11
<i>Vuestros ojos que miraron</i> (LB2–57, Juan de Mena; LB2–82, anon.)	SV1–4–5

The polyphonic status of the last three of these lyrics is uncertain. Like *En el servicio de vos*, each of them is part-copied into the Colombina Songbook as one of thirteen additional texts copied after *Gentil dama, non se gana* (SV1–4), a 3, 7 villancico, with music by Cornago;⁷⁵ unlike *En el servicio*, none of the three has a setting of its own in CMP.⁷⁶ These and the other added texts could have been sung to the setting of the mudanza of *Gentil dama* (all the added coplas are in quatrains), or maybe together they constituted a sort of quodlibet, a series of alternative coplas that brought their own melodies into the mix.⁷⁷

72 In CMP *En el servicio de vos* is followed by a contrafactum, *Pues por ti Virgen sabemos* (CMP-36bis / MP4a-21). It is quoted by Román (90*CR-6).

73 This canción is ascribed to Carvajales in the Cancionero de Stúñiga (MN54–108). SV1–4–7 consists of the mudanza only (lines 5–8), beginning 'Yo solo sea culpado'.

74 It is embedded in two early glosses, by Francisco de Miranda (PN13–21), and by fray Iñigo de Mendoza in his *Vita Christi* (EM6–1G) of 1467–68; it is quoted by Guevara (see below), by Diogo de Marcão (16RE-284), by Pinar (11CG-875), and in 'O cuydar e sospirar' (16RE-1–58).

75 No composer is named in SV1–4, but the same setting of *Gentil dama* is ascribed to Cornago in CMP-38 / MP4a-23. *Plaze me pues sé que sigo* (SV1–4–3) is another addition with its own setting in a songbook. This is the mudanza of *Tanto quanto me desplaze* (SV1–13), which survives independently only as a flyleaf lyric in a Paris manuscript (PN4–10b).

76 Dutton identifies five of these additions: nos 3 (mudanza of *Tanto quanto*), 4 (refrain of *En el servicio*), 5 (refrain and mudanza of *Vuestros ojos que miraron*), 7 (mudanza of *Si dezís que vos offende*), and 11 (refrain of *Tan ásperas*); for the mudanza of *Dios vos faga virtuosa* (no. 6) see Whetnall 1998: 206; nos 1, 2, 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13 remain untraced.

77 Of *En el servicio* as an addition to SV1–4 Romeu says that, since it is not notated, 'it is possible that the compilers of [the Colombina Songbook] sang it to the [music] of [*Gentil dama*]' ('es posible que los compiladores de *Sev* la cantasen con la [música] de [*Gentil dama*]') (Romeu Figueras 1965, 3B: 264). So also Querol Gavaldá: 'The remaining verses are sung to the music of the first copla' ('El resto de las estrofas se canta con la música de la primera copla') (1971: 38). But see María Rika Maniates's definition of one type of combinative chanson exemplified in the Dijon Chansonniere (1470s): 'a patchwork voice made up of a series of different chanson fragments is combined with an original setting of a *forme fixe* poem' (Maniates 1970: 229).

We are on surer ground with another group of quotations: 'Recontar si mal sentí', by Guevara, has been dated to 1465, only a couple of years after the Cancionero de Herberay and 'En Ávila por la A'.⁷⁸ This means that the six quoted canciones with extant settings may also be examples of early polyphony, even though each quotation is introduced as sung by a named individual.⁷⁹ The texts of the following lyrics are all anonymous.

<i>Ay, que no sé remediarme</i>	SV1-17, CMP-37 / MP4a-22, Juan de León ⁸⁰
<i>Dónde estás, que no te veo</i>	MA1-3, SV1-10, Cornago ⁸¹
<i>Donzella por cuyo amor</i>	SV1-8, CMP-10 / MP4a-5, J. Rodríguez ⁸²
<i>No me plaze ni consiento</i>	CMP-33 / MP4a-18, composer unknown ⁸³
<i>No queriendo soys querida</i>	CMP-22/ MP4a-9, Móxica ⁸⁴
<i>Tan ásperas de sufrir</i>	(see above)

These three sets of concordances between musical and poetic sources account for most of the solid evidence for Spanish polyphonic song before the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel. Having made their first documented appearance in the 1450s and 60s, they were to have mixed fortunes thereafter. *Tan ásperas de sufrir* went on being glossed or quoted intermittently for thirty years and then disappeared from view. Others lived on, in manuscript or in print, till the middle of the sixteenth century: *Ay, que no sé remediarme*, *Bíve leda si podrás*, *Dónde estás, que no te veo*, *No queriendo soys querida*, *Pues con sobra de tristura*

78 There are editions of 'Recontar si mal sentí' (11CG-233; LB1-177) by D'Agostino (2002: 136-45) and González Cuenca (2004, 2: 285-90); see also Rodado Ruiz 1995, and Beltrán 2005. On the date of the poem, see Perea Rodríguez 2001: 43.

79 The poet-narrator offers to sing the last song himself, if someone will provide an accompaniment: 'si tañeren cantaré / con el dolor que poseo: / *Dónde estás, que no te veo*'.

80 Juan de León was active from at least 1480 (Stevenson 1960: 237-39). *Ay, que no sé remediarme* occurs anonymously in *I-BI* Q16 (BL1-120). It is quoted at the end of an *esparsa* by Luis de Vivero (11CG-695). The only literary witnesses are late: LB1-463 (lines 18-31) and MP2-115.

81 It is printed in 11CG-176 and 16RE-241, with glosses by Rodrigo d'Ávalos and Afonso Valente; and it is quoted in five other poems: by Garci Sánchez (11CG-274), Marcão (16RE-284), Pinar (11CG-875), Román (90*CR-6), and Gauberte (86*RL-22).

82 On possible identities for Juan Rodríguez, see Knighton 2001: 342. There is no literary witness to this song. It is quoted by Pinar (11CG-875); by Jorge Moniz in 'Huma música, senhor' (16RE-768, by João Manuel); and by Gil Vicente in *Cortes de Júpiter*.

83 In 'Recontar' the incipit reads 'Ni me plaze...'; there is a gloss by Gómez de Rojas (PN13-41).

84 *No queriendo* is also found in two Italian songbooks. According to Stevenson, 'poetically and musically [it is] one of the choicer items in the Spanish song-collections' (Stevenson: 1960: 242). On Móxica, see Knighton 2001: 339.

and *Pues servicio vos desplace* were all copied into a poetic miscellany of c. 1570, almost certainly from a musical source.⁸⁵

From these small beginnings the polyphonic repertory, it appears, grew exponentially to fill the pages of the Palace Songbook with a great variety of secular compositions, embracing popular as well as courtly themes, on a scale unparalleled in the poetic sources. But polyphony is not the whole story, maybe not even half the story. Evidence from quotations, glosses and contrafacta suggests a whole raft of lyrics in circulation, which may have been sung to simple melodies with musical accompaniment or been the basis for extempore harmonization, and which could explain, as Fallows says, 'the scarcity of the polyphonic record as compared with the copious survival of poetry that seems to have been made for music' (1992a: 25). The search for unwritten music has to proceed from the literary record, which continues to function as litmus paper for the relative success and spread of these songs (see Chapter 13). I shall begin by looking at the evidence for the undercurrent of folk song in poetic sources that predate or are contemporary with the first Spanish songbooks, before considering some of the fifteenth-century poets most eligible for consideration as songwriters.

The Traditional Repertory

Snatches of so-called 'l rica de tipo tradicional' among otherwise courtly verses are one of the clearest markers of the presence of song in a literary compilation. Up to fifty or so such fragments, or in some cases whole texts, of popular or popular-style villancicos have been collected from manuscript *cancioneros* to form the earliest sections of modern anthologies of early Spanish folk song.⁸⁶ Definitions of what constitutes 'traditional' or 'popular' are much disputed, as is the distinction between popular and courtly so carefully analysed by Antonio S nchez Romeralo (S nchez Romeralo 1969). I interpret 'traditional' in the very broad sense of 'a composition which in form or theme harks back to an earlier lyric tradition', and thereby sidestep the question of whether

85 MP2–115, 108, 112, 127, 118, 117 (Labrador et al. 1994, nos 122, 115, 119, 134, 125, 124). For *No queriendo* and *Pues con sobra de tristura*, MP2 is the only literary source. On the significance of this manuscript as a witness to the repertory of fifteenth-century song, see Whetnall 1989: 201–2, Fallows 1992a: 27 and 1999: 604.

86 Alonso & Blecua 1964; Al n 1968; S nchez Romeralo 1969; Al n 1991. Frenk's 2003 catalogue of 'antigua l rica popular' is by far the most comprehensive, but does not order its contents chronologically or by source. For Catalan traditional lyric of the Middle Ages, see Romeu Figueras 2000.

a given text is an authentic culling from the popular, oral repertory, or merely an imitation by a learned poet. If we set aside this concern and regard all such intrusions simply as sightings of song, the current of orally transmitted verse can be seen to permeate the manuscript *cancioneros*, harbingers of what was to be preserved in relative abundance in the Palace Songbook.

The level of interest displayed by court poets is hardly quantifiable in numerical terms, but it is clear that from the earliest times a significant number of them were aware of, and attracted to, popular song.⁸⁷ Some of them are the authors of glosses, others of *contrafacta*, yet others simply quote traditional refrains in their quoting poems, and they include, for the first half of the fifteenth century, Francisco Bocanegra, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Suero de Ribera, Lope de Stúñiga, Fernando de la Torre, and Juan de Torres. Later on we have the sacred glosses and *contrafacta* of traditional villancicos by Gómez Manrique, fray Íñigo de Mendoza, Juan Álvarez Gato, and fray Ambrosio Montesino.⁸⁸

Álvarez Gato is the first court poet in whom we can detect a strong affinity with so-called 'lírica de tipo tradicional', although it emerges relatively late in his life.⁸⁹ For his devotional lyrics he uses the tunes of eight traditional villancicos and one Holy Week sequence, all but three of which are found with polyphonic arrangements in a contemporary or later songbook.⁹⁰ He provides zejelesque glosses to the refrains of *Dime, señora, dí* (MH2-74; see *Ay, dime, señora, dí*, BC1b-122, with music by Pastrana), *Solíades venir, amor* (MH2-83; see Salinas 1577: 344), and to the Easter Sunday sequence *Dic nobis, Maria* (MH2-82; see SV1-79, PS1-129). His *contrafacta*—adapting the words of the refrain as well as composing new stanzas—are of *Quién te traxo, caballero* (CMP-283 / MP4a-190), *Quita allá, que no quiero* (= *Tir' allá, que no quiero*, CMP-6 / MP4a-

87 This is the subject of my thesis chapter 'Traces of Traditional Verse in the *Cancioneros*' (Whetnall 1986: 190–236).

88 Thanks to Montesino's *Coplas* of 1498 and *Cancionero* of 1508, we learn of the currency of thirteen traditional songs, most of which survive with musical settings (see Alín 2005 and Ros-Fábregas 2008).

89 Márquez Villanueva dates the poet's mid-life crisis to the last years of the reign of Enrique IV, after 1471 (Márquez Villanueva 1974: 28–29). He died between April 1510 and 1512; his date of birth has been calculated as some point between 1430 and 1440 (Márquez Villanueva 1974: 15–16, 40–42).

90 The three without a musical concordance are 'Agora es tiempo de ganar / buena soldada' (MH2-79), 'Amor, no me dexes, / que me moriré' (MH2-84), and the carol 'Venida es, venida, / al mundo la vida' (MH2-89); this last exists in a longer version in the pliego suelto 15*NC.

279), and *Nuevas te traigo, carillo* (SV1–59; CMP-281 / MP4a-188) (see MH2–77, 78, 104).

The case of Juan del Encina (1468–c. 1530) is altogether more ambiguous. More than any of his contemporaries, he took inspiration, as lyricist and composer, from popular song, but critics disagree as to how much he borrowed from the traditional repertory and how much he made up on his own account.⁹¹ From the estribillos he has in common with Álvarez Gato and Montesino we can assume that at least the refrain and structure of *Quién te traxo, caballero* and *Nuevas te traigo, carillo* are from the popular domain.⁹² Just as Montesino used *Aquel pastorcico, madre* as the model for three different contrafacta, so *Quién te traxo, caballero* crops up three times in Encina's *Cancionero* of 1496.⁹³ The casual way in which it is first cited, as a *desfecha* to one of his ballads, 'Quien te traxo cavallero / por esta. & cetera' (96JE-107D), suggests that the original song was too well known to warrant printing in full. It reappears transformed as a sacred contrafactum, 'Quién te traxo, criador', with six glossing stanzas (96JE-126); finally, the unchanged estribillo heads twelve coplas in the dialect of stage rustics known as 'sayagués' (96JE-157), a sure sign of learned intervention.⁹⁴ This last is the version preserved with his three-voice setting in CMP (#283/MP4a-190).⁹⁵ The many secular glosses of other traditional-style estribillos in Encina's *Cancionero* ('Montesina era la garça', 'No te tardes, que me muero', 'Ojos garços ha la niña'), for which no music survives, were disseminated in pliegos, while the pastoral villancicos of his own devising (*Ay, triste, que vengo, Más vale trocar, Pedro, i bien te quiero, Ya no quiero ser vaquero*) reach us both as plain texts in 96JE and interspersed with the extraordinary flood of popular songs in the Palace Songbook.

91 On the question of which of his lyrics can be deemed genuinely 'popular' in origin, see for example Jones & Lee 1975: 30; Lama de la Cruz 1994: 143; Bustos Táuler 2009: 325–26. As far as the music is concerned, Miguel Manzano prefers to regard Encina as a consummate imitator of the popular style, rather than a borrower of melodies (Manzano Alonso 1997: 23–26).

92 Manuel Morais (Morais 1997: 57) points out that Encina's setting of *Nuevas te traigo* shares its Superius with the earlier, anonymous and untexted, setting in the Colombina Songbook (SV1–59). See also Stevenson 1960: 270–71.

93 On Montesino's contrafacta of *Aquel pastorcico* and their relation to alternative musical settings, see Ros-Fábregas 2003, 2008.

94 Encina's coplas to *Nuevas te traigo, carillo* also have traits of 'sayagués'.

95 *Quién te traxo* was the model for at least two other *a lo divino* treatments at the turn of the century: CMP-284 / MP4c-299 and CMP-417 / MP4a-256 (and see 14LF-17). All surviving versions of this villancico have the same rhyme scheme: *ABB cddcbb*.

The traditional lyric is barely represented in the *Cancionero general* of 1511, even in the section devoted to the villancico. Although three villancicos in the opening (devotional) section are based on popular songs, none is identified as such in the rubric; one of them is Álvarez Gato's version of *Nuevas te traigo, carillo* ('Dezidme, reyna del cielo', ID3168, MH2-104), here attributed to Nicolás Núñez ('Dezidnos, reyna del cielo', ID6073, 11CG-43).⁹⁶ Otherwise, the only visible concession to folksong in 11CG is a contrafactum by Crespí de Valldaura: 'Villançico ... mudado por otro que dize "Montesina era la garça"'.⁹⁷ The relative absence of popular-style refrains among the villancicos of 11CG may be merely a consequence of Hernando del Castillo's apparent neglect of song lyrics and—in the case of Encina—of works already in print, rather than a reflection of current trends.⁹⁸ There are, proportionately, far more traditional-style villancicos in the British Library Cancionero, a collection that is similar in scope to Castillo's but less than half the size.

From the mid-fifteenth century onwards there is a growing body of evidence that the ballad form was being imitated and cultivated by court poets. The jury is still out on Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, but Pedro de Escavias is a distinct possibility, Carvajales a certainty, and a contrafactum of a Roncesvalles ballad in the Cancionero de Herberay could be the work of Diego de Sevilla or Hugo de Urriés; in 1467–68, fray Íñigo de Mendoza composed a short ballad on the Nativity for his verse *Vita Christi*.⁹⁹ Certainly by 1511 the ballad has been completely assimilated into courtly practice. The ballad section of the *Cancionero general* is structured to showcase these texts, each framed by an introductory rubric and a valedictory desfecha, sending out a clear signal about the role of the genre and its function in generating new verse: glosses, contrafacta and continuations of romances viejos.¹⁰⁰ Twenty different authors are featured,

96 The two other popular-style refrains are 'Si me parto, madre mía' (11CG-11D) and 'No lloreys, madre' (11CG-20). The second of these is admitted as a correspondencia by Frenk for 'No me lloreys, madre' (2003: #862), but it has a closer congener in 'No lloreis, casada' (Alín 1968, #723, from a pliego suelto of 1592).

97 *Tan subida va la garça* (11CG-684; see Frenk 2003: #515). Mossén Crespí adheres to the same rhyme scheme (and rhymes) as the first four glossing coplas of Encina's version (96JE-148).

98 See Whetnall 1989: 203 and Whetnall 1995: 510–11.

99 On Rodríguez del Padrón, see Pérez Priego 1995. On ballad texts ascribed to the other poets and references to romances viejos or noticieros in the work of Mena, Guevara, and Álvarez Gato, see Morley 1945 and Di Stefano 1993: 11–20.

100 On the ballads of the *Cancionero general*, see especially Aubrun 1984 and Orduna 1989. The balance is different in the British Library Cancionero: only five of the twenty ballads are 'romances trovadorescos'. See Di Stefano 1993: 23–25 and 1996 on the different

among them poets well represented elsewhere in the compilation and close to contemporary with it: Nicolás Núñez, Jerónimo Pinar, Quirós, Diego de San Pedro, Soria, Lope de Sosa, Tapia, and Luis de Vivero.

When we come to compare the ballads in the literary sources with the ballads in CMP, we find that numbers are similar and, although the actual concordance is small, on the whole the courtly choices are remarkably consistent.¹⁰¹ It seems that the poets and composers of polyphony were drawn to the same cluster of traditional ballads—whether attracted by their melodies or their potential for glossing or reworking *a lo cortesano*. Among the romances viejos in both sets of sources are two lyrical ballads, *Fonte frida* and *Por mayo era, por mayo*. There is also a shared preference for short sections of what are later to emerge as much longer texts. Thus *Dígasme tú, ell amor d'engaño* in CMP and 'Dígasme tu, el pensamiento' in ICG are both contrafacta of 'Dígasme tú, el hermitaño', from the Lanzarote ballad; *Pésame de vos, el conde*, part of *Conde Claros* in CMP, is glossed by Francisco de León in ICG; another passage from *Conde Claros* in ICG, 'Más embidia he de vos, conde', could have been sung to the CMP setting of *Pésame*.¹⁰²

As ever, contemporary quotations are an important supplementary witness to the popularity of particular ballads in court circles. In his *Juego trobado*, Pinar cites both *Pésame de vos, el conde* and 'Dígasme tú, el hermitaño'. In his *Gramática* of 1492, Antonio de Nebrija quotes the opening quatrains of two versions of 'Dígasme, tú'; *Morirse quiere Alexandre* survives uniquely in CMP, but it is also quoted twice by Nebrija, and by Pinar.¹⁰³ The courtly ballad *De la vida deste mundo*, also unique to CMP, is quoted by Costana in 'Al tiempo que se levanta' (MT1–12).¹⁰⁴

These were by no means the only ballads in circulation at the time. Among the wealth of texts preserved decades later in pliegos sueltos or the first romanceros, or in the accounts of historians, are the romances noticieros, whose internal details allow them to be dated close to the actions which they describe, from the late fourteenth century to the final stages of the

character of these compilations with respect to their choice of ballads. On the handling of ballad conventions by court poets, see Di Stefano 1993: 19; and Dumanoir 1998, 2004.

101 For an analysis of the ballads in CMP, see Romeu Figueras 1965, 3A: 69–76; Orduna 1992; Di Stefano 1993: 25–28. On the ballad music of CMP, see Sage 1976.

102 On the music of this ballad, see Pope 1953.

103 For the ballad quotations by Nebrija, see González-Llubera 1926: 58, 64, 125.

104 See Knighton 1992: 572–74 for a discussion of the performance practice described in the ICG version of this poem and a transcription of *De la vida deste mundo* (CMP-121 / MP4a-67).

Reconquista.¹⁰⁵ The Palace Songbook features nine of these, most of which proved to be short lived, even the stately *Sobre Baza estaba el rey* of 1489.¹⁰⁶ With the exception of Encina's *Qué's de ti, desconsolado* (CMP-74 / MP4a-45; 96JE-106), a lament by the last Moorish king of Granada, there are no frontier ballads in the literary sources.¹⁰⁷

The Songwriters

From at least the late fourteenth century and throughout the fifteenth century, an unknown number of court poets in the Spanish kingdoms were writing the words for songs. We may count among them all the authors of ballads, of contrafacta, glosses, serranillas, quoting poems, and of short fixed-form lyrics that are quoted or copied by others—especially those who wrote poems in two or more of these categories. Whether or not any of them composed the melodies for their lyrics we can at least be sure that the intention was there. After all, as Le Gentil says, 'What use would all those musicians be, living alongside the poets, if not to set their best songs to music?' ('[À] quoi auraient servi tous ces musiciens qui vivaient autour des poètes, sinon à mettre en musique les meilleures de leurs chansons?'; Le Gentil 1949–52, 2: 308). At a conservative estimate there are well over a hundred poets who fit these criteria, but for the purposes of this essay I shall take my cue from the concordance with songbooks and consider a selection of names whose lyrics are preserved in three- or four-voice polyphony, albeit anonymously and sometimes decades after their likely date of composition.

In the polyphonic record, the generation of poets active during the reign of Juan II of Castile (1406–54) and Alfonso V of Aragon (1416–58) are represented by Santillana (1398–1458), Juan de Mena (1411–56), and Juan Rodríguez del Padrón (fl. 1415–40), who have one canción each in the Palace Songbook. These are, respectively, *Señora, qual soy venido* (CMP-52 / MP4a-34), *Oyga tu merced y crea* (CMP-28 / MP4a-13), and *Muy triste será mi vida* (CMP-23 / MP4a-10)

105 On the romances noticieros that can be authenticated in this way, see Di Stefano 1993: 30–32.

106 According to Romeu Figueras (1965, 3A: 72), none of the romances noticieros in CMP became traditional.

107 The frontier ballad is the subject of a classic study by Angus Mackay (1976). On the composition and performance of ballads during the latter stages of the Granadine wars see Knighton 1989: 355–57; Knighton 1992: 576–78; and Knighton 2001: 158–59.

(Romeu Figueras 1965, 3A: 202–3).¹⁰⁸ For Stevenson, the choice of these texts is a mark of the good literary taste of their composers (Stevenson 1960: 251), but it is probable that, along with a number of other early pieces in the song-books—*Ay, que no sé remediarme*, *La gracia de vos, donzella*, *Tan ásperas de sufrir*—the lyrics had already had successful outings in the oral repertory before they were picked up and given new settings or additional voices by the composers of polyphony.¹⁰⁹

My reason for thinking this is partly their great age and partly their poor showing in the written records: even Santillana's canciones and serranillas had little written dissemination outside his personal cancioneros (Lapesa 1978: 44; Pérez Priego 1990). Oblique confirmation that one of his serranillas circulated as a song, perhaps soon after he wrote it, has recently come to light.¹¹⁰ 'En toda la Sumontana' (Serranilla 11) is named as the melody for a Sephardic *piyut* (hymn) in a manuscript compiled in Aragon in the first half of the fifteenth century.¹¹¹ Edwin Seroussi transcribes the two texts alongside each other to show how the Hebrew lyric follows the shape and rhyme scheme and even the rhymes of its model (Seroussi 2005: 392–94).¹¹²

Two other poets who belong to this first generation of fifteenth-century songwriters are Gómez Manrique (1412–c. 1490) and the bilingual Pere Torroella (c. 1420–92), both of whom wrote influential quoting poems. But since they lived on into the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, it is difficult to assign even approximate dates to much of their work. Torroella is the author of *Yerra con poco saber* (MA1–4, EM2–94), an early example of Spanish polyphony, and Manrique of two popular-style villancicos—one glossing a traditional lullaby, 'Callad, fijo mío chiquito', in his famous *Representación al Nacimiento de*

108 *Señora, qual soy venido* is also found in sv1–22; *Oyga tu merced y crea* in sv1–12 and sg1–187; and *Muy triste será mi vida* in sv1–11. From the Colombina Songbook we can add a second canción for Santillana: *Dios vos faga virtuosa* (sv1–4–6); and for Juan Rodríguez: *Bive leda si podras* (sv1–25); and two for Mena: *Porque más sin dubda creas* (sv1–27) and *Vuestros ojos que miraron* (sv1–4–5). *Dios vos faga virtuosa* and *Vuestros ojos que miraron* are not entered with settings of their own, but among the additional texts copied into the Colombina Songbook after *Gentil dama, non se gana* (sv1–4). See notes 75 and 76 above.

109 On the likely history of *La gracia* see Fallows 1992a: 25; and on the fate of traditional songs when adopted by court composers, see Chapter 13.

110 The composition of this particular serranilla has been dated to 1429 (Lapesa 1957: 52).

111 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mich. 155, fol. 117a. See Seroussi 2005 for a bibliography related to the Spanish tonadas mentioned in this manuscript.

112 'En toda la Sumontana' is found in SA8 and MN8; see Pérez Priego 1999: #2.

Nuestro Señor,¹¹³ the other, ‘Ay dolor, dolor, / por mi fijo y mi señor’, the refrain of his Holy Week *Lamentaciones*, echoes the burden of a Catalan *zéjel*, ‘Ay amor, amor, amor, / quant serem los dos de vn cor’.¹¹⁴ Each of them may be responsible for one of the canciones in CMP (see note 116, below). Another name to add is that of Carvajales, the author of two ballads and five serranillas, who wrote wooing poems on behalf of Alfonso V in the 1450s, one of which provides a quatrain for the quodlibet version of *Gentil dama, non se gana* in the Colombina Songbook (SV1–4–7).¹¹⁵

During the shorter reigns of Enrique IV of Castile (1454–74) and Juan II of Aragon (1458–79), Gómez Manrique and Pere Torroella are joined by the generation of poets born in the 1430s and 40s.¹¹⁶ Jorge Manrique (c. 1440–79) and Nicolás de Guevara (c. 1440–1504) both wrote short fixed-form lyrics as well as significant quoting poems. No lyric convincingly ascribed to either is found in a musical source, but Don Jorge’s ‘No sé por qué me fatigo’ was quoted by Garci Sánchez, glossed by Mossén Gazull and by Francisco de Sa, and printed twice in the *Cancionero general*. One of Guevara’s canciones, ‘Donde amor hiere cruel’ was quoted by Garci Sánchez and by Pinar; another is a contrafactum of *Yerra con poco saber*.¹¹⁷ Juan Álvarez Gato (c. 1435–c. 1510), who, like Gómez Manrique, wrote sacred lyrics to the tunes of traditional songs, ought to be a strong contender for song-writing status in the secular domain, but I have been unable to find evidence of a musical dimension to any of his earlier love poems.

113 ‘Calladvos, señor’ (MP3–72–1, ‘Cançion para callar el niño “Callad fijo mio chiquito”’); see Vidal González 2003: 667–68.

114 The *Lamentaciones* (MN19–18) consists of a series of monologues by the Virgin Mary and St John, interrupted by the refrain after every stanza (Vidal González 2003: 674–78). The anonymous Catalan lyric is unique to the *Cancionero de Íxar* (MN6d–107).

115 This is ‘Yo solo sea culpado’, the mudanza of *Si dezís que vos ofende*, attributed to Carvajales in MN54–108, and to the ‘Rey d’Aragón’ [Alfonso V] in LB2–53. We have no biographical data for Carvajales (Salvador Miguel 1977: 55–56).

116 Five poets straddling the reigns of Enrique IV and the Catholic Monarchs are named by Romeu Figueras (1965, 3A: 203–5) as possible authors of lyrics in CMP, but the ascriptions to Gómez Manrique of CMP-523 / MP4f-452, to Torroella of CMP-27 / MP4a-12, to Cardenal Pedro González de Mendoza of CMP-8 / MP4a-4, and to Jorge Manrique of CMP-42 / MP4a-27 are purely speculative. The apparently safe attribution of *Nunca fue pena mayor* (CMP-1 / MP4a-1) to the Duke of Alba is challenged by Dutton (1990–91, 7: 322).

117 Guevara’s witty endorsement of the misogynistic sentiments of *Yerra con poco saber* is ‘Hermano, tu bien querer’ (LB1–173, ‘Guevara’).

Poet-Songwriters of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabel

On the basis of literary concordances, chiefly with the *Cancionero general* or the British Library Cancionero, Romeu Figueras was able to ascribe authorship of lyrics in CMP to thirteen poets active during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs.¹¹⁸ With better resources than were available to him, we can point to corroborating evidence that some of them, and other well-known contemporaries, were writing poems that were set to music. Soria, for example, has twenty-four canciones to his name in the *Cancionero general*, not one with a musical concordance, but *Encúbrase el mal que siento* (11CG-656), one of his eight villancicos, is copied with a polyphonic setting in the Barcelona songbook (BC1b-120). However, this process of identification is a serendipitous business. *Cómo se puede partir*, a villancico in a Paris songbook (PS1-37), is ascribed to Nicolás Núñez in LB1-164, but to the Comendador Stúñiga in 11CG-657. One of six canciones attributed to Diego de San Pedro, *En mi grave sufrimiento* (11CG-297), is found with a musical setting in a Portuguese songbook of c. 1530-50 (LN1-29) (see Rees 1994-95); the same canción is attributed to Cardinal Don Pedro González in MP2-114.¹¹⁹

Since many such ascriptions are unreliable, it is perhaps simpler to fall back on the evidence provided by general conditions relating to the work of these poets. Tapia is the author of at least twenty canciones, three of which are cited by Pinar in 'Tome vuestra magestad';¹²⁰ but chaos attends three other canciones he may have written.¹²¹ He also wrote glosses of *Oyga tu merced y crea* (CMP-28 / MP4a-13) and *Fonte frida* (CMP-142 / MP4a-78).¹²² San Pedro wrote

118 The Vizconde de Altamira, the Conde de Lemos, and Diego de San Pedro are identified as the authors of two pieces. The following are named as the authors of one song each: Comendador Ávila, the Marqués de Astorga, Badajoz 'el músico', the Conde de Cifuentes, Lucas Fernández, Gabriel Mena 'el músico', Quirós, Lope de Sosa, Juan de Stúñiga, and Tapia (Romeu Figueras 1965, 3A: 205-9). Romeu Figueras provides an excellent biographical summary for each of the poets profiled, but as he cites the lyrics by CMP number rather than incipit, the discussion is difficult to follow.

119 It is also copied anonymously in two manuscripts, MN14-56 and SA10b-154.

120 In stanzas 32, 33, and 36: 'Si en deziros mi querella' (LB1-391), 'Presente pido ventura' (11CG-310, LB1-395, OA1-17), and 'Tened por fe mi quereros' (LB1-386).

121 There is a conflict of attributions between Tapia and Núñez over 'Dí, ventura, qué te he hecho' (11CG-922, Tapia; LB1-159, Núñez; MN14-48, anonymous; it is glossed 11CG-923); the conflict is with Cartagena over *Descuidad ese cuydado* (11CG-638, Tapia; LB1-212, Cartagena; MP4a-239, anonymous); and with Luis de Vivero over 'Temor y dolor se combaten' (LB1-369, Tapia; 11CG-279, Vivero).

122 In 11CG-41 (+ LB1-367, VM1-19) and 11CG-440 (+ LB1-379), respectively.

the words to contrafacta of two traditional ballads (11CG-446, 'Reniego de ti, amor'; 11CG-445, 'Yo m'estava en pensamiento').¹²³ Nicolás Núñez wrote a contrafactum of *Dormiendo está el cavallero* (MP4a-66). Jerónimo Pinar was an inveterate glosser of ballads, such as 'Rosa fresca' and 'Yo m'era mora morayma', and canciones, including *Pues no mejora mi suerte* and 'Deconsolado de mí', and the author of a canción on a musical theme, 'Es la boz de mi canción' (see p. 68, above). In his *Juego trobado*, 'Tome vuestra magestad', he cites forty-six songs by first line or paraphrase, nearly a third of which are found in CMC or CMP; this tour de force alone is sufficient to suggest a poet steeped in song culture (see Chapters 13 and 14). The extant compositions of all these *Cancionero general* poets, even where they lack a concordance in the songbooks, testify to the pervasive interest in song in the community for which they wrote.

Juan del Encina (1468–c. 1530)

In terms of surviving records—in part thanks to his own *Cancionero*—Juan del Encina is the most prolific songwriter of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel, 'the individual best represented as both composer and lyricist in the Palace Songbook, as well as one of the most typical artists of the era in which he lived'.¹²⁴ He also dominates the small Spanish component of the Segovia Songbook (SG1), which contains a high proportion of works by Franco-Netherlandish composers.¹²⁵

Encina is credited with the arrangements of sixty-one compositions in CMP, for half of which he also wrote the lyrics, but he may have been the composer of up to four more; and he can be identified as the author of the lyrics of thirteen others, since they figure in his *Cancionero* of 1496 (96JE).¹²⁶ Most of these pieces occur in the section of the songbook that Romeu Figueras believes derives from sources close to the Alba court, and which were in the main composed between 1492 and 1496 (Romeu Figueras 1965, 3A: 210–11, and n. 53). With Encina we seem to witness the final transition of the favoured song format from canción to villancico: there are twice as many villancicos as canciones

¹²³ On Diego de San Pedro's ballads, see Severin 2003.

¹²⁴ 'el autor mejor representado como músico y como poeta en el CMP y al mismo tiempo uno de los artistas más representativos del momento cultural en que vivió' (Romeu Figueras 1965, 3A: 209).

¹²⁵ On Encina's presence in SG1, see Lama de la Cruz 1994: 88–89; on the dating of the manuscript, pp. 122–30; but see Chapter 11 in this volume.

¹²⁶ Romeu Figueras 1965 3A: 210, and nn. 47, 48. This is almost certainly an underestimate. Jones & Lee include seventy songs in the 'cancionero musical' of their edition (Jones & Lee 1975: 275–373); see also Morais 1997.

in his *Cancionero*. And only two of the thirty-odd canciones in 96JE are preserved with polyphonic settings: *Es la causa bien amar* (CMP-46; 96JE-81) and *Soy contenta i vos servida* (CMP-50; 96JE-118).

In 1498 Encina left for Italy and did not reappear in Spain until 1509. His absence from Spain while he was in Rome could partly account for the fact that none of his lyrics figures as the subject of gloss or quotation in the period up to 1511.¹²⁷ Although he may have changed the face of Spanish music, the impact had yet to be felt by his fellow poets. Repeated printings of his *Cancionero* during his lifetime—in 1501, 1505, 1507, 1509 and 1516—and of various poems in pliegos sueltos presumably reflected popular demand for his poetry, but his musical output may have known only restricted distribution beyond court circles.¹²⁸ One mark of enduring success is an anonymous contrafactum of *Pedro, i bien te quiero*, which is found in a *cartapacio* of c. 1578.

Pedro, i *bien te quiero*,
maguera vaquero.

Señora, *vyen os quiero*
y por veros muero.

—As tan bien bailado,
corrido y luchado,
que m'as enamorado,
y d'amores muero.
[Pedro, i *bien te quiero*,
maguera vaquero.]¹²⁹

Estoy catyvado,
prendydo y tomado
que estoy muy trocado
de my ser primero.
Señora, *vyen os quiero*
y por veros *muero*.¹³⁰

Otherwise the longest-lasting of Encina's villancicos seem to have been *Dos terribles pensamientos* (lost from CMP-465 / MP4a-100), according to Jones (1976: 103–5), and *Ya no quiero ser vaquero* (CMP-302 / MP4a-199; SG1-184), according to Labrador Herraiz & DiFranco (1996: 410).¹³¹

¹²⁷ Twenty-six quoting poems found in early printed sources up to 1516 include citations from the work of at least ten identifiable poets, but nothing by Juan del Encina (Whetnall 1986: 152).

¹²⁸ See Jones 1976 on the posterity of Encina up to the seventeenth century; he makes no distinction between the songs and the poems.

¹²⁹ CMP-278 / MP4a-186 (Romeu Figueras 1965, 3B: 384–85). There are four further stanzas of dialogue between Pedro and 'nuestrama' ('our mistress').

¹³⁰ MP7-64, 'Vyllançico'. The manuscript is a factitious volume, made up of several parts (see Dutton 1990–91, 2: 600). The section of 'antiguas canciones' occupying fols 228–58 is not included in Labrador Herraiz & DiFranco's edition (2007).

¹³¹ A possible contrafactum of *Ya no quiero ser vaquero* is *Ya no quiero ser pastora*, in a Portuguese songbook of 1522–25 (PS1-98); but the two estribillos do not quite match. *Ya no quiero ser pastor* in the same manuscript (PS1-17), is the incipit of a 4, 8 canción.

Garci Sánchez de Badajoz (c. 1460–c. 1526)

Until a decade or so ago, Juan del Encina stood alone as the only significant poet-composer of the late fifteenth century, head and shoulders above Gabriel Mena and Badajoz el Músico (Romeu Figueras 1965, 3A: 209). But one of the most exciting developments in recent years has been the identification of Badajoz el Músico with Garci Sánchez de Badajoz, renowned poet and vihuela player, and the single most popular lyricist of the cancionero era with sixteenth-century audiences, poets, and musicians.¹³²

Working independently of each other, Martin Cunningham (1999) and Emilio Ros-Fábregas (2003) arrived almost simultaneously at complementary narratives that link Garci Sánchez to an important musical production. Cunningham, while bowing to the weight of opinion that insisted on differentiating him from Badajoz el Músico, shows how Garci Sánchez's verse is infused with references to songs and singing (Cunningham 1999: 50–51) and argues that his musicianship, including some original melodies, underpinned the success of his many lyrics with later composers (Cunningham 1999: 48–49, 56). Ros-Fábregas, for his part, begins by dismissing the identification of Badajoz el Músico with João de Badajós, a musician of the court of João III of Portugal, on grounds of achronicity (Ros-Fábregas 2003: 59–60); he brings the date of Garci Sánchez's birth forward to 1450–60 from the c. 1480 proposed by Gallagher (Gallagher 1968: 3–7), to allow for the fact that he was addressed in a poem by Cartagena, who died in 1486 (Ros-Fábregas 2003: 62, citing Dutton 1990–91, 7: 433); and he demolishes the case for two separate individuals named Badajoz in the *Cancionero general*.¹³³

The implications of this identification have still to be fully explored. As a musician, Garci Sánchez seems to have operated on two fronts. In the first instance he composed melodies for his own lyrics, some of which—*De mi dicha no se espera, Lo que queda es lo seguro, Secáronme los pesares*—after circulating as pieces for solo voice with vihuela accompaniment, were later

¹³² Out of fifty-odd poets whose popularity in sixteenth-century sources is charted by Labrador Herraiz & DiFranco, Garci Sánchez is the most successful, with thirteen songs enjoying particular popularity: 'trece canciones [suyas] revelan el gusto con que músicos, poetas y público las acogieron desde el principio y las continuaron cantando después durante mucho tiempo' (Labrador Herraiz & DiFranco 1996: 368).

¹³³ This is the main reason for distinguishing between the two given by, for example, Stevenson (Stevenson 1960: 288). The variation in nomenclature derives from the sources used by Castillo, who admits uncertainty about attributions in his foreword to the volume (Ros-Fábregas 2003: 60–61). On Badajoz as the author of a verse carta written from Genoa, see Dutton 1990–91, 7: 33, and Knighton 2001: 324.

embedded in arrangements by fellow musicians Escobar and Peñalosa (Ros-Fábregas 2003: 64); two such lyrics—*Lágrimas de mi consuelo* and *O dulce contemplación*—went on to attract polyphonic settings by Renaissance composers such as Vásquez (Cunningham 1999: 52–54). But Garci Sánchez seems also to have arranged polyphonic settings for canciones and villancicos by other authors, not just his own.¹³⁴ The integrity of his standing as a poet will only be satisfactorily established when someone has undertaken a thorough stylistic analysis of all the lyrics.

It is odd that there is no coincidence of texts between the small body of lyrics associated with plain Badajoz in CMP or Badajoz el Músico in IICG and the more substantial corpus attributed to Garci Sánchez across the poetic collections, often in multiple copies.¹³⁵ The ascription of the same piece of writing to Garci Sánchez in one source and to Badajoz in another would have constituted definitive proof and no doubt speeded up the long-delayed process of identification, which had been entertained by earlier scholars but never caught on (Gallagher 1968: 30–31). More significantly, this anomaly suggests a split in the transmission, even within the output of an individual poet-composer: some of Garci Sánchez's songs were set polyphonically and some were not, and the extant records reflect two divergent lines of transmission. As Cunningham says, 'it would be a mistake to think that, because our surviving evidence for music in the period of the *cancioneros* consists of settings for several voices, such was the only performance option for composers or for poets whose texts were going to be performed' (Cunningham 1999: 55).

This consideration should inform any new approach to the lyrics of the *Cancionero general*. If Hernando del Castillo appears to have disregarded most of the famous canciones of his day, it is not because they were songs; but because they were songs they eluded him.¹³⁶ Given the haphazard transmission of song texts throughout the fifteenth century, a proportion of the most famous ones will have been missing from the sources Castillo had to hand or

134 Of the eight songs set by Badajoz in CMP, only *Sospiros, no me dexéis* (CMP-345 / MP4e-342) is ascribed to Badajoz el Músico in IICG-669. He may not be the author of the remaining seven: *Malos adalides fueron* (CMP-57 / MP4a-37), *Mi mal por bien es tenido* (CMP-51 / MP4f-348), *O desdichado de mí* (CMP-49 / MP4a-32), *Poco a poco me rodean* (CMP-53 / MP4a-35), *Puse mis amores* (CMP-180 / MP4f-399; LN1-32), *Quien pone su afición* (CMP-259 / MP4a-136), and *Quién te fizo, Juan, pastor* (CMP-189 / MP4a-98; PS1-4 and 108).

135 Sixty-six poems are ascribed to Garci Sánchez in the literary sources (Dutton 1990–91, 7: 433); four to plain Badajoz and five to Badajoz el Músico in IICG (Dutton 1990–91, 7: 337).

136 I am acutely conscious that my case for Castillo's deliberate exclusion of song lyrics from IICG—and hence that most of the canciones in IICG cannot have been intended for singing—was flatly contradicted by other arguments in the article (Whetnall 1989).

sought to acquire; whereas the sources that recorded polyphony, the song sheets of professional musicians, would not have been ordinarily available to him. There is no reason to believe he was prejudiced against songs as such (as witness the number of villancicos and ballads he did include), just that the polyphonic repertory belonged to a different, parallel, line of transmission. Far from neglecting the genre, Castillo in fact preserved the text of many a canción whose status as song may never be confirmed. Even while the villancico was taking precedence as the preferred vehicle for composers of polyphony, the lyricists at court continued to exploit the form of the canción as a medium for song.

Bearing that in mind, from among the several *Cancionero general* poets whose focus on canciones and villancicos is not complemented by polyphonic settings in any of the songbooks, I should like to single out the work of Pedro de Cartagena.

Pedro de Cartagena (1456–86)

Cartagena is one of the most interesting, as well as the most productive, poets of his generation.¹³⁷ Sixty-three poems are ascribed to him in three main sources (11CG, LB1, SA10b) and a further eight with rival attributions.¹³⁸ He is the author of at least twenty canciones and eight villancicos.¹³⁹ Because of his early death he would, like Jorge Manrique, have had no control over the dissemination of his work, and the corpus is likely to remain fluid.

Four of his canciones are cited in quoting poems, and although none of them appears more than once, this makes Cartagena the poet most quoted during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs. Three occur in Pinar's *Juego trobado* (stanzas 4, 15, and 25): 'Donde amor su nombre escribe' (1D0913), 'Nunca pudo la pasión' (1D0893), and 'Para yo poder vivir' (1D0911); and the first two lines of 'No sé para qué nascí' (1D0682) are put into the mouth of Juan de Hinestrosa in

137 Cartagena's *Cancionero general* contemporaries include the Vizconde de Altamira (1458–1509) and Tapia (fl. 1480–90); see Dutton 1990–91, 7: 345.

138 Ana María Rodado claims over eighty compositions for Cartagena in her edition (Rodado Ruiz 2000), with five doubtful attributions in an appendix.

139 Three canciones and two villancicos are among the eight compositions ascribed to both Cartagena and, variously, Altamira, Garci Sánchez, Íñigo de Mendoza, Juan Manuel, Diego de San Pedro, and Diego López de Haro. Three of these lyrics are preserved with musical settings.

Garci Sánchez's *Infierno de Amor*.¹⁴⁰ In his love letters to Lucrezia Borgia of 1503, Pietro Bembo transcribes verses from eleven Spanish lyrics, including the estribillos of three canciones by Cartagena: 'Si mi mal no gradesçéis' (1D0912), 'No sé para qué nascí', and 'De biuir ya desespero' (1D0904), and the whole of 'Donde amor su nombre escribe'.¹⁴¹ 'No sé para qué nascí' is probably his most famous composition: it is printed three times in the *Cancionero general*, twice in the canciones section (11CG-292 and 346), and earlier at 11CG-118, where it is the subject of a gloss by Hernán Mexía (11CG-119).¹⁴²

But Cartagena's villancicos are the lyrics that offer most scope for speculation about his song-writing credentials. One firm attribution, *No ay plazer en esta vida* (LB1-209) is found in a lateish layer of CMP (CMP-56 / MP4f-350).¹⁴³ Two of the villancicos of disputed attribution are found in the earliest layer of the CMP: *Qué mayor desaventura* (LB1-206, Cartagena; 11CG-643, Altamira) is CMP-332 / MP4a-217; and *Descuydad esse cuidado* (LB1-212 Cartagena; 11CG-638, Tapia) is CMP-377 / MP4a-239. Romeu Figueras accepts the authority of 11CG in both cases, but there is nothing inherently reliable about Hernando del Castillo's attributions, especially in respect of song lyrics.

Four other villancicos have a clear but ambivalent relationship with popular songs; that is, they appear to be glosses or contrafacta of popular songs. As in the case of Encina, there is a sort of chicken-and-egg question hanging over some of them. 'Nora mala os conoçí, / para vos y para mý' is the estribillo of a simple zéjel (2, 5 lines)—the metrical type used by Álvarez Gato for his *a lo divino* glosses of popular refrains.¹⁴⁴ Its traditional (not to say proverbial) status is confirmed by echoes in other lyrics: a similar refrain rounds off a copla esparsa in the Cancionero de Gallardo-San Román: 'en ora mala venistes / aquí, / para vos o para mí';¹⁴⁵ and the phrase 'pora vos ni pora mí' is repeated as

140 11CG-274, stanza 15. On attempts to identify Hinestrosa, see Gallagher 1968: 206. About half of Garci Sánchez's quotations are not intended to be fathered on the characters associated with them in the *Infierno*: there are too many mistakes of attribution for this to be a realistic explanation (Whetnall 1986: 106).

141 This correspondence is preserved in the Ambrosiana Library in Milan (M11 in Dutton 1990–91). The other poems Bembo quotes are by Lope de Stúñiga (1 stanza), Tapia (5 lines), Álvarez Gato (1 stanza), López de Haro (5 lines), plus three unidentified fragments.

142 Another of his canciones, 'Voluntad no trabajéis', is glossed in the *Cancioneiro de Resende* (16RE-362). It occurs in four witnesses: in 11CG-313, SA10b-168, and 16RE-361; and, with some variants, in 19*JP-4.

143 It also received significant diffusion in pliegos sueltos; see Romeu Figueras 1965, 3B: 274–75.

144 '[Villançico] de Cartagena a una señora que le preguntó cómo le yva con su amiga y dixo' (SA10b-155); the word 'Villançico' has been added by a later hand.

145 'Por vuestra breve venida', by Toledo (MH1-153).

the last line of the estribillo and three vueltas of a much older lyric in the Cancionero de Palacio of Salamanca.¹⁴⁶

Cartagena's one devotional lyric is a gloss of the refrain *Ay, Santa María, / valedme Señora, / esperança mía*, which follows exactly the rhyme scheme of the coplas to this song in the Palace Songbook (CMP-415 / MP4a-255).¹⁴⁷ And 'Calledes, fija, / no digades atal / que no sería verdad' (SA10b-151), proves to be the same villancico which begins *Calléis, mi señora, / y non digáis a tal, / que non sería verdad*, also in the Palace Songbook (CMP-221 / MP4a-117). The two coplas they have in common have different first lines, and occur in inverse order, but apart from a few minor variants the texts are identical.¹⁴⁸ One is evidently an adapted version of the other, but which came first? The CMP lyric is the more obviously courtly, framed as a dialogue between a man and his mistress. Romeu Figueras says it glosses what is evidently a refrain of some antiquity 'seguramente arcaico' (Romeu Figueras 1965, 3B: 357). The Cartagena version, on the other hand, is a dialogue between a mother and daughter, which gives it the edge in terms of folk tradition, as do its outdated verb endings.¹⁴⁹ However, the first two rhyme words of its mudanzas cause a snag in the rhyme scheme (thus, *-adre / -ir / -ero / -ir*, as opposed to *-ero / -ir / -ero / -ir* in CMP), so it seems that Cartagena's lyric is the adaptation.¹⁵⁰

A fourth villancico, this time with no songbook attestation, seems also to derive from the traditional repertory, but once again we are hard put to decide which is the contrafactum and which its model.

Partir quiero yo,	Mandáysme, señora,
mas no <i>del querer</i> ,	que mude <i>el querer</i> :
que <i>no puede ser</i> .	<i>ya no puede ser</i> .
(Cartagena) ¹⁵¹	(anonymous) ¹⁵²

146 'Ay de vos después de mí', by Juan de Dueñas (SA7-307).

147 It also figures in the Colombina Songbook (SV1-78), and PS1, which contains the longest version of the text (PS1-25).

148 That is, the first of the two coplas attributed to Cartagena. In SA10b-151 there are five coplas altogether as against two in CMP-221 / MP4a-117.

149 See the notes to this poem in Rodado Ruiz 2000: 229.

150 There are full rhymes in both sets of coplas, contrasting with the assonance of the refrain. Frenk includes *Calléis, mi señora*—refrain only—in her *Nuevo corpus* (Frenk 2003: #389), and offers no congeners or correspondences.

151 11CG-652, 'Villancico de Cartagena'; OA1-13, anonymous. For the full text, see Rodado Ruiz 2000: 222-23, #80.

152 This villancico survives in a single witness, MP7-54; it is reproduced in Tomassetti 2008: 95.

The shape of both refrain and glossing coplas is once again the same in each (and the same as in 'Callede's' / *Calléis*): *ABB cdcddbB efeffbB*. It is probable that Cartagena's lyric is a gloss of the traditional refrain, and that 'Mandáysme, señora' is a contrafactum of the Cartagena.

According to Labrador and DiFranco, 'Partir quiero yo' enjoyed a long after-life. It continued to appear in *Cancionero general* editions up to 1573 and in editions of the *Cancionero llamado Flor de enamorados* up to 1681 (Labrador Herraiz & DiFranco 1996: 400). Although few texts from the songbooks are reliably attributed to Cartagena in literary sources, a reassessment of the evidence should incline us towards the view that he was one of a diminishing fraternity of songwriters who set their own lyrics to borrowed melodies.

Coda

The uncertainty that hangs over many of the lyrics by Cartagena and his peers affects to an even greater degree the best-known songs of the era. Outstripping the performance of any individual songwriter that we can name is Anonymous. Nearly all the poems that become chart-toppers in the 1480s and '90s are by authors unknown, whether they are actually anonymous, being without attribution in any source (*Al dolor de mi cuydado, Dónde estás, que no te veo, Pues servicio vos desplaze*); or functionally anonymous, in that the putative author cannot be associated with a body of poetic work (*Nunca fue pena mayor, Oyga tu merced y crea, Pues con sobra de tristura*); or virtually anonymous, because the attribution is unreliable, or disputed, or both (*De vos y de mí quexoso, Harto de tanta porfía, Justa fue mi perdición*). This should be of no consequence to us, at a distance of five centuries, but somehow it is. These famous songs are the texts least likely to be included in modern anthologies of medieval lyric: resistance to anonymity—a sort of *horror vacui*—carries all before it in commentary on the poetry.¹⁵³ But anonymity can be turned to positive account if we learn to recognize it as an accolade, the ultimate measure of a successful song, and look for ways of discussing these lyrics as integral units of words and music, each one in its own right a time capsule, conjuring up its own particular take on a vanished world.

We might think that Jorge Manrique's nostalgia for the lost music of his youth ('¿Qué se hizo aquel trobar?') was misplaced, in view of the quantity of material that has survived to our day. But he was not entirely wrong. It is precisely the songs current during the reign of Juan II for which we have hardly

¹⁵³ There are some honourable exceptions to this neglect, such as Lama de la Cruz 2003.

any music. Even so, recovery is within our grasp: we should be able to recapture the mood of some of the songs Manrique would have known by doing what the poets did, and marrying the lyrics ('Amor, yo nunca pensé', 'Ay, señora, fasta cuándo', 'O qué fuerte despedida') to a suitable melody or setting from one of the songbooks. Thanks to the fixed-form nature of fifteenth-century song, most of the canciones and villancicos and zéjeles that have come down to us bereft of music can be made to live again.

Instruments, Instrumental Music and Instrumentalists: Traditions and Transitions

Tess Knighton

Two decades after the death of King Ferdinand, the first in a series of major anthologies of instrumental music—Luis Milán's *El maestro*—was published in Valencia in 1535/6. The rich and varied repertory of Milán's book did not arise from a void; rather, it reflects a range of instrumental genres and practices with roots in established traditions. For the time of the Catholic Monarchs these traditions can be extrapolated only from other kinds of evidence: pay and contractual documentation, chronicles, iconographical and literary material. Non-written, oral practices, whether professional or amateur, surely prevailed in the fifteenth century, although there is evidence that instrumental music was being notated from well before Milán's book was printed. Printing was one of the agents of change in the transitional period from oral to written instrumental music, both in terms of the dissemination of repertory and autodidacticism. Diego Del Puerto's treatise entitled *Portus musice* (Salamanca, 1504) ends with a brief section entitled 'Orden de la viyuula' (fol.B4v) and a diagram that would seem to relate to the tuning of the vihuela (Corona-Alcalde 1990). Instrumental music could be notated in tablature or mensural notation, as in the case of the 'Alta' attributed to Francisco de La Torre in the Palace Songbook (see Chapter 13), and at least some of the untexted items in the Segovia manuscript are thought to be for instrumental ensembles of various kinds (Banks 1999).

As elsewhere in Europe, written and unwritten traditions of instrumental music-making continued to flourish simultaneously from around the time of the Catholic Monarchs. In many ways, instrumental practice in the Iberian Peninsula differed little from other European geopolitical regions and the transitions and developments that occurred towards the end of the fifteenth century were largely ubiquitous in reach and impact. A new sense of the importance of instrumental music is recognized by writers of the time, such as Johannes Tinctoris (c. 1435–1511) and the anonymous Sevillian author of the *Ars mensurabilis* (early 1480s) (see Chapters 7 and 12), who praise the recent achievements of musicians, including instrumentalists:

They have made this science flourish, as far as how to compose, sing and play instruments are concerned, to such an extent that I doubt if future musicians could take further these three things: composing, singing and playing all the instruments of the world (Anonymous 1480/82: fol. 3r).

It is in the emerging humanist context that a number of instrumentalists from the time of the Catholic Monarchs achieved lasting fame for their skills.

The various performance spaces and contexts for instrumental music linked to different instrumental ensembles and specific kinds of repertoires were also largely shared throughout Europe in about 1500, both within and outside the court sphere. The social status of professional instrumentalists, which was generally related to function, and positions and rewards were similarly calibrated according to the needs of the princely household, ecclesiastical institution or urban council. These needs might vary according to political context and social conditions, as Gretchen Peters has shown to be the case as regards the city minstrels employed in different regions of France in the later Middle Ages (Peters 2012), but the impulses behind the employment of such instrumentalists were largely shared: to mark time; to herald public announcements and events; and to signal the status and prestige of members of the social élite by surrounding their presence and trajectories with sound. ‘Ownership’ as a marker of wealth and power was also communicated visually through brightly coloured uniforms and banners emblazoned with the coats of arms and emblems of the princely individual or ecclesiastical or civic institution concerned.

Within these shared instrumental practices existed local variants or dialects; for example, the diverse ethnicities present in the Spanish kingdoms would inevitably have meant that certain instrumental sounds—such as those of the Arabic *zambra*—would have been more familiar there than elsewhere in Europe (see Chapter 8). It is highly significant that the Catholic Monarchs chose to renew the position of the Arabic musician Yahya ben Brahim al-Fish-tali (known as el Fisteli, who was later baptized as Fernando Morales) as ‘mayor of male and female minstrels’, responsible for the organization of *zambras* and the participation of the *zambros* in processions and other festivities. Similarly, the *sonajas* (ideophone of metal disks) and *añafles* (a type of trumpet) played and heard at the fifteenth-century court festivities held by the Constable of Castile, Miguel Lucas de Iranzo (d. 1473) in the frontier-city of Jaen in distinctive ceremonies such as the re-enactment of battles between Christians and Moors (Cuevas Mata et al 2001: 162, 212) would have been familiar sounds throughout much of the Iberian Peninsula, but more rarely heard north of the Pyrenees (Ruiz Jiménez 2012: 44–46). The Constable’s unusually

detailed chronicle, written in the early 1470s, provides a useful starting point for understanding the role of instrumental music in court ceremonial and entertainment (see Chapter 4). The patterns of patronage established at the Constable's provincial but aspirational court followed those already established at the royal courts in the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile and may be considered paradigmatic (Anglés 1940/75, 1961/75; Gómez Muntané 1979, 1996b; Knighton 1997; Cañas Gálvez 2000, 2006). Forced to withdraw to his palace in Jaen in 1459, the Constable immediately sought to consolidate his social status and regain royal favour by developing a retinue and household on a princely scale, in which instrumentalists had a key role.

Expansion marked the main difference between the Constable's court and that of the Catholic Monarchs: the super-court created by the bringing together of the Castilian and Aragonese royal households meant that a high proportion of the best instrumentalists of their respective kingdoms were brought into contact, contributing to a dynamic that favoured developments in instrumental technologies, skills and repertoires. Expansion also became the key element identified and emulated by members of the nobility who wished to impress and to establish their own dynastic prestige through the building of palaces and the creation of large-scale households (see Chapter 5). Increased employment at princely courts of prestigious instrumentalists of the highest calibre led to an awareness of virtuosity and recognition of the virtuoso, whose skills were sought and rewarded on an unprecedented scale and who were often memorialized in chronicles and verse for future generations. Early signs of the collecting of instruments as material objects are found in these princely circles, while ownership of instruments became much more widespread among different social groups in general. This shift towards greater amateur involvement in music-making would result in the later printed manuals-cum-anthologies, beginning with Milán, that opened up the ways in which an instrument might be learnt and the contexts in which it might be played (Gässer 1996; Villanueva Serrano 2011b).

While instrumental music continued to be a sonic symbol of princely presence, it also became an indicator of the education, refinement and discernment of those sufficiently privileged in society to have some leisuretime (*ocio*) at their disposal (see Chapter 5). Listening to instrumental music, and learning to play a musical instrument such as the vihuela, became an increasingly acceptable and valid way to fill leisure time in a humanistic age that valued not just the acquisition of learning, but also the discussion of it, and involved not only the employment of professional musicians but also the social expectation to acquire personal musical knowledge and skill. This more active involvement in the cultural process itself encouraged the collecting of material objects,

including musical instruments prized not only for the valuable materials from which they were made, but also for the range of sonorities they could produce and their potential for the realization of a polyphonic repertory in a solo or an accompanying capacity.

This essay will focus on the social, cultural and technological developments of the period from the mid-fifteenth century to the first decades of the sixteenth century that brought about various shifts and transitions in the functions, dissemination and appreciation of instrumental music. It will consider technical developments in instruments such as the early trombone or sackbut, vihuela and keyboard instruments in the context of the increasingly organized guilds and dynasties of instrument-makers, some of diverse ethnic origins. It will also consider the impact of the development of a system of notation—tablature—that served both the needs of the amateur player untrained in the more specialized mensural notation of the professional singer, and of the professional instrumentalist expected to perform a wide range of repertory intabulated from vocal polyphony. The printing of tablature, whether in letter- or number-based systems, would provide the catalyst for instrumental music as a participatory pastime and for a surge in musical literacy, but did not supplant improvisatory skills, whether professional or amateur, so that written and unwritten traditions coexisted, as was the case with general literacy.

The musical instrument as material object provides a useful starting point for discerning signs of an impulse towards the collecting of musical instruments and wider ownership of them. Implicit in this aspect is the role of the makers who supplied the instruments, and their ethnic backgrounds and organizational structures are briefly considered here. Three different types and/or ensembles of instruments—the wind band, the bowed and plucked vihuela, and keyboards—are then studied in more detail. In each case, I will consider the dynamic between tradition and change, taking into account both the continuity of function and some of the most striking technological developments, the formation of new ensembles and performance contexts, the repertoires that began to be cultivated by them and which became more widely disseminated in notated form, and the rise of virtuosity among professional performers, some of whom acquired an almost mythical status for their Orphic accomplishments, just as the instrumental skills of the amateur musician were also on the rise. Paradoxically, perhaps, the notation of instrumental music both encouraged and enabled the amateur while at the same time successfully protecting some of the trade secrets of the professional performer.

Accumulating and Collecting Musical Instruments Around 1500

The earliest references to prototype collections of instruments relate, not surprisingly, to royal ownership. Members of the royal family had the means and the space to accumulate instruments, although the peripatetic nature of the court during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel resulted in inevitable restrictions on the housing and movement of instruments, and had a deleterious impact on their general maintenance. As members of the nobility began to establish and enlarge their palaces outside the court, they, too, began to acquire and accumulate instruments, establishing a pattern that would be developed by wealthy and important personages throughout the sixteenth century (see Chapter 5). Musical instruments were among the many items inventoried by the queen's head chamberlain (*camarero mayor*) in the Alcázar of Segovia in November 1503 (Anglés 1941/60: 71–72): they included a harp, a dulcimer, several wind instruments (shawms and recorders), two harpsichords, a small organ, two bowed viols and six lutes (Table 3.1).

TABLE 3.1 *The royal collection of 'Laudes e cosas de musica' in the Segovia Alcázar (1503)*

1	Un ducemel para tañer, metido en una caja de madera	A dulcimer for playing in a wooden box
2	Una harpa de madera barnizada de amarillo, el vientre e lo otro fecho de maçoneria muy labrado con unas imagenes de bulto metidas en unos encasamentos e las clavijas son de hueso blanco e con unas armas de castillos e leones	A wooden harp varnished yellow, the soundbox and elsewhere elaborately carved with some carved figures in niches, and the pegs are made of white bone, and with the arms of castles and lions
3	Tres chirimias e una flauta de boj con unas guarniciones de laton en una caja de cuero metidas	Three shawms and a recorder of boxwood with brass trappings, kept in a leather case
4	Un laud de costillas grandes sin cuerdas de cinco ordenes	A large-ribbed lute, unstrung, of five courses
5	Otro laud de costillas con un lazo labrado de maçoneria barnizada de amarillo	Another ribbed lute with an elaborately carved rose varnished in yellow
6	Otro laud viejo con unas ataraceas en una caja de cuero	Another old lute, inlaid, in a leather box

TABLE 3.1 *The royal collection of ‘Laudes e cosas de musica’ in the Segovia Alcázar (cont.)*

7	Dos viguelas de arco viejas, fechas pedazos	Two bowed vihuelas, broken
8	Otro laud de costillas grande con un lazo blanco	Another large, ribbed lute with a white rose
9	Otro laud de costillas, tiene las espaldas e el cuello negro	Another ribbed lute, with the back and neck in black
10	Dos clavicimbanos viejos	Two old harpsichords
11	Un laud por las espaldas negro, de costillas, de unas clavijas de hueso blanco e el cuello labrado de ataraceas, metido en una caja de madera	A black-backed, ribbed lute, with the pegs of white bone and the neck inlaid, kept in a wooden box
12	Unos organos de hoja de Flandes, viejos, con sus fuelles	An old organ of Flemish metal [iron covered by tin], with its bellows
13	Una flauta de boj con una guarnicion de laton	A boxwood recorder with brass trappings
14	Una flauta de boj	A boxwood recorder

The Segovia inventory almost certainly reflects an accumulation of instruments, some inherited, rather than a collection deliberately put together by the queen. As Elisa Ruiz has argued regarding the books—including music books—held at the Alcázar, rather than a personal library compiled for purposes of expanding knowledge or intellectual reference, they formed a reserve of items belonging to the Crown (*‘un fondo perteneciente a la Corona’*) (Ruiz García 2004b: 34, 100–101) and were valued as ‘treasure’. This was also probably true of the instruments, which though in some instances described as old or broken, were originally ornate, some—such as the harp—decorated with the Castilian arms, others with marquetry, and several were kept in leather or wooden cases. Scattered through the queen’s personal accounts are payments for the acquisition and repair of instruments: for example, a clavichord was bought for the seven-year-old Prince Juan in 1485 (Torre 1955, 1: 62), and a vihuela was acquired in 1490 (Torre 1955, 1: 372). In 1488 waxed cloth for harpsichord covers was paid for through Bernaldino de Brihuega, keeper of the royal

instruments (Torre 1955, 1: 235).¹ In 1491 it cost ninety-three maravedís to mend a broken vihuela ('adobar una bihuella que se quebró') (Torre 1955, 1: 425), and two years later the more substantial sum of five hundred maravedís was paid to mend a harpsichord in the royal chambers ('por adobar vn claveçimbano de la camara') (Torre 1955, 2: 118). Payments were regularly made to Juan de Dueñas, principal drummer of the Castilian royal household, for the purchase of copper and leather for the drums (Torre 1955, 1: 64: 'por el cobre e pergaminos de dos pares de atavales que su Alteza mando hazer para su seruicio').

Who had played these instruments before they were gathered together at Segovia? There is no evidence that the queen was able to play an instrument; did she perhaps inherit some of them from her half-brother Enrique IV, who is reported by contemporary chroniclers to have played the lute and sung well (Cañas Gálvez 2006: 223–25)? Diego Enríquez de Castillo, royal chaplain and chronicler, described the king as 'always withdrawn; he played the lute sweetly, and understood music's perfection; musical instruments pleased him' ('estaba siempre retraydo; tañía dulcemente el láud, sentía bien la perfección de la música; los instrumentos della le placían' (Cañas Gálvez 2006: 224)). However, the prince-musician trope is not found in the chronicles of Isabel and Ferdinand. While too much time spent playing an instrument was regarded as unprincely by some commentators, Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo's *Vergel de los príncipes* (1456–57), a short treatise on suitable royal pastimes—martial arts, hunting and music—dedicated to Enrique IV, emphasizes, along Aristotelian lines, the many benefits of music for the ruler (Robledo 2003). In this context, it is hard to believe that neither Isabel nor Ferdinand received any musical instruction, though neither was born first in line to the throne, and their education in general may well have been affected by unpropitious circumstances, such as civil war in Catalonia and Isabel's relative isolation in Arévalo (Valdivieso 2003; Phillips 2008: 21–22).

Instrumental music would nevertheless have been an intrinsic aspect of their lives—as is clear from the 1501 correspondence between royal secretaries, one of whom records that Ferdinand listened to vihuela music during the afternoon siesta ('despues de comer hovo musica de biuela'; Knighton 2001:

1 A Bernardino de Brihuega was appointed a singer in the Aragonese royal chapel on 22 September 1510, but given the lapse of time is unlikely to have been the same person. However, he may have formed part of a musical family: the organist Rodrigo de Brihuega served—and was much favoured by—Isabel from at least 1476 until 1504 (Knighton 2001: 98, 326). He had previously served Enrique IV, from at least April 1464, alongside other Briuegas: Juan (also an organist), Jorge and Alfonso, both singers (Cañas Gálvez 2006: 226–27).

153)²—and it clearly formed part of the education of their children and grandchildren.³ Some of the instruments kept at the Segovia Alcázar probably belonged to Prince Juan (d. 1497).⁴ The prince's private chambers are described by his former page, the chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1478–1557), in his *Libro de la camara real* (1535) as having ‘a claviorgan and organs and harpsichords and a clavichord and bowed and plucked vihuelas and recorders, on all of which he knew how to place his hands’ (‘En su camara avia un clauio organo e organos e clauicordios e clauicordio e vihuelas de mano e vihuelas de arco e flautas; e en todos esos instrumentos sabia poner las manos’) (Fernández de Oviedo 1870: 183). This description relates closely to the kinds of instruments listed in the 1503 Segovia inventory, although it is striking for the absence of lutes, and in its inclusion of a claviorgan. The understated way in which Fernández de Oviedo refers to the prince's musical competence is striking: knowing how ‘to place one's hands’ on an instrument does not suggest comment-worthy ability, though it is possible that he simply did not wish to draw too much attention to what appears to have been the prince's passion for music.⁵

The rather motley assortment of instruments at Segovia in 1503 did not represent all those owned by the royal family; as with the books, they would have been scattered throughout the network of palaces and monasteries used as royal residences during their constant travels (Ruiz García 2004b: 32). Keyboard instruments, including an organ, a harpsichord, a clavichord and two claviorgans, were inventoried at the Alhambra in Granada in 1500 (Van der Straeten 1867–88/1969, 7: 248; Anglés 1941/60: 531) (see Table 3.2).

Already in 1492, almost immediately after the Catholic Monarchs took Granada, members of the Saragossa-based Mofferiz family, renowned for

2 ‘esta mañana ovo su altesa missa y en la yglesia como suele despues de comer hovo musica de biuela despues fue a bisperas’ (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Colección Salazar y Castro, A11, fol. 301).

3 Juan de Anchieta taught prince Juan and his sisters and, for a short period at least, a very young Charles V (Aizpurúa 1995: 21–22; Knighton & Kreitner forthcoming), while Ferdinand employed Francisco de Peñalosa as ‘maestro de musica’ to his namesake grandson (Knighton 2014).

4 Small ensembles of instrumentalists were employed in the households of Prince Juan and the other royal children (Llorens Cisteró 1993; Knighton 2001: 153–54).

5 Fernández de Oviedo also described how Prince Juan liked to pass the afternoons singing polyphonic songs with Anchieta and a handful of choirboys; again he suggests that the prince's musical enthusiasm was greater than his skill (Fernández de Oviedo 1870: 182–83; Fallows 1983: 137; Knighton 1992: 566). Juan's sister Juana was criticized for her ‘obsessive’ interest in music (Knighton 2014).

TABLE 3.2 *Keyboard instruments inventoried by royal chamberlain Sancho de Paredes in the Alhambra, Granada, 20 September 1500*

1	Primeramente, tres caxas de organo quebrados, con seys caxones, con los cabos dellos [r] ollados e quebrados e sanos, e tres pies de fuelles, los dos en dos arcas, con sus pesas de plomo e de hierro, e otros quatro sueltos	First, three broken organ cases, with six crates, with dented, broken and unbroken pipes, and three pairs of bellows, each pair in two chests, with their lead and iron weights, and four more loose ones
2	Mas un clabecinbano labrado por las dos costeras de dentro de cuchillo, de unos follajes, metida en una caja de cuero negro el qual no se pudo sacar della, y no se pudo ver si estaba quebrado o desconçertado	Plus a harpsichord decorated with carving of foliage on both sides, in a box of black leather, which could not be taken out of the box to see if it was broken or not working
3	Mas dos clabiorganos en sus caxas, el uno de paño colorado y blanco, y el otro de madera pintada, que estan desconçertados, e les faltan sendos canos, e tienen dos pares de fuelles con sus pesas de plomo	Plus two claviorgans in their cases, one of scarlet and white panels, and the other of painted wood, which do not work, and pipes are missing from both, and they have two pairs of bellows with their lead weights
4	un manocordio sano, metido en una caxa de madera	a clavichord in good condition, in a wooden box

making keyboards, had been called to the city to repair the claviorgans at notable expense (Calahorra Martínez 1993a: 116; see below). Keyboard instruments frequently travelled with the court, even during the Granadine campaigns, as is confirmed by payment of over a thousand maravedís on 28 April 1492 to Brihuega, here described as ‘hombre de camara de su Altesa’, ‘for bringing two pairs of organs from Cordoba to the army encampment at the Vega de Granada’ (‘que fue menester para traer dos pares de horganos que se truxeron de Cordova al real de la Vega de Granada’) (Torre 1955, 2: 18). Musical instruments belonging to the royal family—possibly including some of those kept at Granada—were dispersed far afield through the dynastic alliances secured for its younger members. In 1500 the monarchs’ third daughter, Maria, left Granada to marry

Manuel I of Portugal, followed in May 1501 by their youngest daughter, Katherine of Aragon, destined for England and marriage to Prince Arthur (Gillespie 1972: 47–48);⁶ both princesses were musical and took musicians and instruments with them, including the claviorgan. Already in 1498 a claviorgan and chapel organ had been taken to Portugal with their sister Isabel's entourage.⁷

The royal library and musical instruments at Segovia and Isabel's collection of devotional paintings held at the Royal Chapel in Granada resulted from a sense of royal patrimony that went beyond their functionality, but Isabel cannot be described as the self-aware collector of the later Renaissance; her reign represents, as in so many aspects, a transitional period (Weissberger 2008: xxi). Fernández de Oviedo's description of Prince Juan's chambers points to a more active collecting of musical instruments as valued material objects among the next generation, and the aspiring nobility, whose heirs were educated at court with the prince, looked to him as a model. Their teacher, the humanist Pietro Martire, commented somewhat wryly that if the prince dedicated himself to the study of letters, then all other young nobles would follow suit.⁸ This younger generation of the nobility offers several examples of creating collections of instruments with greater awareness, largely perhaps as a symbol of wealth and prestige, but also because of more widespread musical literacy (see Chapter 5). This is already clear from the collection of instruments amassed by the First Marquis of Cenete, don Rodrigo Díaz de Vilar y Mendoza (1473–1523),⁹ son of the Catholic Monarchs' greatest supporter, Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza (d. 1495), himself a notable patron of music (Knighton 2001: 105). As governor of Valencia from 1521, the First Marquis spent the last years of his life residing in the archiepiscopal palace, where his possessions included almost sixty books, a large collection of tapestries depicting Classical as well as Biblical

6 A small ensemble of rabel, harp, dulçaina and tambourine, as well as a trumpeter, accompanied Katherine of Aragon to England in 1501; several of these musicians had previously travelled with Princess Juana to Flanders in 1496 and/or to Lisbon with Princess Isabel in 1498 and Princess Maria in 1500 (Llorens Cisteró 1993: 172–73).

7 Payment, dated 30 January 1499, of the considerable sum of 2640 maravedís to 'Fernando de Calatayud hombre de camara de su Alteza quel gasto en alquiler de ciertas azemilas que por su mandado llevo a Portugal cargados con vn claviorgano e un horgano de capilla para la serenissima reyna e prinçesa que aya santa Gloria' [dated 30 January 1499] (Torre 1955, 2: 428).

8 López de Toro 1953–57, 1: 191–92: 'Por mandato de sus padres [...] se ha dedicado al estudio de las letras el heredero del reino, que tiene pendientes de sí las miradas de todos; en consecuencia, todos los demás, a ejemplo de su Príncipe, se consagrarán a ellas'.

9 Other aspects of the Marquis's music patronage are mentioned in Chapter 5.

TABLE 3.3 *Post-mortem inventory of the musical instruments in the possession of the First Marquis of Cenete dated April 1523*

1	una viola gran negra molt bella dins una caixa de cuyro negre	A large, black and very beautiful vihuela in a black leather box
2	una altra viola de ceti ques diu la viola de Joan Ferrandis en una caixa	Another vihuela of <i>ceti</i> which is called the vihuela by Joan Ferran- dis in a box
3	una viola chequita de seti e una guitarra [de] ayllon los dos en una caixa	A small vihuela of <i>ceti</i> and a guitar [by] Ayllon both in a box ^a
4	una altra viola biagarrada sense cordes en un estoig lo qual feu guadaluxe en Valencia	Another two-toned vihuela without strings in a case, made by Guadalupe in Valencia ^b
5	un laut dins un estoig de cuyro negre ab sa tancadura	A lute in a case of black leather with its clasp
6	dos manacorts chiqs	Two small clavichords
7	dos arpes grans la una daurada e laltre sense daurar dins ses caixes laudades negres ab fundes de cuyro	Two large harps, one gilded and the other not gilded in their black cases with leather covers
8	un instrument ques diu clavior- gano cubert de vellut negre e lo ques mostra a la part de dins forrat de brocat carmesi d'esglesia ab la clavas daurada ab lletres que diuen Laudo mia sorte	An instrument called a claviorgan covered in black velvet and the part that can be seen inside with scarlet church brocade with the nameboard gilded with letters that read <i>Laudo mia sorte</i>
9	altre instrument ques diu clavicimbalo en una caixa forrada de vert	Another instrument called a harpsichord in a box with a green lining

a A maker of plucked string instruments by the name of Pedro de Ayllon was active in Toledo in around 1500 (Reynaud 1996: 400; Griffiths 2010: 23); Inmaculada Sanchis has documented a *violero* by the name of Ayllon in Valencia in 1526–27; email communication of 29 August 2015.

b A Juan de Guadalupe was making plucked string instruments in Toledo in the 1520s, but the vihuela preserved at the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris and marked 'Guadalupe' would appear to have been made using Aragonese measurements (Reynaud 1996: 406; Dugot 2004; Martínez González 2004; Griffiths 2010: 23).

themes, ten devotional paintings and the vihuelas, lute, harps and keyboards listed in Table 3.3 (Gómez-Ferrer 2010: 37, 44–45, n. 51).

The quality of these instruments can be gleaned even from the inventory-takers' sparse descriptions: the naming of makers, gilded inscriptions and luxury materials all suggest that store was set by the intrinsic value of this collection. Collections became still larger and more varied a generation later: the Third Duke of Béjar, Francisco de Zúñiga y Guzmán Sotomayor (d. 1544) owned five keyboard instruments (two organs, two harpsichords and a clavichord), twelve vihuelas (plucked and bowed), and over forty-two wind instruments (mainly cornetts of different sizes, crumhorns and recorders), as well as ensembles, banners and other trappings required for a substantial corps of trumpets and drums (Russell 2002: 302–3).

Less is known about the ownership of musical instruments outside the royal and noble courts, although recent research in notarial archives in Seville, Valladolid, Toledo, Saragossa and Barcelona reveals that they were increasingly owned by a wide range of professionals and artisans in urban contexts (Bejarano 2013a; Griffiths 2009; Reynaud 1996; Pallares Jiménez 1991a, 1991b, 1992a, 1992b; Madurell Marimón 1951; Knighton 2015a). Data drawn from post-mortem inventories is useful as an indicator of instrument ownership, but has yet to be evaluated and contextualized. Martín Zayda had 'a vihuela, a recorder and a songbook' ('vna vihuela, vna flauta y un libro de canciones') among his possessions when he died in Saragossa in 1475, which raises all kinds of interesting questions regarding his ethnicity and position in society, and whether he was a professional or amateur musician (Pallares Jiménez 1993: 105).¹⁰ In Seville, a maker of plucked string instruments—Pedro Garcia *citolero*—is documented from 1444, while maestro Enrique, 'maestro de hacer clavicimbanos' was active in his workshop in the calle Sierpe (where many lute- and vihuela-makers had their workshops) throughout the 1470s, suggesting that there was a market for such instruments that went beyond the city's aristocracy.¹¹ If a Barcelona citizen wished to purchase a stringed-instrument such as a vihuela in the later fifteenth century, he (or she) need only go to the workshop of Bartomeu Joan. The post-mortem inventory of Joan's shop, drawn up at the instigation of his widow Berengaria on 19 June 1495, lists eight finished vihuelas

10 The resumé of the document by Pallares Jiménez reveals that Zayda had children, that he lived in the parish of St Mary Magdalen, and that he also owned other books, including account books relating to the *mayordomía* of Saragossa, so he may have been a city administrator.

11 I am very grateful to Juan Ruiz Jiménez for this information.

(‘violetes’) and many more in various states of completion, as well as the wood and tools needed by the maker (Pellisa i Pujades 2011: 37–44).

Contracts drawn up before notaries also reveal that during the fifteenth century, especially in Saragossa, many instrument-makers were of Arab background. A good example is the Albariel family: Juce Albariel ‘maestro de hacer vihuelas y laudes’, as well as clavichords, is documented as active in Saragossa in the 1460s (Pallares Jiménez 1993: nos 9, 12–15, 26, 29, 37, 86), while the vihuela-maker Lope de Albariel—possibly Juce’s son—is documented in the 1470s and ‘80s (Pallares Jiménez 1991b: nos 6, 21–23). The most high-profile Arab instrument-makers were the Mofferiz family, whose keyboard instruments were acquired by and commissioned for members of the royal family and the nobility (see below under ‘Keyboard instruments’). Jewish makers of stringed instruments are found in Barcelona in the late fourteenth century (Madurell Marimón 1950: nos 4–5), and their descendents may have persisted into the fifteenth as *conversos*, but the diasporas following 1492 must have meant that many of these artesans, both Jewish and Arab, left Spain, possibly leaving something of a vacuum behind them. Certainly, it was a sign of the changing times that in the section devoted to carpenters, including instrument-makers, in the early sixteenth-century Sevillian *Ordenanças*—a compilation of the laws of the city begun in 1502 in response to a royal decree—it became legally binding to take on only those apprentices who were of ‘old’ Christian extraction.¹² Even Mahoma Mofferiz, keyboard-maker by royal appointment, was forced to convert in 1526, and assumed the Christian name Joan (Morte García 1999: 1120–21).

In the Sevillian *Ordenanças*, printed for the first time the following year in 1527, makers of stringed instruments, traditionally members of carpenters’ guilds, were grouped discretely when it came to the examination of and standards to be maintained in their specialization (Jambou 1988, 1: 54; Romanillos Vega & Harris Winspear 2002: xvii).¹³

Item, that the maker of stringed instruments (*violero*) has to know his office well and specialize in it. He must know how to make instruments

12 ‘Item que ninguno de los dichos oficiales susdichos sea obligado a tomar moço ni lo meta para aprender el oficio: al menos que sea christiano y de linaje de cristianos limpio: y el tal oficial assi carpintero como entallador como violero no lo tomen menos de por tiempo de seys años’ (*Ordenanças* 1527: fol. 148r).

13 The *Ordenanzas* of the Valencian carpenters’ guild (*gremio de fusters*) of 1461 include makers of vihuelas and keyboard instruments (Jambou 1988, 1: 54; Ruiz Jiménez 1995: 42–46).

of many kinds, including: a claviorgan; harpsichord; clavichord; lute; bowed vihuela; harp; a large, ribbed and inlaid vihuela; and other vihuelas less elaborate than these. And the maker who does not know all this should be examined on what he says he does know and has completed with his hands ... and the basic examination should be of a ribbed vihuela with a carved rose and good-quality inlay...¹⁴

The Granada *ordenanzas* dated 15 May 1528 also list 'vigoleros, organistas y otros oficios de música' and require a similar process of examination to that in Seville (Ruiz Jiménez 1995: 42–45). It is not clear whether the 'otros oficios de música' mentioned here would have included makers of woodwind instruments such as recorders and, particularly shawms ('chirimías'), the staple instrument of the professional windband of the time.¹⁵

The Wind Band ('Ministriles Altos')

The soundworld of European court geography was characterized by the presence of two bodies of heraldic instruments: the trumpeters and drummers, and the wind band of shawms of different sizes and pitches, together with, by the time of the Catholic Monarchs, the early trombone or sackbut.¹⁶ These ensembles were emblematic of princely status: trumpets and drums heralded the royal or noble presence in public, notably in the open spaces of street or square, battlefield or joust. The wind band functioned both outside the palace and within, adding to the ceremonial and accompanying the dancing that took centre stage in indoor court pageantry. Princely patronage through the employment of such instrumental ensembles reflected the essential attributes of their

14 'Item que el oficial violero para saber bien su oficio y ser singular del: ha de saber fazer instrumentos de muchas artes: que sepa fazer vn clauí organo e vn claué zimbaro: e vn monacordio: e vn laud: e vn vihuela de arco: e vna harpa: e vna vihuela grande de pieças con sus atarceas: e otras vihuelas que son menos que todo esto: y el oficial que todo esto no supiere: lo examinen de lo que dello diere razon e fiziere por sus manos bien acabado: y el menos examen que ha de fazer ha de ser de vna vihuela grande de pieças como dicho es con vn lazo de talla de incomes con buenos atarcies' (*Ordenanças* 1527: fol. 149v).

15 Juan Ruiz Jiménez has suggested that makers of wind instruments may have been associated with and appeared in documents as wood-turners (*torneros*); they must have existed in some profusion, given the wide demand for shawms of all sizes.

16 The term 'alto' or 'haut' to refer to the wind band would seem to have referred both to dynamic—their capability to play loudly—and space: they were often positioned high up on battlements, rooftops and balconies or tribunals (McGowan 1999).

power, wealth and magnanimity (see Chapter 5). A shared trope is the description of the deafening or overwhelming sound of the trumpets, drums and wind band that signalled the royal or noble presence, the sheer noise being evoked through the use of exaggerated similes as in Andrés Bernáldez's account of Ferdinand's entry into Naples on 1 November 1507: 'They [the instrumentalists] made so much noise that it would have felled a bird flying in the sky into the crowd below' ('Hazían tanto estruendo, que si alguna ave pasava volando la hazían caer en medio de la gente') (Gómez-Moreno & Mata Carriazo 1962: 523). The creation of the sound of power—particularly useful in time of war to put fear into the enemy, as often occurred in the Catholic Monarchs' Granadine campaigns—increased exponentially depending on the number of instrumentalists involved. For the Naples entry in 1507, Bernáldez described the involvement of twenty-six s-shaped trumpets and twenty-two straight trumpets and four pairs of drums before lapsing into uncontrolled hyperbole and referring to 'infinite' sackbuts and shawms.¹⁷ At major events, such as royal entries, the royal instrumentalists were supplemented with those employed by the local nobles and civic authorities.¹⁸

The fundamental and long established role of these emblematic wind instruments was to wrap the royal or noble presence in sound as an auditory signal of power. In 1344, Pere el Cerimoniós, King of Aragon, decreed that there should be four minstrels (two *trompadors* or horn-players, a trumpeter and a drummer) employed in the royal household to play when the king dined in public (except during Lent), and to play at other feasts as required.¹⁹ More detail is found in the Constable of Castile's chronicle: instrumentalists constantly heralded and accompanied his presence, both outdoors and indoors. The Christmas festivities in Jaen in 1463 saw the Constable's minstrels accompanying him to Matins on Christmas Eve—when a Nativity play was performed—and back to the palace; the following morning, Christmas Day, they woke the household at dawn with music ('davan el alvorada') playing in

17 'Los quales eran cuatro pares de atabales e veinte y seis trompetas italianas y veinte y dos bastardas, con otros infinitos géneros de músicas, conviene a saber chirimías e sacabuches, etc.' (Gómez-Moreno & Mata Carriazo 1962: 523).

18 Eight trumpeters, four drummers and eight *ministriles altos* formed part of the royal Aragonese household during Ferdinand's sojourn in Naples (Knighton 2001: 208, 216).

19 'Perque volem e ordonam que en nostra cort juglars quatre degen esser dels quals dos sien trompadors, e lo ters sia tabaler e l quart sia trompeta, al offici dels quals s esguart que tots temps que nos publicament menjans, en lo començament trompen e encara allo matex facen en la fi de nostre menjar; Los altres empero juglars sien que sapien sonar esturments en les festes e en los altres dies, segons que sera conivent, lurs esturments sonar manam davant nos' (*Ordenacions* 1344; cited in Gómez Muntané 1979: 129).

different spaces in the palace: 'the trumpets and drums in the passage of the upper hall, and the shawms and singers and other softer and sweeter instruments within, in that hall, outside where the Constable was sleeping'.²⁰

Banquets also required music, both as ceremonial marker and as entertainment. Early in 1464, the Constable invited members of the ecclesiastical and academic hierarchy to dine with him in his palace. Each dish and drink was brought to the table to the accompaniment of trumpets, drums and shawms.²¹ After dining, the tables were removed, the benches pushed to the walls, and the dancing of *altas* and *baxas* began to the accompaniment of 'shawms and other instruments', an activity in which the Constable himself participated and which lasted over an hour.²² Similar festivities involving the royal *ministriles altos* are described by chroniclers throughout the period. A good example is Roger Machado's account of the visit of the English ambassadors in March 1489 when the court was at Medina del Campo (Gairdner 1858/2012: 158–74; Knighton 1987: 224). Minstrels played at the jousts and bullfights held in honour of the English visitors and then for the banquets and dancing that followed, with costumes themed to the main event, and with the participation of the royal family. Dancing at court was both spectacle and participatory, and an established way to show off the courtly talents (and eligibility for princely marriage) of the younger royals. Prince Juan would have been only ten years old at this time, and Princess Isabel seventeen, but both had clearly learnt well from the troupe of Portuguese dancers who were responsible for their choreic instruction (Fernández de Córdoba Miralles 2002: 23–24; Phillips 2008: 22).²³

20 'los tronpetas e atabales en el corredor de la sala de arriba, e los cheremías e cantores e otros instrumentos más suaves e dulçes dentro, en la dicha sala, a la puerta de la cámara donde el dicho señor condestable durmía' (Cuevas Matas et al 2001: 130).

21 Cuevas Mata et al. 2001: 133: 'E asentávanse en esta manera: los señores de la iglesia mayor en las mesas que estavan puestas de frente de la puerta de la dicha sala; e los de la Universidad en las otras mesas que estavan puestas a la parte de la puerta de la dicha sala; e después todos los capellanes e sacristans se asentavan en la orden y manera que se acostunbravan asentar en sus cabildos. E traían de comer, con los tronpetas e atabales e cherimías tocando delante; e así a cada manjar e la copa.'

22 Cuevas Matas et al: 133: 'los chirimías e los otros instrumentos tañían baxas e altas, e començavan a dançar los gentiles onbres e pajes. E dende a poco, el señor condestable salía a dançar a desque avian dançado una ora o más, mandava que cantasen rondeles e cosantes'.

23 The Portuguese troupe of 'bayladores', led by Juan Alvares, first appear in the accounts of Isabel's personal treasurer, Gonzalo de Baeza, in July 1484 (Torre 1955, 1: 49). The number of dancers is not indicated, but included women ('para los Portugueses bayladores e para sus mujeres'). Indeed, it was clearly a family affair, as indicated by the 1485 payment to Juan Alvares, his wife Mençia Vaez, and their children (number unspecified) and their



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FIGURE 3.1 Anonymous (Joan Figuera?), Herod's banquet (detail from the mid-fifteenth-century retablo of Santa Eulàlia; Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya)

Among the eight 'low dances' (*baxas*) preserved in a late fifteenth-century dance collection at Cervera, one is identified as 'La baixa de Castilla', and another simply as 'Anglaterra' and may possibly have been connected to this event (Nocilli 2013). An example of the *danza alta*, notated in three parts, is found in the Palace Songbook (*E-Mp* 1335, fol. 232r), attributed to the royal chapel singer Francisco de La Torre (see Chapter 13). Dances would commonly have been improvised over repeated harmonic patterns; this rare notated example is striking for the idiomatic virtuoso upper part (see Music Example 13.11).

The detailed descriptions of court entertainment at the Constable's palace in Jaen consistently mention an ensemble of three wind instruments; for example, at his wedding in 1459, a *copla* of three *dulçaina*-players went 'playing very sweetly and harmoniously' ('iva una copla de tres ministreles de dulçainas que muy dulce e acordadamente sonavan') (Cuevas Mata et al: 40). A *copla* of

wives (Torre 1955, 1: 79). In 1492 the troupe included Mençia Vaez, Juan Rodriguez, Fernando Diaz and Jorge and their children; Juan Alvares seems to have died in 1491 (Torre 1955, 1: 393).

three or four shawms, of at least two different sizes, with the fourth instrument usually a slide trumpet, seems to have been the standard ensemble for much of the fifteenth century and is often depicted in fifteenth-century miniatures of Herod's banquet to accompany Salome's presentation of that singular dish: the head of John the Baptist (Ballester 2002: 459). A mid-fifteenth-century example from the Retable of Santa Eulalia, tentatively attributed to the Barcelona painter Joan Figuera, depicts a quartet of two shawms, a bombarde and a slide trumpet (Ballester 2002: 455) (Figure 3.1).

A further shift to a wind band of shawms that included an early trombone (*sacabuche*) occurred in Spain, as elsewhere in Europe, in the last decades of the fifteenth century. Keith Polk has suggested that the mechanism of a double slide—the distinguishing feature of the instrument—was developed in the mid-fifteenth century, and quite quickly ousted the slide trumpet with a single-slide mechanism (Polk 1989: 396; Polk 1997: 45–46; Herbert 2006: 52–53; Alves 2014).²⁴ The technology of the double slide allowed the early trombone to provide with greater ease and stability the lower notes required for the wind band to play in four-part polyphony, and appears to have become an established component of the ensemble by the 1480s when it was described by Tinctoris.²⁵ It is significant that for the wedding of the Constable of Castile's cousin in Andújar in 1470, the First Duke of Medina Sidonia, Juan Alfonso de Guzmán, sent a *sacabuche*,²⁶ so that the event was accompanied by:

many shawm-players and a sackbut-player whom the Duke of Medina Sidonia in honour of this celebration had sent him [the Constable] from Seville, and other minstrels of various kinds, and many trumpets...²⁷

The *sacabuche* may well have been singled out by the musically-aware author because it was something of a novelty in 1470—at least in provincial Andalusia; it is not referred to anywhere else in the Constable's chronicle. Sackbuts are

24 The earliest pictorial representation of a sackbut is held to be that by Filippino Lippi in his *Assumption of the Virgin* of 1488–93; see Alves 2014; see also McGowan 1994: 441–43.

25 The relevant Tinctoris quotation is found in Duffin 1989: 400: 'However, for the lowest contratenor parts, and often for any contratenor part, to the shawm players one adds brass players who play very harmoniously upon the kind of horn which is called *trompone* in Italy, *saqueboute* in France'.

26 On the exchange of musicians between members of the royal and noble families, see Ruiz Jiménez 2009b: 405.

27 Cuevas Mata et al: 356: 'de muchos menestres de chirimías e un *sacabuche* que para onrar esta fiesta le avía enbiado de Sevilla el duque de Medina Sidonia, e otros de diversas maneras, e muchos trompetas'. See Gómez Fernández 2016: 67–68.

mentioned in the employ of the Duke of Medina Sidonia in 1475 (Ruiz Jiménez 2009b: 405), and the First Duke of Alba, García Álvarez de Toledo (d. 1488), travelled with four sackbut-players in his retinue in the 1480s (see Chapter 5). Certainly, by the time Ferdinand and Isabel established their households in the later 1470s, the *sacabuche* was clearly a staple component of the royal wind band, playing together with the shawms or *chirimías*. Possibly the German shawmist Corniels de Alemania was one of the first to play the sackbut in royal circles. He served several Trastamaran monarchs throughout the Iberian Peninsula, including Juan II of Castile, Juan II of Aragon, Afonso V of Portugal, Enrique IV and Isabel (Knighton 2001: 218; Cañas Gálvez 2006: 269). For much of his long period of royal service, from at least 1453 to at least 1480, Corniels is described as a shawmist, but in June 1478 he is referred to as a shawmist and sackbut-player (Cañas Gálvez 2006: 269). His sons Beltrán de Mallea and Pedro de Mallea (whose mother, Catalina Pérez, was Sevillian) served at the Castilian royal court from the early 1490s until 1504 and 1498 respectively, as did a Corniels de Mallea, perhaps a nephew (Knighton 2001: 218).

Such musical dynasties were common within royal and noble households, the inevitable result of the skills required being taught by father to son or uncle to nephew. Another example at the Aragonese court was Bartolomé Gaço, who served the king from at least 1478 to 1481, and who was then paid in the household of the First Duke of Alba until 1492 (see Chapter 5), only to reappear as a royal servant until mid-1511, when he presumably died (Knighton 2001: 212–17). Other members of the Gaço family included Juan (Bartolomé's brother), and Sebastián and Melchor (possibly his sons or nephews), all of whom served until the king's death in 1516, when they passed into the service of Charles V (Anglés 1944: 6, 9, 15 et passim). Another 'ministril alto' in the Aragonese royal household, Jorge de Bolanios (served 1492–1506), was sometimes referred to in the pay documents as Bartolomé Gaço's servant ('criat'), suggesting that he was an apprentice (Knighton 2001: 149). In 1478 Gaço had signed a contract to take on Alonso Vélez de Ayllón and teach him *sacabuche* for a period of six years (Madurell Marimón 1948: 223; Knighton 2001: 149). After one year, Vélez transferred his apprenticeship to Miguel Munyoz, a sackbut-player in Prince Juan's household, and was substituted in Ferdinand's household by Pedro de Toledo. Sackbut-players were thus an established part of both royal households—as well as those of some nobles—from at least the mid-1470s onwards, with all the significance this held for the kind of repertory they played.

The employment of black musicians, presumably of North African origin, as heraldic musicians in royal households was well established by the reign of the Catholic Monarchs. Isabel's father, Juan II, had at least two *moro* drummers in his retinue (Cañas Gálvez 2000: 378, 381). The ethnic origins of trumpeters and



FIGURE 3.2 *The black trumpeter 'John Blanke' depicted in the Westminster Tournament Roll (London, Royal College of Arms)*

drummers were not always specified, but the drummer Cristóbal el Negro served the king between at least 1476 and 1500 (Knighton 2001: 146, 197–205). The black trumpeter Alfonso de Valdenebro served in the households of the royal children, and was rewarded with a horse by Prince Juan in 1495 (Torre 1955, 1: 276). He was one of four trumpeters who travelled to England with Katherine of Aragon in 1501 (Knighton 2001: 146), another of whom was possibly the black trumpeter known as 'John Blanke' (clearly an Anglicized nickname) who formed part of Henry VIII's household from 1506 to 1511/12 and was depicted in the sixty-foot-long Westminster Tournament Roll wearing a turban (Onyeka 2013; Kaufman 2014) (Figure 3.2).²⁸

28 None of the other three trumpeters who travelled to England in 1501—Bernaldino de Benavente, Gonzalo Valero de Bustamante and Luis de Sepúlveda—is referred to as 'negro' in the pay documents.

Other households, royal and noble, also employed black heraldic musicians: the Duke of Medinaceli employed two Moorish drummers ('dos moros con grandes tambores') which made an impression at his ceremonial entries (see Chapter 5).²⁹ Black musicians were, indeed, found at courts throughout Europe, from Italy to Scotland, where a black drummer served James IV in 1504–5 (Lowe & Earle 2005: 37), and they seem to have acquired a certain prestige and become an indispensable element in royal or noble households. Certainly, they were increasingly present in the Iberian Peninsula; slaves from the west coast of Africa were brought directly into Portugal (and exported all over Europe), and 'Indians' were imported from the New World. The tradition of court musicians of different ethnic origins was firmly consolidated in Spain by the time of the Sixth Duke of Medina Sidonia, Juan Alonso de Guzmán (1502–58); from at least 1539 he had a discrete ensemble of eight 'ministriles indios', who played shawms and sackbuts (Ruiz Jiménez 2009b: 408; Gómez Fernández 2016: 254–70). An ensemble of six Guinean minstrels, including a sackbut, shawms and bombards, is depicted in a panel of the retablo of Santa Auta, now in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon (Alves 2014: 64–65) (Figure 3.3). The retablo is dated c. 1522 and shows the wedding of Saint Ursula to Prince Conan, although Kate Lowe has suggested that possibly it depicts allegorically the marriage of João III and Catalina de Austria, granddaughter of Ferdinand and Isabel (Lowe & Earle 2005: 158). According to Rui Pedro De Oliveira Alves, the minstrels may be six out of the seven named in the will of dom Jaime of Braganza (d. 1532), who spent much of his adolescence at the Castilian court (see Chapter 6) (Alves 2014: 82).

The four-part ensemble of shawms of various sizes and early trombone continued with its heraldic and dance functions, but there is also evidence to suggest that the sound of the wind band was increasingly being used not only in processions held outside on major royal events and feast days, but also during liturgical ceremonies in church or chapel. The Constable of Castile's chronicle describes the use of *ministriles altos* inside Jaen Cathedral, as at the feast of the Holy Innocents in 1464, when 'trumpets and shawms played at intervals, both during the procession and at the Elevation of the Body of Our Lord God; and, similarly, even when the priest came out to celebrate Mass.'³⁰

29 The First Duke of Alba also had two 'negrillos' in his chapel in the latter part of the fifteenth century who were taught to sing by the chapel master Juan de Urreda (see Chapter 5).

30 Cuevas Mata et al 2001: 131: 'los quales tronpetas e cheremías tocavan a tiempos, así al tiempo que andava la procesion como al alçar del Cuerpo de nuestro señor Dios; e aun, así mesmo, quando el preste salía a dezir la misa'.



FIGURE 3.3 *Master of the retable of Santa Auta (Lisbon workshop of Afonso Jorge, (c. 1522), detail from the Casamento de Santa Ursula com o Principe Conan (Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, no. 1462. PHOTO: JOSÉ PESSOA; DIREÇÃO-GERAL DO PATRIMÓNIO CULTURAL/ARQUIVO DE DOCUMENTAÇÃO FOTOGRÁFICA (DGP/ADF).*

Such emblematic instrumental interventions were not, however, limited to or considered appropriate only for the topsy-turvy world of Holy Innocents; at Mass on Epiphany the wind band again accompanied the Constable and his wife to Mass, and then ‘played in the church, for the procession and when the Veronica was revealed, and when it was adored, in the same way as at Easter’.³¹ The sound of heraldic instruments at the moment of Elevation seems to have been quite widespread, but at Jaen in the mid-1460s they were clearly playing at several other significant moments as well. It is not clear whether the instrumentalists played together with the singers: *in alternatim* or purely instrumental performance seems more likely.

³¹ Cuevas Mata et al 2001: 135: ‘E desde que era tienpo, iva a missa de terça com las dichas señoras condesa, e las otras señoras e damas, a la iglesia mayor, con los dichos tronpetas e cherimías; los quales tocavan en la esglesia, a la proçesion e quando sacavan la Verónica, e quando la adoravan, segund e en la manera que el día de Pascua’.

No clear reference to the participation of the wind band alongside the singers of the royal chapels has been found, with the exception of the participation of Philip the Fair's cornettist Augustin Schubinger at the Mass celebrated in Toledo Cathedral in 1502 (Knighton 2001: 100; Knighton 2005: 145). However, it seems likely that it happened on occasion, especially behind battle lines: during the campaign to annex Navarre in 1512, the Duke of Nájera 'heard Mass and Vespers with singers and wind band to encourage his troops' ('oyo missas y visperas con musica de cantores y menestres altos por dar animo a su gente') (Hazañas 1853: 138). The extent to which this was an established European-wide practice is not clear. Philip the Fair, on his return journey to Flanders in September 1503, visited his father, Maximilian I, in Innsbruck where he attended Mass and heard 'the king's sackbuts begin the Gradual and play the *Deo gratias* and the *Ite missa est*' ('Et comenchèrent le Grade les sacqueboutes du roy, et jouèrent le Deo Gratias et Ite missa est') (Gachard 1878: 317; Guion 2010: 92–93). As David M. Guion discusses, minstrels were participating in the performance of the Mass in both Italy and German-speaking lands at this time, although Erasmus was to complain bitterly about the competing sounds of voices and instruments and the extra expense to the church of hiring wind-players (Guion 2010: 93).

In Spain, *ministriles altos* were increasingly being used outside princely chapels in cathedrals to solemnify the Mass and Office (see Chapter 7), and in the years after Ferdinand's death, the wind band became a salaried entity there, the earliest known formal institutional contract being that at Seville in 1526. The apparent motivation behind this agreement was that the minstrels were needed for so many occasions that it was in the cathedral's economic interest to put the situation on an official basis (see Chapter 7). While not an exclusively Spanish phenomenon, then, the wind band was consolidated as part of the cathedral soundworld where it would flourish throughout the sixteenth century and beyond. An early depiction of a cathedral wind band is found in the *intarsia* of the choir stalls of Burgos Cathedral, completed by Andrés de Nájera in the period 1505–12 (Ruiz Jiménez 2011: 60; Ruiz Jiménez 2013b: 238, 253) (See Figure 3.4).

The minstrels play cornett, treble shawm, bombard and sackbut, and perform a textless, four-part polyphonic piece copied into a large choirbook which is borne by a 'human' lectern; a fifth person carries another choirbook. The short piece copied into the opening of the choirbook is textless and conforms to the limited range of each instrument (Music Example 3.1).³²

32 The transcription is my own; the piece has also been transcribed in Rey Marcos 1979: 349, and has been recorded by the Ministriles de Marsias, *Trazos de ministriles*, NBMusika 2008.



FIGURE 3.4 *Attrib. Andrés de Nájara (fl. 1504–33), choirstall intarsia (1505–12) depicting a wind band performing from a polyphonic choirbook (Burgos Cathedral)*



EXAMPLE 3.1 *Transcription of the anonymous four-part piece copied in the intarsia of the choirstalls of Burgos Cathedral (1505–12)*

As Pepe Rey has pointed out (Rey Marcos 1979: 349–50), the scene does not necessarily prove that the wind band performed during the liturgy, although the *intarsia* is found within the church environment. It does show, however, that both cornett and early trombone were in use in the wind band of the early years of the sixteenth century, and that these instrumentalists could read white mensural notation. The combined range of the instruments shown would have made performance of this simple four-part piece possible, and the music itself points to an interesting expansion of the wind band's repertory. It is clearly not a work based on a plainchant melody or cantus firmus; rather it exudes the style and phrasing of a song, with a clear-cut cadence and an essentially homophonic texture with brief moments of ornamental elaboration. The

earliest reference to a minstrel manuscript within the church environment is found in a payment by the Seville chapter for the 'notating of a book with some works for the minstrels' dating from 1528, although the Burgos *intarsia* predates this by some years (Ruiz Jiménez 2004: 232–38; Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 95–96). Later minstrel manuscripts confirm that the wind-band repertory included instrumental versions of motets and songs which were performed in church (Kirk 1995; Ruiz Jiménez 2001). The extent to which this was the case earlier in the sixteenth century is unclear, but wind bands are recorded as having played 'songs' at the royal entry of Juan II into the Castle of Buitrago in the early 1450s (Schwartz 2001a: 348). According to the account of Ferdinand's entry into Valladolid in 1513 (Knighton & Morte García 1999), seven *ministriles altos* were placed inside the triumphal arch through which the king passed:³³

Inside this arch were seven *ministriles altos*, four sackbuts and three shawms—and as the king our lord reached this arch, [the figure of] Victory began to declaim some verses in a loud, clear voice ... when these verses were finished, the *ministriles altos* inside the arch played their instruments, and performed some very well composed songs; and thus his highness passed beneath the arch...³⁴

This description evokes both the importance of the wind band in accompanying the king's passage through the triumphal arch, as well as the nature of the music they played: 'very well composed songs', that is, written down polyphonic works in the vernacular, that were probably notated in choirbook format as in the Burgos *intarsia* rather than improvised. The flexibility of a musically literate wind band able to encompass a four-part texture had implications for both the repertory they could perform and for performance practice: voices might be substituted, doubled or accompanied. A description of the performance of a ballad from later in the sixteenth century would certainly seem to suggest that the wind ensemble might have accompanied or played a prelude for a solo singer:

33 Eight *ministriles altos* were paid in the Aragonese household in 1513: Juan Gaço, Melchor Gaço, Sebastian Gaço, Juan Gines, Juan Galiano, Anton Lucas de Borbon, Juan Perez de Mesa and Juan Sardela (Knighton 2001: 217).

34 Knighton & Morte García 1999: 149–53, 160–61: 'Dentro deste arco estauan metidos siete menistriles altos: los quatro sacabuches y los tres cheremias: y en llegando el rey nuestro señor cerca deste arco començo la vitoria en boz alta e inteligible a dezir las coplas. Caba-das estas coplas tocaron los menistriles altos que estauan en el dicho arco sus instrumentos y tañeron vnas canciones muy bien compuestas: y assi paso su alteza por baxo del arco' (Soto 1513).

three cornetts and a sackbut began to play with such sweet harmony that it evoked celestial music. And then a voice began to sing—in my opinion better than could possibly be imagined.³⁵

This later description may not accurately reflect the soundworld of the court of the Catholic Monarchs, but it was during their reign that the wind band made great strides towards becoming an ensemble that could do so much more than make a lot of noise to signal the royal presence.

The Bowed and Plucked Vihuela

Instrumental accompaniment of sung romances was traditionally one of the main functions of the vihuela, whether bowed or plucked, but during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs the instrument not only began to expand its repertory but also to attract the attention of non-professional musicians to a much greater extent than previously. Milán's 1536 teach-yourself manual largely reflects the needs of non-professional players, especially among the nobility of the generation after Ferdinand and Isabel who sought to establish their credentials as all-round Renaissance men (Gässer 1996; Villanueva Serrano 2011b), but its roots lay in earlier court instrumental practice. The royal secretary's description of Ferdinand as listening to vihuela music after lunch conformed to a widespread European trope,³⁶ and it is likely that this 'musica de biuela' included vihuela-accompanied songs, especially ballads (romances), a well-established practice in the Iberian world. Juan Alfonso de Sevilla, lutenist of the Aragonese royal household, is described in Pedro Tafur's *Andanças* (1453–54) as being held in high esteem by the Emperor of Constantinople, John VIII

35 'comenzaron a tocar tres cornetas y un sacabuche, con tan gran concierto que parecía una música celestial. Y luego comenzó una voz que cantaba a mi parecer lo mejor que nadie podría pensar' (Montemayor 1559; cited in Dumanoir 2003: 109–110).

36 Earlier examples include Charles V of France (1338–80) (Dickens 1977: 29), and the Duke of Burgundy Charles the Bold (1433–77) (Robledo 2003: 17–18). A particularly interesting parallel is that of Manuel I of Portugal (1469–1521), as described by the Portuguese humanist Damião de Gois, who often listened to chamber music in his office, always during siesta-time and at bed-time: 'Foi mui musico da vontade que has mais das vezes que staua em despacho, & sempre pela sésta, & depois ques se langaua na cama, era com ter musica' (Gois 1566–67, 4: 224) (see Chapter 6).

Palaiologus, because 'he sang romances in Castilian to the lute' ('le cantaba romances castellanos en un laúd') (Gómez Muntané 2009: 264).³⁷

Ballads telling of chivalric valour had a particular relevancy in the Spanish kingdoms, with the centuries-old crusade against Arabic occupation. Diego Rodríguez de Almela's *Compendio historial*, written for Isabel in 1479, but not formally presented to the queen until 1491, elaborates on the tradition: 'Those kings and princes of old, recalling the great splendour of the deeds and acts of war also commanded that their singers came with their lutes and vihuelas and other instruments so that they might play and sing the ballads that were devised to tell of celebrated knightly deeds' ('Aquellos reyes e principes antiguos, considerando el muy gran resplandor de los fechos e actos de guerra mandavan otrosi que los menestrilles e juglares viniesen con sus laudes y vihuelas y otros ynstrumentos para que con ellos les tañessen e cantasen los romances que heran ynventados de los fechos famosos de cavalleria' (Menéndez de Pidal 1924: 376–77; Knighton 1992: 578). Enrique IV commissioned a ballad to be composed and sung following a successful skirmish against the Moors in 1462 (Cuevas Mata et al. 2001: 77).³⁸ This apparently unimproved, all-vocal performance of a ballad by the singers of the royal chapel may have marked an important shift in ballad performance, enhancing the genre's status as official, image-making music—a form of *Staatsmusik* in the vernacular. In Ferdinand's day, court *trobadores*³⁹ and composers likened the king to the great Roman conquerors such as Alexander the Great, as in Anchieta's polyphonic setting of *En memoria d'Alixandre* (Gómez Muntané 2014a). Milán's *El Maestro* shows that ballads also continued to be sung to the accompaniment of a plucked string instrument (see Chapter 13).

According to Tinctoris, it was the bowed vihuela ('viola cum arculo') that was commonly used to accompany recitations of epic poetry (Woodfield 1984: 79). Players of both plucked and bowed vihuelas, as well as lutenists, were employed in the royal households during the reigns of the Catholic Monarchs (Knighton 2001: 152–56; Rey [Marcos] 2006), a period during which, according to John Griffiths, the vihuela was in a transitional, experimental phase: the addition of a raised bridge to the vihuela *de arco* and the use of the fingers

37 The royal tradition of listening to historical romances apparently continued into the reign of Philip III (r. 1598–1621), who listened to the 'hechos famosos en guerra' of his predecessors sung to the accompaniment of the claviorgan (Robledo 2003: 17–18).

38 'E por tan grande fue avido este fecho, que el rey, nuestro señor, porque mayor memoria quedase, le mandó fazer un romance; el qual a los cantores de su capilla mandó asonar'.

39 At least one *trobador*, Hernando de Ribera, received a salary in the Aragonese royal household from 1483 until 1501 (Knighton 1992: 578; Knighton 2001: 158).

rather than a plectrum on the vihuela *de mano* transformed both into fully-fledged solo instruments capable of playing polyphonic intabulations and virtuoso idiomatic writing (Griffiths 2010). Tinctoris, in his *De inventione et usu musice* of 1480, states that the vihuela was invented by the Spanish, and describes it as having a body flatter than that of the lute, with its sides curved inwards (Woodfield 1984: 39; Minamino 2004: 177). He also claimed that the 'viola sine arculo', or plucked vihuela, was more commonly used than the lute in Spain (Minamino 2004: 177), although references to both are found throughout the period in household accounts, inventories of instruments and general literature. A fifteenth-century drawing of the allegorical figure of Music as one of the Seven Liberal Arts described in Alfonso de la Torre's *Visión deleitable* (1454), shows her holding a portative organ and a vihuela with deeply indented waist and curved pegbox (Figure 3.5).⁴⁰

The Italian humanist Paolo Cortese considered the sound of the vihuela to be less resonant and varied than that of the lute, claiming that the ear was more quickly sated by its sweet but even tone.⁴¹ Vihuelists from the Iberian Peninsula were nevertheless highly esteemed in Italy, notably the Catalan Benedetto Gareth ('Il Chariteo') who travelled to the Aragonese court in Naples in 1465 and is said to have sung Virgil's verse, as well as frottole and strambotti, to King Ferdinand II (Atlas 1984: 102). Gareth's fame travelled beyond Aragonese Naples, making an impression on the great *improvvisatore* Serafino Aquilano (1466–1500) in Milan in 1490 (Atlas 1984: 83); his setting of *Amando e deseando io vivo* was included in Petrucci's ninth volume of frottole of 1508 (Atlas 1984: 10). Isabella d'Este was keen to acquire a vihuela in the later 1490s, and a fine example is depicted in the intarsie of her studiolo in the ducal palace in Mantua created in 1506–8 (Minamino 2004: 184–85). The presence of Spanish vihuelists in Italy is attested to by the description sent to Isabella d'Este by the Ferrarese court chancellor, Bernardino Propsero, of the festivities held at Vigarano near Milan in 1493: '[the Duke of Bar] ordered the Spanish musicians sent from Rome by the very reverend Monsignore Ascanio to play; they played vihuelas [*virole*] almost as big as me and in truth their sound is more sweet than highly skilled' (Prizer 1982: 101–2). The instrument painted by Bernardino

40 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds Esp. 39, fol. 14v (colophon dated 18 November 1477). Each of the Seven Liberal Arts is represented by a lady in fifteenth-century dress holding the relevant attribute(s). The work is believed to have been written in 1454 for Ferdinand's half-brother, Charles of Viana. On fol. 15r the text refers to 'vnos organos manuales'. I am very grateful to Jane Whetnall for drawing this image to my attention.

41 (Pirrotta 1984: 103) 'Almost the same could be said of the Spanish lyre [vihuela], were it not that its equal and soft (*lenta*) sweetness is usually rejected by the satiety of the ear, and its uniformity is longer than it could be desired by the limits imposed by the ear.'



FIGURE 3.5 Alfonso de la Torre, *Visión deleitable* (1454): Allegorical figure of Music from a copy dated 18 November 1477 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds esp. 39, fol. 14v)

Pinturicchio in about 1492 in the Vatican apartments of the Valencian pope Rodrigo de Borja (r. 1492–1503) has a flat back, pronounced waist and curved pegbox, and is clearly played by the fingers (Minamino 2004: 180). The Seville *Ordenanças* cited above, as well as some inventory descriptions (including those of the lutes in the Segovia Alcázar), make it clear that at least by the mid-fifteenth century, the body of the vihuela was ribbed or made from wooden strips, rather than from a single, hollowed out piece of wood, meaning that the instrument was considerably lighter, more resonant and could be easily made in a variety of sizes (Romanillos Vega & Harris Winspear 2002: xvii). This more flexible and portable instrument surely accounts in large part for the increase in its popularity and accessibility.

The differences between the bowed and plucked vihuela can clearly be seen in the series of angel musicians depicted in the ceiling of the vault of the main altar of Valencia Cathedral painted in about 1472–81 on the instructions of Rodrigo de Borja (1431–1503) (Ballester 2011). Although Jordi Ballester has drawn attention to the mix of organological fantasy and reality in these angelic frescoes, the raised bridge on the bowed vihuela (Figure 3.6), and the use of the fingers in the plucked vihuela (Figure 3.7) can clearly be seen, and would confirm that the distinction between the two instruments was established by the time of the Catholic Monarchs (Griffiths 2010: 16–17).

The earliest known reference to the playing of a plucked string instrument with the fingers is found in a work by the royal chronicler Alonso de Palencia (1423–92); in his *Perfección del triunfo militar* of 1459 he described Apollo playing ‘many sweet musical instruments and notably the guitar with his own thumb, putting aside the plectrum’ (‘muchos suaves instrumentos y señaladamente la guitarra con su propio pulgar, dexada la péñola’) (Griffiths 2010: 16).

That something quite new happened or was consolidated during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs is suggested by the case of the vihuelist Rodrigo Donaire, who served several members of the royal family and the nobility. Donaire first appears in March 1493 when he was appointed as a ‘player of the vihuela’ (‘tañedor de vihuela’) of the Castilian royal household; there were two or three other ‘players of the royal chamber’ at the time, including Alonso de Baena, appointed on 30 May 1493, who played both bowed vihuela and lute (Knighton 2001: 153). These musicians served the queen and the royal children, and at some point Donaire must have travelled to Portugal, probably with the monarchs’ third daughter, Maria, in 1500. The monarchs’ ambassador to Portugal, Ochoa Álvarez de Isasaga, describes the festivities at the Portuguese court on Christmas Eve 1500 (Knighton 2001: 154):



FIGURE 3.6 *Angel musician playing the vihuela de arco (Valencia Cathedral, second half of the fifteenth century)* © PHOTOGRAPH BY PASCUAL JOSE MERCE MARTINEZ

After eating, the king [Manuel I] went to the queen's chambers and, when the Infanta had left, he ordered the room to be cleared, and then the king and queen were alone listening to music by Rodrigo Donayre and his companions.⁴²

42 'En acabando de comer vino el señor rey a la camara de la señor reyna, e, yendose la infanta, mando despejar la camara, y despues estovieron el rey e la reyna solos oyendo musica de Rodrigo de Donayre y sus compañeros' (Torre & Suárez Fernández 1958–63, 3: 7; cited in Knighton 2001: 154).



FIGURE 3.7 *Angel musician playing the vihuela de mano (Valencia Cathedral, second half of the fifteenth century)* © PHOTOGRAPH BY PASCUAL JOSE MERCE MARTINEZ

Donaire's companions are not mentioned by name, but they may well have been vihuelists. He returned to Castile and reappears in the service of the Count of Tendilla, Íñigo López de Mendoza (d. 1515), who was the first governor of Granada. In a letter to don Íñigo Manrique de Lara dated 11 April 1513, the Count wrote:

I brought Rodrigo Donaire, as your worthiness agreed, and now because of Galiano's refusal I have taken on another instrumentalist and he is also

a servant of Diego Hernández; if he has one *tiple*,⁴³ I have three others perfect for songs and more. Anything to do with music you might come across there, send it here, for this is all the rage now.⁴⁴

Donaire's employment by the Count of Tendilla was short-lived; less than two weeks later, on 23 April 1513, Tendilla wrote to the Count of Palma, Luis Fernández Portocarrero y Bocanegra (d. 1528): 'Rodrigo Donaire has left me; I think he is going to a place where they think he sang well; I was telling him to be quiet all the time' ('Ya se me fue Rodrigo Donaire, creo que va a cantar donde crean que cantava bien, que yo cada hora le dezia que callase') (Meneses García 1973–74, 2: 266; cited in Knighton 2001: 156). The Count explains Donaire's rapid departure on the grounds that he was not paid enough (he appears to have received 20,000 maravedís rather than the 30,000 maravedís he earned at court) and that two wits ('donaires'), like two madmen, could not be in the same place at the same time. Donaire subsequently went to serve the Fifth Duke of Medina Sidonia, Alonso Pérez de Guzmán; he appears in pay documents for the ducal household from 1513 to 1516, along with another vihuelist, a harpist, eleven chapel singers and an organist, seven *ministriles altos* and a corps of six trumpeters and a drummer (Ruiz Jiménez 2009b: 410; Gómez Fernández 2016: 126, 138 and 140). The trajectory of Donaire's career, as singer and vihuelist, from the royal courts of Castile and Portugal to a series of noble households in Andalusia over a period of almost twenty years reflects the customary mobility of musicians at this time, but the Count of Tendilla's correspondence suggests a degree of rivalry among the aristocracy who sought to secure the best musicians. It would seem that in the early sixteenth century, chamber musicians (*músicos de camara* or *tañedores*) were in demand on an unprecedented scale among the social élite who could afford to pay them. An interesting example of the employment of a vihuela teacher of Moorish descent dates from September 1489 when the nobleman don Pedro de Mendoza contracted Ali Aucert 'moro natural del lugar de Mora de Falcet [Catalonia]' to

43 The use of the word *tiple* here is potentially confusing: the term indicated both the topmost voice of a polyphonic work or a solo singer with a high vocal tessitura; whether the Count is referring to polyphonic performance by three high voices (and some settings do survive in the Palace Songbook), or to three different solo singers who were accompanied by vihuela, is not clear. *Tiple* could also refer to an instrument of high tessitura, such as a soprano shawm.

44 'Truxe a Rodrigo Donaire, como vuestra merçed conçerto y agora para sobrehusa de Galiano he tomado otro tañedor y también es criado de Diego Hernandes; si un tiple ouiese, tengo otros tres singulares para cançiones y para mas. Qualquier cosa de musica que por alla atravesare venga aca que esta es agora el tema' (Meneses García 1973–74, 2: 230; cited in Knighton 2001: 155).

be his servant and to teach him (Mendoza) to play the vihuela ('Item que me hayades de facer aprender de tanyer de viuella') (Pallares Jiménez 1992a: 75; Griffiths 2010: 26).

Ensembles of musicians are often mentioned during the period:⁴⁵ in 1501 Katherine of Aragon was accompanied to England by a group of six chamber musicians who had served her brother and sisters before her: the tambourine-players Pedro de Narbona and Juan de Garamendí, the harpist Peti Juan, the *dulzaina*-player Jaime Rejón and the *rabelistas* Juan and Diego de Madrid (Llorens Cisteró 1993: 172–73; Knighton 2001: 154). If these musicians regularly played together as an ensemble, it would suggest a prototype mixed consort (Kreitner 2009: 152). At the same time, the introduction of a curved bridge gave much greater potential to the bowed vihuela for the realization of complex melodic lines, and it is possible to glimpse the beginnings of the viol consort as the polyphonic implications of using instruments of different sizes were realized and the ability to read mensural notation increased. Three rebec-players (*rebecques*) of the Archbishop of Saragossa, Alonso de Aragon (Ferdinand's illegitimate son), entertained Philip the Fair during his visit to Saragossa to be sworn as heir to the Aragonese throne in 1502;⁴⁶ could this be an early reference to a viol consort or, at least, an ensemble of three bowed instruments playing three-voice polyphony? The rebec-player Juan de Madrid had served Prince Juan from 1487, and was much lauded by Fernández de Oviedo, who described him as a weaver from the village of Carabanchel near Madrid, 'from whence come better farmworkers than musicians, but this one was very good' (Llorens Cisteró 1993: 158; Knighton 2001: 153; Griffiths 2010: 24–25).

Only a few years later, in 1509, the Fourth Duke of Medina, Enrique Pérez de Guzmán (d. 1512), employed four players of the vihuela *de arco* which might suggest a prototype viol consort (see Chapter 5). Certainly, by 1539 when the Sixth Duke, Juan Alonso de Guzmán, made a magnificent entry into Toledo, 'six Italians with their vihuelas *de arco*' formed part of the procession (Ruiz Jiménez 2009b: 408; Gómez Fernández 2016: 85–89). The presence of these Italian musicians is significant in various ways, but ensembles of indigenous viol-players were clearly already in existence in the Iberian Peninsula. An

45 Ensembles of three players often appear in the literature of the period, as in a poem by Costana headed 'Como el afición y el esperanza le vieron a pedir estrenas en forma de menestres' included in the *Cancionero general* of 1511 (Knighton 1992: 572–73); the three 'instrumentalists' played harp, lute and bowed vihuela, a combination also often found in angel-musician paintings of the period. On larger ensembles of soft instruments, see Kreitner 2009.

46 '[...] fist venir jouer devant Monsigneur trois rebecques moults bons' (Gachard 1878: 248; cited in Knighton 2001: 154)

example is the Baena family: Alonso de Baena, the lutenist and player of the bowed vihuela of the Castilian royal household mentioned above, had three sons—Gonzalo, Francisco and Diego—all of whom played the vihuela *de arco*, and all of whom travelled to Portugal, possibly in 1500 in Princess Maria's retinue (along with Donaire). Alternatively, they may have gone to Portugal after Isabel's death in 1504; certainly, they were there by 1511 when they are described as 'musicos de camara del rey' (Knighton 2012a: 24–25). A Portuguese court document dating from 1515–16, and recently discovered by Bernadette Nelson,⁴⁷ confirms that the Baena brothers all played the bowed vihuela and presumably formed a consort.

The vihuelist Gonzalo de Baena is of particular interest since he would later publish the first volume of keyboard tablature to be printed in the Iberian Peninsula (Lisbon 1540) (Knighton 1996, 2012a). In his prologue dedicated to João III, Baena implies that he had been contemplating this project for some time, and makes reference to the 'very magnificent secret of the living wheel of song put by skill into the language of moors and blacks' ('muy magnifico secreto de la rueda biua del canto puesto por arte en lengua de moros y negros'). Andrés Cea Galán suggests that Baena is referring to another book of tablature with the title 'Rueda biua del canto' destined for use in the African lands under Portuguese dominion and so translated into their language ('lengua') (Cea Galán 2014: 249). A broader reading of the word 'lengua' might refer to a musical language, that is, a way of writing down music in letter tablature. A further association between tablature notation and the presence of the Moors in the Iberian Peninsula is suggested by a short treatise entitled *Ars pulsacione musicalia instrumenta*, thought to have been published in Barcelona on 26 August 1497 (Cea Galán 2014: 1012–16).⁴⁸ The *Ars pulsacione*, which mentions lute, vihuela and 'cytharam', is attributed to Fernando Castillo, whose pupils included the rector of Gasserandis in the diocese of Gerona, a monk referred to as Brother Febrer and his own son, said to be more skillful than his father (Cea Galán 2014: 1014). He is referred to as 'hyspanis' (Castilian) but resident in Barcelona. Castillo describes a letter tablature devised by 'Fulan, a Moor from

47 I am very grateful to Bernadette Nelson for communicating the substance of this document to me in an email dated 23 March 2012 (Knighton 2012a: 10–11). Further members of the Baena dynasty were an Afonso de Baena who served in the Évora-based household of dom Enrique, and Antonio de Baena, son of Gonzalo, and also a composer.

48 The only known copy, originally held at the Capuchin convent of San Antonio in Gerona, was destroyed during the War of Independence (1808–14), but Jaime Villanueva (1765–1824) copied part of it in his *Viage literario a las iglesias de España* (volume xiv, published posthumously in 1850).

Granada' in which 'a' represents the semitone, and, by implication, 'b' a tone, 'c' a tone plus a semitone, and so on.

Had Baena seen a copy of this book somewhere, whether in Castile or Portugal? The Barcelona *Ars pulsacione* and the fragment of tablature copied onto the fly-leaf of the British Library copy of Lucius Marineus Siculus's *Epistolarum familiarum* (Valladolid, 1514) (Corona-Alcalde 1992) certainly suggests that tablatures were in circulation around 1500 and may have been highly influential as regards the use of plucked instruments in amateur music-making well before Milán's *El maestro*. Juan Bermudo, writing in the 1550s, describes several different tablatures that had been in circulation for some time, and infers that almost anyone could invent his own system (Knighton 1996: 83–85, 104–5). He considered tablature to be a good way of learning an instrument if the pupil was unable to read mensural notation.⁴⁹ There must have been many amateur nobles who did not read mensural notation, but who became accomplished vihuelists; indeed, being able to play the vihuela was already considered a social attribute among the nobility at the time of the Catholic Monarchs. Rodrigo Osorio de Moscoso (d. 1510), Second Count of Altamira, was 'well formed, gracious in speech, a good horseman in both saddles, very free in running and in throwing the rod, lance and dart, player of guitar and vihuela' ('bien hecho, gracioso en su habla, buen caballero de ambas sillas, muy suelto de correr y soltar y tirar la barra, la lanza y el dardo, tañedor de vihuela y de guitarra') (Griffiths 2010: 26).

The all-round accomplished courtier—soldier, poet, musician—begins to make an appearance from the time of the Catholic Monarchs (see Chapter 5). Amateur musicians such as Ferdinand Columbus (1488–1539), son of the explorer, also began to be serious collectors of music, whether manuscript or printed. In 1509, he owned 'six partbooks for playing, with forty-seven pages of instrumental music without counting the blank pages' ('seis cuadernos de tañer que tienen cuarenta y siete hojas del tañer, sin las blancas'), and the post-mortem inventory of his possessions included 'A wrapper that reads music for vihuela and clavichord' ('Un envoltorio que dice música de vihuela y monacordio'), 'ballads for singing and playing' ('romances para cantar y tañer'), and a harpischord ('clavicordio') (Ruiz Jiménez 2014a: 6). As Juan Ruiz Jiménez has pointed out, on a book-buying journey to Italy in 1512–13 Columbus bought six Petrucci books of lute music, among them the collections of Francesco Spinacino and Joan Ambrosio Dalza, whose *Intabulatura de lauto* of 1508

49 'Aprovechan mucho las cifras para los principantes. Si un maestro que enseña a tañer tiene discípulos que no saben cantar, por cifras les puede enseñar' (Bermudo 1555: fol. 83r; cited in Cea Galán 2014: 123).

includes at least two works—a dance and a song—of Spanish origin (Ruiz Jiménez 2014a: 8; Griffiths 2010: 32). The extent to which the earliest lute tablatures printed by Ottaviano Petrucci from 1507 onwards reached the Iberian Peninsula remains to be studied, but they were to be found in the house of at least one music-lover in Seville.⁵⁰

At the same time there was a veritable vogue for a new breed of increasingly virtuoso player from at least the last decades of the fifteenth century, professionals who were highly musically literate and developed their own techniques. According to Bermudo, a tablature devised by an individual could also serve as a kind of secret code ‘which only he, and those to whom he discloses it, will understand’ (‘Qualquier tañedor estudioso puede inventar ... otras cifras, las quales él sólo entenderá, y a quien él las declararé’) (Bermudo 1555: 84v; cited in Cea Galán 2014: 31). Several of these virtuosos from the time of the Catholic Monarchs, such as Garci Sánchez de Badajoz (‘Badajoz el Músico’) (c. 1460–c. 1526) (Ros-Fábregas 2003; and see Chapter 2), and Luis de Guzmán (d. 1528)—acquired almost legendary status. Later sixteenth-century writers considered Badajoz to be the most skillful vihuelist of the time, renowned for his ability to improvise accompaniments to well known songs (‘estaba componiendo aquellas coplas ... las componía [y] tañia juntamente en la vihuela’) (Griffiths 2010: 25). Guzmán was praised by Bermudo for technical aspects of his playing—the use of scordatura and playing on a seven-course instrument from the corresponding tablature.⁵¹ Others praised his skill, as singer and player, and his ability to make the strings ‘speak’, enrapturing his listeners in the manner of Orpheus: ‘very great master of the vihuela’ (‘grandísimo maestro de vihuela’) (Paolo Giovio); ‘the best vihuelist of his time’ (‘el mayor músico de vihuela que hubo en su tiempo’) (Sandoval); ‘most celebrated in lute and sweetness of voice’ (‘famosísimo en el laúd y de suave voz’) (early seventeenth-century history of Granada); and ‘on the vihuela, [was] the recently deceased Guzmán, who made the strings speak with such excellence and harmony that he entranced his listeners, and, at a perfect cadence, woke them with a wand’ (‘en la vihuela murió poco ha Guzmán, que hacía hablar las cuerdas con tanta excelencia y armonía que traía los hombres bobos tras sí y, a una vuelta de consonancia, los despertaba con una vara’) (Villalón).⁵² Virtuosos such as

50 Other Petrucci volumes from the first decade of the sixteenth century were still available in Barcelona in the mid-sixteenth century (Knighton 2005b).

51 ‘que no se contente con el temple de la vihuela común sino témpole a su voluntad, y cifra conforme al temple’ (Bermudo 1555: fol. 93v); ‘En cifras de el notable músico Guzmán hallaréis una vihuela de siete órdenes’ (Bermudo 1555: fol. 38v).

52 Details of all these quotations in John Griffiths, ‘Guzmán, Luis de’, in *DMEH*, 6: 169–70.

Sánchez de Badajoz and Guzmán formed a bridge between the years around 1500 and the generation of Milán and Luys de Narváez (Sage 1992; Gásser 1996; Griffiths 2010; Villanueva Serrano 2011b), and their virtuosity can perhaps be glimpsed in the complex duos copied into the Segovia manuscript towards the end of the fifteenth century (see Chapter 13) (Banks 1999: 300–304; Banks 2006).

Keyboard Instruments

An organ is depicted on the title-page of Gonzalo de Baena's 1540 *Arte*, although he clearly addressed the contents of the book to keyboard-players in general. The variety of keyboards in use during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs is reflected in the inventories cited above: clavichords, spinets, harpsichords, organs and claviorgans are commonly found. The claviorgan is of particular interest for the technology involved, the ethnicity of the maker and the sudden vogue for such instruments from the last decades of the fifteenth century.⁵³ The Escorial manuscript of Fernández de Oviedo's *Libro de la camara real* adds further detail: 'it was the first [claviorgan] seen in Spain, which was given to His Highness by his brother, the most reverend don Alonso de Aragón, Archbishop of Saragossa, [illegitimate] son of the Catholic King; and it was made by a great Moorish instrument-maker of that city, called Moferriz, whom I knew'.⁵⁴ The purported novelty of this instrument and the identification of its Arabic maker have drawn the attention of music and art historians (Calahorra Martínez 1974; Calahorra Martínez 1987; Calahorra Martínez 1993a; Morte García 1999). The earliest known theoretical reference to a claviorgan is found in Paulirinus of Prague's *Liber viginti atrium* of 1460, but the first mention of the construction of the instrument relates to a contract with Mahoma Mofferiz dating from 1479.⁵⁵ Mofferiz, 'maestro de órganos y clavicémbalos', lived in Saragossa's

53 A Flemish claviorgan dating from 1579 survives at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (Rose 2004; Charlston 2009). The claviorgan, as its name suggests, was a keyboard instrument that combined the harpsichord and organ, so that both pipes and strings could be sounded.

54 'Avia en su camara vn claviorgano, que fue el primero que en España se vido, el qual dio a su alteza su hermano, reverendisimo don Alfonso de Aragon, arçobispo de Zaragoza, hijo del Rey Catolico; e hizolo un gran maestro mo[r]o de aquella ciudad, llamado Moferriz, que yo conoci' (Fernández de Oviedo 1870: 183).

55 According to the online checklist drawn up by Eleanor Smith and Terence Charlston, 'A Chronological Checklist of Claviorgans and References to Claviorgans' at <<http://home.page.ntlworld.com/terence.charlston/Claviorgan.htm>>.

Arabic quarter; his brother Braham, sons Mahoma and Calema, and grandsons Miguel and Gabriel, were all keyboard-makers (*organeros*), while his great-grandson, Gabriel, was a *violero*. In 1484 Mofferiz was paid by the king's treasurer—on the queen's orders—for repairing an organ and a harpsichord. It is not known when the Archbishop of Saragossa sent his half-brother, Prince Juan, the claviorgan made by Mofferiz, though it has been suggested that it was a gift on the birth of the legitimate heir to the throne in 1478 (Morte García 1999: 1116). As discussed above, the Mofferiz workshop was ordered to Granada in 1492 to repair the keyboard instruments, and again in 1500, for further repairs on two claviorgans (Calahorra Martínez 1993: 116).⁵⁶

Mofferiz's pioneering instruments were disseminated throughout the peninsula with the travels of the peripatetic royal court, and may have travelled beyond the Pyrenees; in 1488 he built an instrument for John of Cologne, then residing in Saragossa. It is possible that one travelled to England with Katherine of Aragon in 1500, although references to claviorgans in England have so far only been traced back to the 1530s (Barry 1990); significantly, they were inventoried among Henry VIII's possessions in the 1540s. References to claviorgans in France and Italy in the first half of the sixteenth century attest to the spread of the instrument; it was used, for example, in the Florentine intermedii in 1539. It is impossible to know at this stage in the research whether Mofferiz 'invented' the instrument, but he was clearly one of the earliest builders, and his technological tour de force rapidly percolated through the courts of the higher echelons of society, quite probably in emulation of Prince Juan. Table 3.4 represents a summary of the claviorgans owned by the members of the nobility in the time of the Catholic Monarchs.⁵⁷

The renowned Mofferiz dynasty of keyboard-makers continued to be active throughout the sixteenth century; for example, 'un clavicordio [harpsichord] del moro de Zaragoza' is listed in the post-mortem inventory of the possessions of Cardinal Juan Tavera, Archbishop of Toledo (d. 1545) (Morte García 1999: 1121), and in 1548 Miguel de Albariel, a member of the Mofferiz dynasty, constructed another claviorgan. Lucía Gómez Fernández has suggested that the claviorgan owned by the Third Duke of Medina Sidonia in 1507 may have been acquired in Seville (Gómez Fernández 2016: 101–2).

The fame garnered by Mahoma Mofferiz mirrors the general recognition increasingly granted to musicians during this period. Among the most celebrated keyboard-players of the age was Lope de Baena, organist of the royal

56 The 1505 post-mortem inventory of Isabel's possessions included a section devoted to 'claviorganos e claveçimbalos e monacordios, etc.' (Morte García 1999: 1117).

57 The information for Table 3.4 is taken from Calahorra Martínez 1993: 116–17, Morte García 1999: 1118–20, and the online checklist by Smith and Charlston.

TABLE 3.4 *Owners of claviorgans in the time of the Catholic Monarchs*

Decade	Year	Owner
1480s	?	don Alonso de Aragón, Archbishop of Saragossa (1470–1520)
	?	Prince Juan, heir to the Castilian and Aragonese thrones
	1488	(1478–97) Juan de Colonia, resident in Saragossa
1490s	1493	Garcí Fernández Manrique, 1 Marquis of Aguilar del Campoo (d. 1506)
	1497	Fadrique Enríquez, Admiral of Castile (1485–1538)
	1497	<i>Clavero</i> of the Order of Calatrava, either fray Gutierre de Padilla
	1498	(d. 1497) or fray Alonso de Silva
	1498	Bishop of Plasencia, don Gutierre Álvarez de Toledo (d. 1506)
	1498	(son of the First Duke of Alba) (d. 1506) commissioned a claviorgan
		Princess Isabel, eldest daughter of the Catholic Monarchs, Queen of Portugal (1470–98)
1500s		Conde de Ureña, don Juan Téllez Girón, Master of the Order of Calatrava (1456–1528)
		Don Guillén Ramón de Moncada (d. 1521), Bishop of Tarazona
	1502	Don Gutierre Álvarez de Toledo, Bishop of Plasencia, commissions a ‘clabicinbalo, organo et arpa con sus mesturas’
	1507	Juan Pérez de Guzmán, III Duke of Medina Sidonia (1463–1507)
1510s	c. 1509	Don Alonso de Aragón, Archbishop of Saragossa
	1511	Don Manuel I, King of Portugal (1469–1521)
	1511	Chaplain of the Bishop of Laodicea paid 3000 sueldos to Mofferiz for a claviorgan to be delivered to don Alfonso de Aragón in three months
1520s	1523	First Marquis of Cenete, Rodrigo de Vilar y Mendoza (1473–1523)

chapels from 1478 until he disappears from the pay roll in September 1506, when he may well have died, or possibly taken up the ecclesiastical benefice to which the monarchs had presented him in February 1494 (Knighton 2001: 323).⁵⁸ He appears not to have been related to the Baena family of vihuelists,

58 Lope de Baena joined the Aragonese royal chapel on 15 April 1478 as ‘tanyedor e cantor de la capilla’, and served there until at least 1482. From at least 1484 he became organist in the

since they originated from Seville (Knighton 2012a: 24). Three polyphonic songs are attributed to Lope de Baena in the Palace Songbook, and four more simply to 'Baena'. Various references to Baena the organist in, and possibly after, his lifetime suggest that he was an important figure at court who achieved considerable renown. Like Francisco de Peñalosa, Juan Ponce and other royal chapel singers, he was on familiar terms with the Sicilian humanist Lucius Marineus Siculus (1460–1533), royal chronicler and member of the Aragonese royal chapel with responsibility for teaching Latin to its members (Knighton 2002). In 1504 Baena showed his teacher a letter written in Latin by his niece, Juana Contreras, and asked him to correct it (Jiménez Calvente 2001: 714–18). In Marineus's letter to Juana Contreras, dated 1 August 1504, he talks of his close friendship with her uncle Baena, and of the many virtues for which he is 'celebrated with much fame throughout the world' ('quae per totum terrarum orbem clarissima celebratur'), and of 'his outstanding knowledge of music most sweet' ('eius dulcissimae musicae praestantem scientiam') (Jiménez Calvente 2001: 716).⁵⁹ In fray Francisco de Ávila's 1508 poem *La vida y la muerte o Vergel de los discretos*, Baena is again praised for his musical prowess as a composer and a player (using the Classicizing term 'citarista') (Asenjo Barbieri 1890: 24; Knighton 2001: 325; Marino 2011: 73–74). It is not clear whether the 'Vaena' praised as an organist by the Portuguese poet and chronicler García de Resende (1470–1536) in his *Miscellania* of 1532 refers to Lope, or possibly to one of the Sevillian Baena family who served at the Portuguese court during the first half of the sixteenth century (see Chapter 6), probably Gonzalo, author of the 1540 *Arte* (Knighton 2001: 325; Knighton 2012a: 30–31). Lope de Baena might well be the 'Lope' praised as a celebrated keyboard-player by Cristóbal de Villalón in his *Ingeniosa comparación entre lo antiguo y el presente* (1539).⁶⁰

There was always at least one organist serving in each of the royal chapels, and payments were also made to organ-builders, such as Diego Ximenez from Logroño, for the construction and repair of organs (Knighton 2001: 97–99). The organist's duties in the royal chapel were similar to those of the cathedral organist (see Chapter 7). According to a note added to the *Ordenações* (1344) of the Aragonese king Pere IV el Cerimoniós (1319–87), the organist was to play at Vespers and Mass on the major liturgical feasts of the year (Anglés 1975–76, 2: 943–44; Gómez Muntaner 1979, 1: 112; Knighton 2001: 128) (see Table 3.5).

Castilian royal chapel, where he remained until after the death of Isabel in 1504, when he rejoined the Aragonese chapel.

59 I am very grateful to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for his help with the translation of this passage.

60 Villalón 1539: 176: 'En la tecla murieron casi ayer aquellos tres famosos varones, Lope y Hernando y su discípulo Cristóbal. Biue agora Antonio el ciego' [António de Cabezón].

TABLE 3.5 *Liturgical feasts on which the organist had to play in the Aragonese royal chapel*

Feast	Date
St Ambrose	7 December
Conception of BVM	8 December
Christmas	25 December
St Stephen	26 December
St John the Evangelist	27 December
Circumcision	1 January
Epiphany	6 January
Purification of BVM	2 February
Quinquagesima	
St Gregory the Great	12 March
St Gabriel	18 March
Easter and Octave of Easter	
St George	23 April
Ascension Day	
Pentecost	
Trinity Sunday	
Invention of the Cross	3 May
St Michael	8 May
Corpus Christi	
St John Baptist	24 June
Visitation of BVM	2 July
St Lawrence	10 August
Assumption of BVM	15 August
St Augustine	28 August
Birth of BVM	8 September
Exaltation of the Cross	14 September
St Raphael	29 September
St Jerome	30 September
All Saints	1 November
St Martin	11 November

In the first half of the fifteenth century the organ was stipulated for around thirty major feasts celebrated in the Aragonese royal chapel, notably the two feasts of the Cross, though it is likely the royal organist was expected to play on other important occasions as well.

The Constable of Castile's chronicle again provides more detailed information of the organ's participation in the liturgy, generally *in alternatim* with the singers, as during the celebration of First Vespers for the feast of Saint Luke (the Constable's patron saint) in 1464:

and after the Benedicamus, all those present went in a procession, holding white candles, singing the Te Deum laudamus as follows: the main organ began one verse, and all those [the clergy] in the procession responded with another verse, and they performed thus all the remaining verses. And when the organ played its verse, the procession moved; and when the clergy responded with theirs, all those in the procession came to a halt.⁶¹

While the practice of *alternatim* between singers and organ is often described in chronicles and ceremonials of the period, the question as to whether the organ actually accompanied the singers is less clear: at the entry of Philip the Fair into Toledo Cathedral in May 1502 'the Te Deum was sung there and the organ played' ('On y chanta Te Deum, et sonna-on les orghes') (Gachard 1878: 175; Knighton 2001: 99), but this does not necessarily indicate simultaneous performance. Organists may nevertheless have accompanied a solo singer—a practice well established later in the sixteenth century: one of the intarsia (1505–12) of the choirstalls of Burgos Cathedral depicts an organist (together with the man working the bellows) who appears to be accompanying a singer; either the singer, or both singer and organist, are reading from a choirbook with mensural notation (Figure 3.8).

The short piece in question appears to be a monophonic song, possibly the three-line refrain (*estribillo*) of a villancico since there are three clearly-defined musical phrases (Music Example 3.2). The Castilian text is difficult to make out, and is surely incomplete—'Fri ... g ... a/n ... duq[ue]'.⁶²

Cathedral and chapel organists were undoubtedly trained to read both chant and mensural notation, as well as tablature, in addition to the acquisition of improvisational skills. The repertory included in Baena's *Arte* consists

61 'e dicho el Benedicamus, salían todos en proçesión, con candelas blancas en las manos, cantando Te Deum laudamus, en esta manera: Començauan los órganos mayores en verso, et todos los señores que yvan en la proçesión respondían otro verso, et así se decían todos los otros. E quando tañían los órganos su verso, andaua la proçesión; e quando respondían los dichos señores el suyo, estauan todos los que venían en la proçesión quedos' (Cuevas Mata et al. 2001: 149; cited in Knighton 2001: 99).

62 No first line beginning 'Fri...' is found in Dutton 1990–91.

Este he contra ponto sobre canto chão



EXAMPLE 3.3 *Anonymous*, Contrapunto de la mano derecha sobre canto llano 'Jesu nostra redemptio', bb. 1–10 (*Gonzalo de Baena*, *Arte nouamente inuentada pera aprender a tanger* (Lisbon: *Germão Galharde*, 1540), ff. 16v–17v)

Intabulations of vocal pieces may well have been played as preludes or postludes to the celebration of Vespers or Mass, though whether this customarily occurred during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs is not clear. One of the works intabulated by Baena was originally a secular piece—Firminus Caron's *Helas qui pourra*—but opposition to the introduction of secular music in church was expressed by the royal confessor fray Hernando de Talavera (1428–1507): 'and if secular things, especially dances and such items, are played in any way on the organ in church, it is not without sin...' ('y si en los órganos de la iglesia tañen en cualquier manera cosas seglares, especialmente danzas y cosas semejantes, no es sin pecado') (Talavera 1496; cited in Knighton 2001: 100). However, Talavera's strictures against secular pieces played on the organ in church would in itself suggest that they did form part of the organists' repertory.

The didactic intent of Baena's book, with the pieces organized according to difficulty (works for two, then three, then four voices), is not aimed exclusively at professionals, but also at beginners, including young boys ('moços') as well as young girls ('niñas') (Knighton 2012a: 56–57).⁶³ The question arises as to

63 'Todas las reglas que son relatadas solamente para que los que no son tanto engeñoses o que no tienen principios aprendidos, .s. los moços o niñas y otros semejantes' (Baena 1540: f. 6v).

whether the royal children would have learnt to play the keyboard in this way in the latter part of the fifteenth century, learning to read tablature and mastering keyboard arrangements of polyphonic works as well as dance music and improvisations on well-known melodies and harmonic patterns (see Chapter 13). At present it is impossible to be sure, and the intriguing description of the playing of a harpsichord at a wedding banquet hosted by the Constable of Castile in Andújar (near Jaen) in 1470 only serves to underline our ignorance as to what keyboard music was performed and heard in court circles. The wedding between the Constable's cousin Fernand Lucas and the daughter of his staunch supporter Pedro de Escavias, mayor of Andújar, is described in great detail (Cuevas Matas et al 2001: 355–57): the day included the marriage service in the main church, a wedding feast following by dancing accompanied by the wind band (it was for this occasion that the Duke of Medina Sidonia sent a sackbut-player), followed by the singing of cossantes, the taking of refreshments and, because of the heat, a siesta. The whole party then attended Vespers followed by the running of four bulls, and another banquet in the palace with a variety of music: 'the wind band (shawms) playing at times, at others the harpsichord, and at others some very good singers who were there, performing very elegant songs and *desechas*' ('sonando a tienpo unas vezes las chirimias, otras el claveçibano, otras vezes muy buenos cantores que allís estavan, pasando muy gentiles cançiones e desechas') (Cuevas Mata et al. 2001: 357). Whether the harpsichord could be heard over the din of a banquet is doubtful, but the variety of the *Tafelmusik* provided for the occasion drew the attention of at least the chronicler—or his immediate source.

The specific mention of the harpsichord in this account of an event in 1470 also raises the question of whether it, like the sackbut, was something of a novelty at this time. An intriguing reference to the instrument in the correspondence of the royal ambassador to Portugal, Alonso de Silva, in a letter to the Catholic Monarchs dated 29 July 1497, suggests that the harpsichord was something of a rarity—at least in Portugal, for the ambassador reports that he had seen only one small instrument in a poor state of repair ('un clauēcynbalo ruyn y chiquito') in the whole of the country, and that in the royal chamber of the King of Portugal (Paz y Meliá 1914: 330–31). The ambassador hints that the gift of such an instrument might go a long way to appeasing the antipathy towards the monarchs of the Portuguese musician and royal confidant João Manuel (d. c. 1500); he had been sent to Castile to negotiate the wedding of the monarchs' eldest daughter Isabel with King Manuel I.

Conclusion

Much work remains to be done as regards all the aspects of instrumental music discussed in this essay: the employment and social position of professional instrumentalists; the making and acquisition of instruments; and the kinds of instrumental combinations and repertoires heard in different contexts, in church or palace, indoors or outdoors, with a static dimension (as at the wedding banquet) or in motion (as in royal entries and other processions). The reign of the Catholic Monarchs saw both the consolidation and expansion of established traditions and practices, but also witnessed changes in the structure and technology of instruments that were inextricably linked with shifts in repertory (notably in the expansion from the standard two- or three-part texture to four parts) and in techniques of construction and playing. A sense of expansion or opening-up also characterized the contexts and clientele for instrumental tuition and repertoires, as well as the acquisition of instruments; this process was spearheaded by those in the higher echelons of society, both lay and ecclesiastical, but was already beginning to filter through to the merchant and professional classes, especially in large cities such as Seville, Valladolid or Barcelona. The amateur market was already on the rise before the time of Milán's *El maestro*, and its variety of repertory would have been largely familiar to many players and listeners. The patronage of professional instrumentalists began to be complemented by the ability of the patron to read music and play an instrument, combining magnanimity and intellectual sophistication in accordance with the emergence of the notion of the 'Renaissance' man characterized by Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529). Professional virtuosi were increasingly valued in court circles, and their renown fostered by writers influenced by humanistic tendencies. The arrival of Charles v's Flemish household in 1517 had less impact on Spanish instrumentalists, who continued to be employed at the royal court and did not suffer the diaspora that befell the singers of the Aragonese royal chapel. From the established traditions of instrumental performance and composition came the vihuelists such as Milán and Narváez and keyboard players such as Antonio de Cabezón. The instrumental repertory was further internationalized, a process that would speed up and mature with the wider and faster circulation of music through printing. While the Spanish kindgoms formed an integrated part of European instrumental practice, ethnic groups present there before 1492, and then as *conversos* or imported slaves, continued to make their contributions to instrument-making and performance and, in certain contexts, added distinctive elements to the instrumental soundworld. Even if Ferdinand and Isabel did not play instruments themselves, their reign witnessed unprecedented expan-

sion in instrumental practice, the emergence of a wide range of repertoires that began to be written down, and several major shifts in instrument music-making.

Music and Spectacle

Ronald E. Surtz

No spectacle is innocent, and the Catholic Monarchs used pageantry, along with the accompanying music, as a means of image manipulation and self-promotion. It is therefore always pertinent to ask if there was a political or ideological agenda behind a given spectacle. In this essay I discuss a representative sample of pageants, plays, and paraliturgical ceremonies that were performed during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs. Upon occasion I will examine the context of such performances at some length in order to make clearer the meaning of the spectacle. With respect to music, it is useful to ascertain who sings and what they sing. I will also consider the case of the lord high constable of Castile, Miguel Lucas de Iranzo, who lived somewhat earlier than the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel, as a significant example of self-display and of the role of music in creating a spectacle of the self.

I begin—somewhat perversely perhaps—with a spectacle for which we have very little information: Isabel the Catholic's 1481 entry into Calatayud. This episode can be located at the intersection of two events: the convocation of the Aragonese parliament for the purpose of recognizing Prince Juan as King Ferdinand's successor in Aragon; and Isabel's official entry into the town. Not only was this the first parliament that Ferdinand had convoked since inheriting the Aragonese throne from his father, but this was also Isabel's first visit to Catalan soil (Edwards 2000: 64).

The purpose of the convocation of the Aragonese parliament was threefold. Ferdinand sought to see to the proper government of the kingdom, to have the parliament swear an oath of allegiance to his son Juan as king of the Kingdom of Aragon after his death, and to receive a *servicio*, that is, a voluntary subsidy, to remedy his financial needs. Ferdinand went first to Barcelona, while Isabel, travelling separately with the three-year-old Prince Juan, arrived in Calatayud in April 1481. On 19 May 1481, the knights and representatives of the towns and cities met in the church of San Pedro in Calatayud and solemnly swore to accept Prince Juan as their lord and king after Ferdinand's death (Rumeu de Armas 1974: 95). In a sort of reciprocal arrangement, Ferdinand and Isabel swore in Prince Juan's name to uphold the traditional privileges and liberties of the Kingdom of Aragon. With respect to the *servicio*, the Aragonese representatives agreed to give the 'donation' only after the monarchs had dispensed

justice with respect to murders and other crimes that had been committed in the kingdom. To that end Ferdinand and Isabel were given a written account of said crimes (Mata Carriazo 2008, 1: 444–46), and according to the Aragonese historian Jerónimo Zurita, Ferdinand left the redress of such ‘complaints’ in Isabel’s hands (Canellas López 1967–77, 8: 403). It was precisely in Calatayud, on 14 April of that same year, that Ferdinand had named his wife co-regent, governor, and administrator of the Kingdom of Aragon (Torre 1953). So by delegating Isabel to dispense justice in Calatayud, Ferdinand can be seen as implementing his recent decision.

Why Calatayud and why the church of San Pedro? As Teófilo Ruiz has pointed out, the location of such ceremonies was seldom arbitrary and often symbolic.¹ Sesma Muñoz observes that the church of San Pedro was the place where, in 1461, Ferdinand himself had been sworn as his father’s heir (Sesma Muñoz 1992: 142). So even as the ceremony sought to assure a seamless dynastic succession, the choice of venue likewise reinforced the concept of dynastic continuity from father to son to grandson. Zurita observed that the Calatayud parliament was unusually poorly attended with respect to what was normal (Canellas López 1967–77, 8: 401), and Mateos Royo suggests that this lukewarm response was due to a lack of enthusiasm for royal policy (Mateos Royo 1997: 21). Was there a problem? No palio is mentioned for Isabel’s entry, and, as Teófilo Ruiz observes, the palio was normally reserved for the monarch’s first visit to a city, and its presence or absence was something spectators would have noticed right away (Ruiz 2012: 32). However, when Ferdinand and Isabel made their joint entry into Saragossa two months later on 9 June, they were both under a palio (Canellas López 1967–77: 402), so perhaps Zurita simply failed to mention the palio in the case of Calatayud.

Isabel’s entry was organized by the lawyer Juan de Nueros, and Mateos Rayo notes that it was anomalous for such civic pageants to be arranged by a private citizen (Mateos Rayo 1997: 22). Why might Nueros have sought to ingratiate himself with the Catholic Monarchs in general and with the queen in particular? Ferdinand and Isabel had named the first inquisitors for Seville in September of 1480, that is, shortly before leaving for the Kingdom of Aragon (Sesma Muñoz 1992: 141). The establishment of the Inquisition in the Kingdom of Aragon was quite a different matter from the case of Castile, for the tribunal would not begin its operations in Saragossa until 1484, in Valencia not until the same year, and in Barcelona not until 1487 (Kamen 1997: 53–54), due to local resistance to what was deemed a foreign (that is, Castilian) institution. Indeed,

1 Ruiz uses the phrase ‘sites of memory’ to refer to this linking of one royal event to a previous one; see Ruiz 2012: 113.

its implantation was considered a violation of the Kingdom of Aragon's local rights and privileges. In 1484 the citizens of Teruel refused to let the inquisitors enter the town, and the matter reached such extremes in Saragossa that in 1485 the local inquisitor was murdered in the cathedral by conspirators hired by New Christians. Of course, no one knew in 1481 that things were going to turn out that way, but anxiety over the establishment of local Aragonese tribunals must have been great, and that anxiety could have affected Juan de Nueros himself. Nueros's second wife, Gracia Sánchez, came from a family of converted Jews from Teruel (Combesure Thiry 2003: 127).² So Nueros's efforts to ingratiate himself with Isabel by organizing her entry into Calatayud may have been a sort of pre-emptive means to seek the queen's protection should the Inquisition attempt to prosecute his wife. Perhaps Nueros was rewarded for his services, for it appears that in 1502 a Juan de Nueros was *justicia* (the high official in charge of assuring that the local liberties were not infringed upon) in Calatayud (Quadrado 1886: 558).³

As had been customary since the early fifteenth century, the pageants performed in the Corpus Christi processions were in a sense 'recycled' to welcome the queen upon the occasion of her entry into the town.⁴ The three plays selected for performance before the queen were the Last Judgment, the Harrowing of Hell,⁵ and the Descent from the Cross. A given town normally had a repertory of plays that it could draw upon from one year to another, so perhaps in Calatayud the selection of plays was not arbitrary. It is not too far fetched to see in the choice of the Last Judgment play a reference to the sovereigns' role as administrators of justice, inasmuch as one of the purposes of the convocation of the Aragonese parliament was precisely to dispense justice, a task that was specifically allotted to Isabel.

The play of the Harrowing of Hell represented Christ's triumph over evil. In the pictorial arts He displayed the still visible wounds of the Passion as He contended with demons to rescue the souls of the just of the Old Testament

2 The *Libro verde de Aragón* states that Gracia Sánchez married the attorney Juan de Nueros, who may have been the same Juan de Nueros who organized Isabel's entry into Calatayud (Combesure Thiry 2003: 129).

3 Unfortunately, Quadrado does not give a source for his information.

4 For the phenomenon of recycled Corpus Christi processions, see Shergold 1967: 136–38.

5 Mateos Royo seems to believe that the title, the play of the Holy Fathers ('Los Santos Padres'), refers to the Holy Fathers of the Church (Mateos Royo 1997: 25), but in Toledo the Corpus Christi play of the 'santos padres' dramatized the Harrowing of Hell; see Torroja Menéndez & Rivas Palá 1977: 55. This denomination is consistent with, for example, Aquinas's *Summa Theologica*, which calls 'Sanctos Patres' those awaiting Christ's descent into Hell (*Summa Theologica*, III, Q 52, art. 5).

and to lead them out of limbo. In a fragment from the Toledo Corpus Christi cycle, Christ tells the souls in limbo to look upon the wounds on His hands and feet, and then He invites them to follow Him (Torroja Menéndez & Rivas Palá 1977: 181). Perhaps there is even more going on here, for Chiyo Ishikawa suggests that the episode of the Descent into Limbo could be interpreted to mean that 'all believers are saved regardless of their ethnic background', a pregnant topic in light of the often conflictive relations between Old and New Christians in fifteenth-century Spain (Ishikawa 2004: 128).⁶ The play of the Descent from the Cross would have recalled Christ's atoning sacrifice, and surely association with Christ could not but enhance the sovereign's image. Since the sovereign in question was none other than Isabel, we have here a possible example of the gender-bending that the presence of a female sovereign might have caused.

It must be obvious that up to this point there has been no mention of music. We do know, however, that music did indeed play a role in Isabel's entry into Calatayud. To begin with, one of the clerics in charge of the performances was Ferrán Martínez, the choir master (*maestro de canto*), presumably of the collegiate church of Calatayud. The contract in which Martínez and the cleric Remón Granyen agreed to have three plays performed for the queen's entry stipulated that the plays were to be sung ('llenos de voces') and that the participating singers were to be offered a banquet (Mateos Royo 1997: 27). Such scant information is indeed frustrating; we know the plays involved singing, but we do not know what music may have been played or sung or what role it played in the performances. In the case of the play of the Harrowing of Hell it seems logical to suppose that the antiphon *Attolite portas* (Psalm 23) was sung, as per Voragine's *Golden Legend* (Grainger Ryan 1993, 1: 223). In the Wakefield Corpus Christi cycle play of *The Harrowing of Hell*, Christ is welcomed to limbo as the souls of the just sing *Salvator mundi*. Later, the rescued souls sing the Te Deum as they pass out of Hell (Stevens & Cawley 1994, 1: 324, 335).⁷ We can be

6 The notion that Jews and Muslims could be saved through the righteous practice of their respective faiths was an often held—but in time deemed heretical—belief in medieval and early modern Spain; see Schwartz 2008.

7 It is difficult to imagine what role music might have played in the Calatayud play of the Descent from the Cross. In the fifteenth-century Frankfurt Passion play a procession of angels, presumably singing angels, accompanied the body of Christ as it was borne to the tomb; see Muir 1995: 138. In the sixteenth-century Castilian *Aucto del Descendimiento de la cruz* no music is heard until the very end when the psalm *Miserere* is sung as Christ's body is carried to the sepulchre; see Rouanet 1901, 4: 46. In contrast, a sixteenth-century Descent play from Mallorca contains numerous instances of contrafacta, mostly based on chant melodies, but in one case on a popular song, 'O Susana care muller' ['O Susanna, you dear woman' (or perhaps 'you dear wife')]; see Llabrés 1887–88: 55.

reasonably sure that music was involved in the performance of the play of the Last Judgment by analogy with other such plays. In the Chester play of the Last Judgment, for example, the angels sing *Laetamini in Domino* and *Salvator mundi, domine* as the redeemed souls are brought to heavenly bliss (Mills 1992: 431). The damned get no music. In contrast, a sixteenth-century Last Judgment play from Mallorca is almost entirely sung, including Lucifer's speeches, to the melodies of liturgical hymns (Llabrés 1902).

Just as the music and the text of the plays performed at Calatayud for Queen Isabel are no longer extant, this was also the case of the Christmas play performed in the Cathedral of the Saviour (La Seo) in Saragossa in 1487 in the presence of Ferdinand, Isabel, Prince Juan, and Princess Isabel. Therefore, the action of the play must be reconstructed from the expense account of the performance. The play seems to have included a scene in which a number of Old Testament prophets foretold the birth of Christ.⁸ The expense ledger indicates that the actors who played the prophets wore wigs made of flax fibre [*cerda*] (Schack 1885, 1: 267). The prophets were a singing role, for the account book mentions the sum paid for the notebooks in which the music for them, for Mary, and for Jesus was copied (Schack 1885, 1: 268).⁹ Did the audience see in the literally Messianic context the prophets would have created for the Nativity of Christ a parallel to the Messianic context created by royal propagandists for the birth of Prince Juan?¹⁰

8 For the Procession of Prophets and other dramatic episodes in which a series of prophets prophesize the Nativity, see Muir 1995: 84–85.

9 It is hard to imagine that the child playing the role of Jesus was so musically literate that he could sing from his own copy of the text and music, so the fifth partbook was probably intended for the role of Joseph. Although we usually visualize the Nativity as involving the Infant Christ—'infant' coming from *infans* ('incapable of speech')—perhaps the play sacrificed verisimilitude in the interest of providing another singing voice for the possibly polyphonic music. A certain Master Piphán copied out the music, but it is not clear if he also composed it. This was probably the same Mossèn Piffán responsible for the staging of the play of the Last Judgment performed on a pageant wagon in Saragossa for the Feast of Corpus Christi in 1480; see Mateos Royo 1996–97: 110, 114. Calahorra Martínez identifies Master Piffán as a Frenchman (Pedro Piffant), a benefited singer in the cathedral (see Chapter 7), who had previously been a precentor (*chantre*) in the chapel of Juan II of Aragon; see Calahorra Martínez 1993b: 120. In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century performances of the Misteri d'Elx the cantors carried on stage notebooks or booklets with their role and its music written out on them; see Massip 1990.

10 Virgil's fourth eclogue speaks of the birth of a child who will inaugurate a golden age, and medieval commentators identified that child with Christ. However, Juan del Encina, in his Castilian translation of Virgil's eclogues identifies that golden age with the age of the Catholic Monarchs and the marvellous child with their son Prince Juan (Rambaldo

The angels wore gloves and rented wigs. God the Father also wore gloves.¹¹ Now where there are angels, there is song, but we do not know what music they sang. Although not mentioned in the ledgers, it is likely that, as in Toledo, the angels wore wings and masks (Torroja Menéndez & Rivas Palá 1977: 50). The expense account also mentions the paid participation of members of the sovereigns' royal chapels, so perhaps the roles of the prophets—as well as those of the angels—were sung by members of those chapels. The presence of professional musicians possibly indicates that the music they executed was particularly sophisticated, that is, polyphonic. The performance also seems to have involved some sort of stage machinery, since the accounts indicate a winch of the kind often used to bring an angel or angels down from Heaven, but here apparently used to make a circle of angels—singing angels?—revolve around the Virgin Mary (Shergold 1967: 16).¹²

Mary, Jesus, and Joseph were played by an actual married couple and their child, so that the play, in the words of the account ledger, would be performed more 'devoutly' (Schack 1885: 268).¹³ The stage props included the heads of the ox and the ass, which must have been visible to the spectators, perhaps peering out of the manger mentioned in the ledger. Although often depicted in pictorial representations of the Nativity, the suggested presence of such animals during the performance of the play could have brought to mind the animals' traditional symbolism as representing the Jews or New Christians (the ox) and the Gentiles or Old Christians (the ass) coming together in harmony to cele-

1978–87, 1: 273). For prophecies surrounding the prince's father King Ferdinand, see Duran & Requesens 1997.

- 11 Although there was probably no lack of cheap gloves in medieval Spain, in general gloves were a luxury item, one of the many accessories used by the upper classes to distinguish themselves from the lower classes, whose tanned, gloveless hands marked their humble origins.
- 12 This kind of apparatus had been used previously in the Kingdom of Aragon for the coronation of Fernando de Antequera in Saragossa in 1414. A pageant representing the Coronation of the Virgin was performed during a banquet, a performance that included a representation of Heaven involving three wheels on which were seated human figures dressed as angels. As the new king entered, the angels began to sing and to play their instruments (Shergold 1967: 117–18). One is reminded of the stage machinery Leonardo da Vinci designed for the performance (13 January 1490) of a dramatic entertainment, *Il Paradiso*, in praise of the Duchess of Milan, a spectacle that included a representation of Paradise with all the seven planets orbiting round.
- 13 Although it is generally assumed that female roles in the medieval theatre were played by men, here we have an explicit example of a woman playing a female role.

brate Christ's Incarnation.¹⁴ This could have been interpreted as a much-needed call for concord at a particularly fraught moment of Spanish history for Spain's religious minorities, inasmuch as both the fall of Muslim Granada and the Expulsion of the Jews were imminent and the Inquisition had already begun to operate in both Castile and Aragon.

Ferdinand and Isabel and their children watched the performance from a special platform that was decorated with the royal coat of arms. In this way, the Holy Family and the Spanish royal family were juxtaposed to one another. It appears that God the Father was also a spectator, watching the action of the play, either from His own platform or from a canopy Heaven located in the dome of the church.¹⁵ Wherever God the Father may have been, the account ledger indicates that clouds and stars were used to simulate Heaven (Stern 1991: 80–81). So whether or not the Catholic Monarchs and God the Father—the highest secular authority and the highest sacred authority—were at the same or different levels, they occupied parallel positions on the play's vertical axis.¹⁶ Of course, Ferdinand and Isabel could only gain in prestige through their association with the Father and their proximity to Heaven.

The context of the royal visit is perhaps relevant here. The presence of the sovereigns was both necessary and vehemently desired in Saragossa. Criminal activity was rampant, a situation Zurita attributed to the king's absence for so many years and to the local officials' lack of zeal in punishing wrongdoers (Canellas López 1967–77, 8: 534–35). Ferdinand entered Saragossa on 9 November 1487. Losing no time, by 11 November the king had taken personal charge of the city government, administering justice and appointing officials. The situation must have been dire, for his heavy-handed activities were a technical violation of his oath to observe the local customs and rights of his Aragonese subjects (Canellas López 1967–77, 8: 535). So, as Ferdinand sat in the cathedral opposite God the Father in the Saragossa Christmas play, he may have seemed to have fulfilled an almost Christ-like function of bringing peace to men of good will and restoring harmony where previously there had been dissension. Perhaps Ferdinand was smugly proud of the way in which he had imposed his royal will, dealt with the political situation in Saragossa, and neu-

14 Developing notions first expressed by Américo Castro, Alfredo Hermenegildo discusses this aspect of the early Hispanic theatre in Hermenegildo 1971.

15 The *Hours of Isabel the Catholic* allocated a similarly passive role to the Father. In the miniature depicting the Flight into Egypt, the Holy Family appears in the foreground, while the Father, surrounded by angels, looks down in avuncular fashion from the very top of the painting; see López Serrano 1980: 19 (illustration 6).

16 It appears there was also a shepherds' play performed on a separate platform (Schack 1885, 1: 268).

tralized the zeal with which the Aragonese were wont to defend their local laws and customs.¹⁷ The performance was paid for by the Archbishop of Saragossa, Alonso de Aragón, who was none other than Ferdinand's illegitimate son (Calahorra Martínez 1993b: 119). So in light of the presence of two legitimate families—the couple playing Mary and Joseph and the Spanish royal family—the performance could be understood to promote a sort of 'family values' *avant la lettre*. In addition, assuming that the Archbishop was present during the spectacle, Ferdinand's legitimate son and heir Prince Juan and his illegitimate son the Archbishop (whose clerical status prevented him from inheriting the throne) faced off during the performance.

We have already spoken of the Apocalypticism that surrounded the reign of the Catholic Monarchs in the context of the messianic hopes placed in Prince Juan. But such prophecies were nothing new in medieval Spain. On Christmas Eve in many Spanish churches in both the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, a choirboy dressed as the Sibyl sang the prophecy of the Last Judgment, *Iudicii signum*, thus juxtaposing the first and the last comings of Christ, the Nativity and the Last Judgment. The young boy in drag was not the least of the spectacle's eccentricities. One can only imagine the effect the Sibyl's song produced on the congregation as 'her' otherworldly voice emerged from a darkened cathedral lit only by candles or wax torches. The play of the light from the torches or candles on her features and her exotic costume must likewise have been eerie indeed, whether or not the congregation understood the Sibyl's words.¹⁸ All of these factors would have contributed to the strangeness and uncanniness of the performance. And once the Sibyl began to sing her prophecy in the vernacular, there was little chance that her message of doom could be lost on anyone. The hype in our time surrounding the predictions for the year 2000 or the Mayan calendar predictions for the year 2012 is nothing in comparison with the impact of medieval apocalyptic prophecies that enjoyed a wide circulation and acceptance.¹⁹ And every year at Christmas time when

17 The title of the corresponding chapter in Zurita's *Anales* (Book 20, Chapter 72: Canellas López 1967–77) refers to the city's 'submission' to Ferdinand.

18 In eighteenth-century Toledo the Sibyl was described as 'dressed in oriental style' ('vestido á la Oriental'); see Donovan 1958: 39. Maricarmen Gómez Muntané concludes that the Toledo Sibyl ceremony could date back to at least the late fifteenth or the early sixteenth century (Gómez Muntané 1996a: 19). She wonders, however, whether the verses were being sung in Latin or in Castilian at that time (Gómez Muntané 1996a: 20).

19 Agostí Ferrandis, vicar of the Dominican monastery of Corpus Christi in Lutxent, Valencia, announced in a sermon delivered in that town around Christmas 1475 that the Virgin Mary had appeared to him and warned that people should mend their ways, for her Son was greatly angered at humankind. In the sermon the friar preached on New Year's Day in

the Sibyl reiterated her gloomy prophecy, it reinforced the notion of living on the edge of the Apocalypse.

The canon Felipe Fernández Vallejo, writing around 1785, declared that in Toledo the Sibyl's delicate and plaintive voice was moving and so sorrowful that everyone who heard it wanted it to stop as soon as possible (Donovan 1958: 42). While the latter remark may simply be a reflection of eighteenth-century aesthetics, it appears that no one could be indifferent to the Sibyl's eerie song. Whether or not her verses actually evoked the Last Judgment in the minds of the faithful, that effect would have been reinforced when at intervals the angels who accompanied the Sibyl brandished their swords, punctuating the Sibyl's prophecies and the interventions of the choir with the percussive clang of metal. In the case of the Song of the Sibyl that was performed at Leon Cathedral in 1487 and 1488, the account books mention the presence of *sonajeros*, possibly castanet players (Rodríguez 1947: 28).²⁰ Nowadays *sonajas* are baby rattles, but the modern term helps us understand the hollow mechanical sound that such objects might have produced, perhaps even evoking the rattling bones of a sort of danse macabre. Here, music is not incidental to the Sibyl's prophecy, but rather the dramatic spectacle is entirely sung. The reiteration of the twelve to fourteen strophes of the Sibyl's prophecy of the signs of the end of the world, each one followed by the repetition of the refrain with its reminder of the Last Judgment, must have had a hypnotic effect. And precisely because the choir repeats the refrain after each strophe, the music keeps bringing the performance back to the sobering theme of judgment.

If the music was everything in the dramatic monologue of the Sibyl, other religious plays of the time seem to have made but incidental use of music. An exception is Assumption plays, especially those performed in the Kingdom of Aragon.²¹ I have chosen two such plays for discussion, one from Castile and one from Aragon.

Xàtiva Cathedral, he predicted that a frightful sign of divine anger would be visible everywhere in the world, but only God knew whether that portent would consist of floods, fire, or earthquakes. The Virgin Mary urged people, he alleged, to repent, go to confession, receive the Eucharist, and pardon wrongs done to them so as to be in a state of grace when the terrible moment came. People were obviously receptive to the visionary's message of repentance and forgiveness, for they did indeed repent and forgive their neighbours' trespasses; see Cabanes Pecourt 1991: 374.

20 In addition to being paid for her performance, the Sibyl literally sang for her supper, for the performers who played that and the other roles were offered a meal of meat, wine, and chicken (Rodríguez 1947: 28).

21 Exceptionally, the Ascension play performed for Corpus Christi in Toledo seems to have been entirely sung (Torroja Menéndez & Rivas Palá 1977: 61). Unfortunately, once again

It was believed that for some thirteen years Christ spoke through the mouth of Juana de la Cruz, the abbess of the Third Order Franciscan convent of Santa María de la Cruz in Cubas (near Toledo). One of Mother Juana's visionary sermons contained a sort of script for the performance of an Assumption play, and it appears that as early as 1510 the sisters could have composed or had composed a play based on that sermon. Although the play was intended for a convent, the sermon specifies that all the roles were to be played by boys or young men, and notes that all those involved in the performance would earn indulgences for their participation (Surtz 1982: 25, 27). It should not be assumed that as convent theatre the play was closed to outsiders, for Mother Juana's biography mentions that people of all estates, including friars, dukes, knights, and inquisitors came to hear her preach and, as is likely, to see the plays performed in the convent.²²

The Cubas drama makes for an eccentric Assumption play, for it begins with the rebellion of Lucifer and the bad angels in order to promote the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, a doctrine defended by the Franciscan Order. The explanation is that if Mary was conceived without original sin, then she must have existed before sin itself, or, at least before the first sin (Surtz 1982: 15–16). The rebellion of the bad angels and the Fall of Lucifer are rendered in sound, albeit cacophonous sound, for the performers are instructed to simulate a battle by making a great deal of noise. This heavenly battle between the good and the bad angels takes place in darkness in such a way that Lucifer's rebellion is not seen but heard, thus resolving the knotty problem of staging a battle scene. Out of the darkness the Father's voice is heard paraphrasing Matthew 25:41, saying 'Id malditos al infierno' ['Depart to Hell ye cursed ones']. Then, as the acting area is lit once again, the Father, in a diluted paraphrase of Matthew 25:34, says to the good angels: 'gozad ya de mi presencia / los que me auéis conocido' ['Enjoy now my presence, you who have recognized me'] (Surtz 1982: 32–33).²³ Of course, those scriptural verses refer to the heavenly reward of the virtuous and the infernal punishments of the damned, so even as the play arose out of the context of the entry of evil into the world, it opens up further

we have no idea what music was sung or whether contrafacta were used.

22 *Vida y fin de la bienaventurada virgen sancta Juana de la Cruz*, EE k-III-13, fol. 27v.

23 Mother Juana, or more properly, Christ speaking through her, was fond of this scriptural passage, for it is evoked again in her visionary sermon on the Nativity and likewise in the sermon on the Purification of the Virgin. This latter case explains the allusion in the play to the souls that have recognized Christ, for in the Purification sermon it is said that Christ asks souls at the moment of death if they recognize him or not. The souls who have performed good works will answer that they recognize Christ, while those who have not will answer that they do not know him; see García Andrés 1999, 1: 379–80.

to include a significant allusion to the Last Judgment in accordance with St Matthew's gospel. With the defeat of Lucifer and his minions, it is time for the Virgin to ascend to Heaven, and as the angels bring the Blessed Virgin up to the Father, they sing *O gloriosa domina*. Thus, the angels' celestial song contrasts with the demonic noise of the battle between the good and the bad angels. The final lines of the play echo the Heaven versus Hell dichotomy of the fate of the judged souls evoked by the allusion to the Last Judgment. The Blessed Virgin promises to be an advocate for sinners, while the Father hands the staff (*vara*) of his justice over to St Michael. The play ends with the singing of *Laudate Dominum*.

I suspect that a number of medieval plays that have come down to us with only the sporadic use of music may have actually had more sung passages. For example, as we have just seen, the extant manuscript version of the Cubas Assumption play specifies but two musical interventions. However, the visionary sermon that was the inspiration for the play mentions several other instances in which music was required. The verses in which the Father commands the angels to adore him are merely to be declaimed as per the manuscript of the play, but the sermon indicates that he is to sing those words 'Lo más graciosamente que pudiere' ['as pleasingly as he can'] (Surtz 1982: 25). Later, after the good angels have been victorious, they are instructed to celebrate in song their triumph over evil (Surtz 1982: 26). Finally, when the Virgin is in Heaven, the angels are to sing unspecified verses and songs in her praise (Surtz 1982: 26).

If in the Cubas play, music can be said to take principally an incidental role, conversely the late medieval Catalan Assumption plays (Tarragona, Valencia, and Elx) were almost entirely sung, as can still be observed in modern performances of the Misteri d'Elx. But there is more, for those plays appear to make extensive use of *contrafacta*, drawing upon both the sacred and the secular repertoires for their melodies.²⁴ As an example of how the musical component functions in such works, I shall discuss in some detail the Tarragona Assumption play.²⁵

There does not appear to be any particular pattern to the way the melodies the play borrows from the sacred repertory are assigned to the characters. In other words, while music might have been used as an aspect of the characterization of the participants, this does not appear to be the case in the Tarragona

24 The use of *contrafacta* in the performance of largely sung religious plays seems to have been considerably more common in the Kingdom of Aragon than in Castile.

25 The play could have been performed as early as 1388; the extant manuscript dates from around the second half of the fourteenth century: see Massip 1984: 92–93.

play, for the same character does not consistently sing his words to the same melody.²⁶ Music is often used to accompany movement (for example, *Iste confessor* is used as the Virgin's soul is carried to Paradise (Pié 1896–98: 732)), but even processions like the Good Friday hymn *Vexilla Regis* are not always used as processions in the play, and *Vexilla* appears, for example, in a scene of 'rest', such as that in which the Blessed Virgin, longing for death, begs her son to release her from the world and its cares (Pié 1896–98: 676–78).²⁷

There is one way, however, in which the role of music can be understood to constitute a sort of characterization, for the participants in the performance are divided into singers and non-singers. The play's antagonists—the demons and the Jews—do not sing, while, in contrast, the 'holy' characters do sing. Within the group of singing characters, there seems to be a subdivision between singers who make use of *contrafacta*, and singers who seem to have improvised their music. While in the case of the *contrafacta* the manuscript indicates the source melody to be used for a given speech, in a few other cases it merely indicates that something is to be sung *en so de rima* or *pla* or *tot pla*. Now *pla* is the term used, as in *cant pla*, to refer to plainchant. With respect to *en so de rima*, Tess Knighton has suggested to me that *en so de rima* may refer to rhythmicized plainchant, while *pla* or *tot pla* refers to unrhythmicized plainchant.²⁸ However, the distinction between rhythmicized and unrhythmicized *contrafacta* does not serve to distinguish between one character and another, for Christ, Mary, and the angel all use both. Such relatively easy on the ear liturgical chants (plus some secular melodies) contrast with the cacophony of the noise that is associated with Hell and the Jews. How might this contrast between singing and non-singing roles have worked out dramatically? The opening of the play is jarring since for the first time a musical instrument, concretely a trumpet, is explicitly called for, here to summon the Jews together for the council in which they will hatch their conspiracy to seize Mary's body and burn it (Pié 1896–98: 675).²⁹ The violence of their projected plot and the sound

26 This would, however, be the case later, for example in the Mallorca Last Judgment play, which also uses *contrafacta* and in which Christ always sings his words to the melody of *Veni, creator Spiritus*, St Michael to *Vexilla regis*, etc. This procedure is so rigorously followed that sometimes the text merely indicates that Christ is to sing 'a son to' ['to his melody']. See, for example, Llabrés 1902: 462.

27 It could be argued, however, that what Mary wants is to 'process' to Heaven.

28 Email of 1 November 2014.

29 Jacobus de Voragine (2:79) devotes but a single line to the Jews' plot to steal Mary's body. In contrast, the Tarragona play not only dedicates an entire scene to the episode, but it is the opening scene of the play. Although the spectators would probably have known the outcome of the episode, it cannot be denied that the Jews' threats create a certain, at least

of the martial trumpet contrast starkly with the ensuing unaccompanied music of Mary's song, sung to the tune of *Cleriana*, or alternatively, of *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*. Indeed, here there seems to be a certain fluidity in the use of contrafacta. More specifically, the rubric states that the Virgin's opening monologue is to be sung to the tune of *Cleriana* (presumably a secular song) if the singer knows it; otherwise, the tune of *Vexilla regis* is to be used (Pié 1896–98: 676). In any case, the melody of *Vexilla regis* is to be used for the last part of Mary's speech (Pié 1896–98: 677). If in this scene *Vexilla Regis* is the default melody, does this indicate that the singers were 'professionals', that is, clerics, who may have been more familiar with liturgical chants than with popular songs?³⁰

The contrast in mood this scene provides is emphasized by the rubric of Mary's song, which instructs her to sing her lines 'humbly' (*homilment*), for as in the Magnificat ('Because He has regarded the humility of his handmaid'), it was on account of her extreme meekness and humility that she was chosen to become the Mother of God. And indeed the Virgin's first line recalls how she carried her son in her womb, even as Jesus's first speech evokes the same notion of Mary's maternity. Of course, the speeches of the Jews who merely declaim their lines contrast with the musical harmony of the speeches of Jesus, Mary, and the angel who sing their lines. However, the Angel's second song introduces a note of violence as the celestial being recalls that Mary crushed the head of the devil (Pié 1896–98: 679), as prefigured in traditional interpretations of Genesis 3:15.³¹ Meanwhile, Christ has given St John a palm branch from a

hypothetical, suspense. Although the trumpet serves the very practical purpose of summoning the Jews, its use may have been enhanced in the minds of spectators aware of its biblical connotations. In the pictorial arts the soldiers who accompanied Christ during his arrest and the carrying of the cross were sometimes depicted with horns or trumpets in accordance with the use of musical instruments in the Old Testament during animal sacrifices; see Marrow 1979: 153–61. For members of the audience who were aware of this musical connection, the diabolic trumpet sounds emanating from Hell could have evoked the role of the Jews in Christ's Passion and called attention to their role in the Assumption play as persecutors of the Virgin Mary.

30 Someone once quipped that a popular song is a song that stops being popular as soon as one learns the words. Perhaps *Cleriana* was no longer as much to contemporary taste as it once had been. In any case, Tess Knighton has observed (email of 21 March 2015) that *Vexilla Regis* was such a well known chant that it was probably familiar to people well beyond the clergy.

31 Oddly, a stage direction indicates that a lot of noise (*brogit*) should be made when the angel returns to Paradise (Pié 1896–98: 679). The play's initial rubric says that noise should be made with castanets and *cerredos* (Pié 1896–98: 674–75), and Massip believes that *cerredos* refers to some sort of fireworks, namely, rockets that slithered across the floor

tree in Paradise that the apostle in turn hands to Mary. The palm frond, if carried before Mary's bier, will protect her body from harm. This branch, I believe, is only the second stage prop that the spectators have seen, so the palm frond provides yet another contrast with the martial trumpet previously associated with the conniving Jews. The apostles place the Virgin in her bed and stand around it holding lighted candles.

Thereupon, Lucifer commands the devil Astarot to see if he can place the Virgin in his power, but when Astarot refuses out of fear, Lucifer orders his infernal vassals to take his recalcitrant minion to Hell and to beat him. It is likely that the fear expressed by the demons was exaggerated and played for comic effect.³² From inside a representation of Hell (perhaps there was a hell mouth in the acting area that was visible to the spectators) there emanated a great noise to simulate the beating of Astarot (Pié 1896–98: 683). The play's initial rubric indicates that a hammer and an anvil must be made ready to make the noise that marks the entries and exits from Hell. Obviously, such percussive sounds form a stark contrast with the hymns the angels and the other 'good' characters sing. Lucifer thereupon orders the demons Barit and Beemot to do his bidding, but they likewise refuse and are noisily beaten. Lucifer then commands the devil Mascaró to try to tempt Mary, but as the evil creature dares to approach Mary's house, Christ strikes him in the face with the Cross, which sends him screaming to join the other demons (Pié 1896–98: 685).³³ Thereupon all the devils hide in Hell, making a great amount of noise. This clamour could have been created by the striking of the anvil mentioned in the play's initial stage directions (Pié 1896–98: 674), or the demons themselves could have created an infernal din vocally.³⁴ This essentially comic and even slapstick scene provides a dramatic contrast with the more hieratic and harmonious scenes involving the processions and liturgical songs of the 'good'

leaving a trail of sparks (Massip 1984: 116). Or, if some sort of stage machinery were used to raise the angel to Paradise, such *brogit* would have covered up the noise made by that mechanism.

32 Perhaps the demons were dressed in red body suits that made them look like the red devils in Bernat Serra's St Michael altarpiece (1429–31). Or, alternatively, the ministers of Satan could have been represented as black in colour, thus providing a dramatic contrast with the presumably white-clad angels. For the blackness of Lucifer and his henchmen, see Link 1995: 52–53.

33 The scene in which Christ uses the Cross as a weapon is omitted in modern performances of the Tarragona play, or at least it was in the performance I attended in November 1990.

34 Richard Rastall has suggested that 'hellish music' on the medieval stage was characterized by the arrhythmic and out-of-tune shouting of semantically meaningless words; see Rastall 1992: 111, 116.

characters. The highlight of the confrontation with the demons is perhaps the scene in which Christ uses the Cross as a weapon to strike Mascaró, thus making literal the spiritual cliché of the Cross as a protective weapon for sinners. Such violence and the absence of sung or spoken text set the scene off from the rest of the play.

Two angels then intone a song, and the saints who remain in Paradise answer to the tune of *Dei gratia*: 'Let us praise the Lord in the noble creature that he frees from the earth and its sorrow' ('Loem lo senyor en la nobla criatura que trau del mon e dolor') (Pié 1896–98: 685). The refrain 'Let us praise' is repeated after each strophe the angels sing, creating an antiphonal effect inasmuch as the two groups of singers occupy different spaces but chant their respective texts to the same melody. The texts they sing likewise contrast: the strophes sung by the two angels tell how Christ has descended in person to bring his mother's soul to Heaven, while the refrain praises Mary.

In the segment that follows Christ has arrived at Mary's home, and he tells her that he intends to place her on his throne. This entire dialogue between Christ and his mother is sung to the melody of *Veni Creator*, while in the subsequent episode the dramatic dialogue is sung to the melody of what seems to be a popular song (*Bella oliva*), Christ takes Mary's soul in his arms, and he orders the apostles to bury her body. The grieving apostles beg the Virgin to remember them and to protect them in this cruel world.³⁵ The saints who remained in Heaven paraphrase the Song of Songs 8:5: 'Who is she who comes up from the desert?' ('Qui es qui puya del desert'), while the group that accompanies the Lord praises Mary's beauty and purity as Christ crowns her soul and seats her at His right side (Pié 1896–98: 727).

Meanwhile back on earth the apostles make ready to bear Mary's body off to her sepulchre. Their procession is accompanied by joyful song: St John sings 'alleluia' to the melody of the Alleluia for Holy Saturday, while the other apostles sing a song of praise to the melody of the Corpus Christi hymn *Pange lingua*: 'Let us praise God on high who frees the Virgin from the world of sorrow and places her in great honour since she is a noble creature, the mother of Our Lord' ('Loem deu en la altura que trau de present dolor la verge de qui a cura e posala en gran honor com es noble criatura mare de nostre senyor') (Pié 1896–98: 728). The text they sing echoes the words of their previous song of praise that accompanied Christ's descent from Heaven to fetch his mother's soul and likewise paraphrases Psalm 113 (*In exitu Israel*) with its reference to the mountains that rejoice and the stones that change into the waters of mercy

35 Although separated spatially, the grieving apostles on earth and Christ and the heavenly host in Paradise are linked by their use of the same melody, *Bella oliva*.

(Pié 1896–98: 728), ending with yet another allusion to Mary's advocacy of sinners: 'Through our advocate the mother of great mercy' ('Per la nostra advocada mare de gran pietat') (Pié 1896–98: 729). So instead of using the same hymn tune for the two parallel songs of praise, the play differentiates the two speeches by using two different chant melodies.

At this point, the play inserts another, if not overtly comic, at least contrasting spoken scene in which armed Jews arrive and a rabbi attempts to overturn Mary's bier.³⁶ As punishment, he is left suspended from it, while the other Jews become paralyzed and are struck blind. St Peter tells the rabbi that he will be cured if he believes in Christ. The apostle turns toward the other Jews waving the palm branch brought from Paradise, and those who believe recover their sight. The procession with the Virgin's bier continues and the music resumes as the apostles sing the same melody as before, namely, the hymn *Pange lingua*. The re-establishment of the musical continuity after the interrupting comic scene points up the principle of contrast that seems to govern the dramatic rhythm of the play: comic versus serious, action versus contemplation, spoken versus sung.

It is useful to speculate whether, for at least some of the spectators, the use of contrafacta could have produced a sort of palimpsest effect as the reception of the new text was conditioned by the memory of the old one. For example, just before the episode in which the Virgin is brought back to life, the saints surrounding her grave are instructed to sing verses to the melody of *Sospitati* [*dedit mundum*] (Pié 1896–98: 731). The Sanctus trope *Sospitati* appears to be a *unicum*, possibly from the Cistercian monastery of Santes Creus in the province of Tarragona. The text of *Sospitati* extols Mary's humility and, switching to the first person, the singer asks her to remember him. As I have indicated elsewhere (Surtz 1992), emphasis on the Virgin's role as an advocate for sinners is an essential aspect of Assumption plays, and Mary's power is derived precisely from her unique status as the only human being to be in Heaven in both body and soul. The words the saints sing express the desire that Mary's body not be subject to putrefaction, and when Christ asks the apostles how he might best honour his mother, they answer that since he conquered death and was

36 Perhaps both the demons here and the Jews in the opening scene of the play wore grotesque masks. Indeed, in medieval Iberia it was normal for demons and other evil characters to wear masks as, for example, in the case of the Corpus Christi plays performed in late fifteenth-century Toledo (Torroja Menéndez & Rivas Palá 1977: 188). The probable ugliness of the masks worn by such evil characters would underscore their diabolical nature, given the close association between ugliness and sin in the symbolic world of the Middle Ages; see Surtz 1996: 85.

resurrected, she too should be brought back to life in body and soul (Pié 1896–98: 732). The case of *Sospitati* with its plea for Mary's advocacy makes for a neat fit between the palimpsest text and the overlaid text of the play, but I suspect that only a very small number of spectators would have been able to make that connection.³⁷ Let us not forget that *Sospitati* is a conductus, a processional hymn, so its use to accompany Christ's descent from Heaven as well as the apostles' and saints' passage to the Virgin's tomb is appropriate.³⁸

Singing to the melody of *Iste confessor*, the apostles bear the Virgin's resurrected body to Paradise as they once again recall her role as advocate for humankind, calling her a ladder to Heaven. Their song then recalls another iconographic motif of advocacy, namely, the Double Intercession by which Christ shows His Father His wounds and Mary shows her son the breasts that nursed Him (Pié 1896–98: 733). Arriving in Heaven, Christ seats Mary at His right hand and places a crown on her head, thus underscoring her unique status in Heaven.

By this point, the aesthetic governing the use of music in the play should be clear. Mary, Jesus, the angels, and the saints and apostles are singing characters whose celestial songs contrast sharply with the demonic world of Lucifer and his henchmen who do not sing and instead are associated with infernal noises. In addition, the play may have had a sort of 'odorama' component. The initial rubric of the play associates Heaven with sweet-smelling perfumes.³⁹ In contrast, when Lucifer consigns the demon Beemot to Hell, he says: 'metetslo en lo foch ardent / hon aja sofre molt pudent' ['Put him in the burning fire / where there is malodorous sulphur'] (Pié 1896–98: 684). Massip suggests that the

37 It is possible that this palimpsest effect could also be potentially counterproductive. Near the end of the Tarragona play, after the Virgin is crowned, the choir begs her intercession, singing their supplication to the melody of *Mala fuy tan fresqueta como no fuy mongeta* (Pié 1896–98: 736). This snippet of a popular song seems to refer to an unhappily married woman who regrets that she did not become a nun. To the extent that the play's spectators were more likely to recognize the melody of a popular song, one wonders if that relation could have constituted a distraction from the play's serious message. Tess Knighton has suggested (email of 21 March 2015) that in the case of the use of racy songs in contrafacta, that double entendre could have 'added to the frisson of recognition'.

38 The recording of the trope by the Capella de Ministrers is quite robust and captures its processional nature better than its personal note of supplication. See *Ad honorem virginis*, Capella de Ministrers dir. by Carles Magraner (CD, Licanus, CDM 0822 (2008), track 2).

39 Pié's text reads 'benes o clos', which Soberanas amends to 'bones odós' ['pleasant scents']; see Soberanas 1990: 5. The play's initial rubric mentions the use of stringed instruments in the context of Heaven (Pié 1896–98: 675), but does not give any details as to what role such music may have played.

interior of the representation of Hell may have actually had some sort of flames in which they could have burned sulphur to make Hell literally foul smelling (Massip 1984: 116). So Hell's fetid odours and its infernal 'music' characterized by percussive instruments were intended to contrast with Heaven's harmonious songs and pleasant scents. This fundamental opposition was probably reflected emblematically in the play's staging, for in Massip's reconstruction of the play's stagecraft, Hell occupies one end of the acting space, while Heaven with God's throne occupies the opposite end of the space (Massip 1984: 110–15).

In contrast with the sustained use of music in the Tarragona Assumption play and other religious plays from the Kingdom of Aragon, it appears that in Castile music played a more limited role in theatre. The plays of the generation of such playwrights as Juan del Encina, Lucas Fernández, Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, as well as Gil Vicente in Portugal, represented a new departure in the late medieval and early sixteenth-century Castilian theatre. For example, the religious plays performed outdoors during Corpus Christi processions were characterized by a mimetic approach, that is, they reenacted episodes from the Scriptures. In contrast, the plays of the generation of Encina and his congeners were performed indoors in the private dwellings of the high nobility (Gil Vicente's works written for the Portuguese royal court are the exception to this rule), and often replaced the representation of sacred history with narration because the emphasis of the play was on reaction, not action. Thus, in order to foment the spectators' devotion the playwrights had their characters talk about the meaning of sacred events, rather than reproduce them.

Music generally had an 'incidental' use in such plays, with one important exception. Encina and the fellow playwrights of his generation were faced with the problem of how to begin and how to end a play, that is, how to define the dramatic space of their texts. Most plays had a sort of prologue in which one of the actors 'warmed up' the audience with a comic monologue, often crudely scatological in the case of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, and which often supplied a brief summary of the play proper that enabled the spectators to follow the action of the performance. A villancico signalled the end of the play, its three- or four-part harmony underscoring the work's comic resolution. But there is more, for inasmuch as the final villancico signalled the end of the performance, it also provided a way for the actors to leave the playing area, for it is to be assumed that they exited singing. This is made explicit in the stage directions of one of the Christmas plays by Lucas Fernández (*Auto o farsa del Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo*), where the second of two juxtaposed villancicos bears the rubric: 'Villancico to exit singing and dancing' ('Villancico para se salir cantando y vaylando') (Lihani 1969: 154).

This articulating function of the villancico is evident in those cases in which an additional villancico divides the play into two parts. In Fernández's *Comedia*, a villancico is inserted just after the shepherd Bras Gil has successfully courted the shepherdess Beringuella and the two celebrate their love—their harmony—in song. However, the happy ending is postponed by the sudden entrance of a crucial blocking figure, Beringuella's grandfather Juan Benito, who will go on to object to his granddaughter's marriage to Bras Gil (Lihani 1969: 64–65). Eventually, harmony is restored, as is underlined by the literal harmony of the play's final villancico.

However, a considerably more sophisticated use of articulating musical numbers can be found in Fernández's Passion play, the *Auto de la Pasión* of between 1500 and 1503. As in a number of other such plays, Christ's Passion is not represented mimetically, but rather the principal events of the Saviour's suffering and death are recounted by a series of diegetic narrators, and the principal focus of the play is the reaction of the on-stage characters to the Passion. This devotional aspect of the play is made explicit in its rubric, which says that St Matthew will enter telling the Passion story 'con algunas meditaciones' ('with some meditations') (Lihani 1969: 157). As Alfredo Hermenegildo remarks, the speeches of the pagan Dionisio, identified with Dionysius the Areopagite of Athens (who was converted by St Paul), motivate the forward movement of the play through the questions he asks of the other characters, while his reactions to their answers slow down the rhythm of the play by provoking meditative and doctrinal passages (Hermenegildo 1966: 29). So the emphasis is on reaction, not action, and music performs an important underlining and articulating function in this process.

St Peter opens the play, lamenting his denial of Christ and declaring that he will continue to do penance until he is forgiven. When the pagan Dionisio enters and inquires after the cause of Peter's sorrow, the apostle answers that he has denied his Lord, who is suffering for the sins of humankind. Dionisio understands that suffering to be the cause of the natural signs he has observed—the earth has quaked and the moon, the sun, and the stars have been eclipsed. Peter narrates Christ's arrest, interjecting invectives against the Jews. When the apostle speaks of Judas's kiss, Dionisio reacts very strongly, calling down damnation upon him. Thus Dionisio has been drawn into the Passion narrative, as it is to be hoped will be the case for those watching the play. Although Dionisio's observations of natural phenomena gave him to understand that something momentous was happening, it was only when the narratives of the other characters led him to have an emotional response to the Passion that his process of conversion could be said to begin: 'I am Dionysius of Athens, and when my knowledge of astronomy failed me, I was able to feel

the pain of the abundant sufferings that this God was suffering' ('Yo soy Dionisio de Athenas, / y en faltarme astronomia / alcancé a sentir las penas / de fatigas tanto llenas / que aqueste Dios padecía') (Lihani 1969: 159). By the end of Peter's narrative, Dionisio has been converted and recognizes Christ as his maker (Lihani 1969: 162).⁴⁰

Thus Dionisio is called upon to model the reaction the play should arouse in the spectators. It should not only 'move them to devotion', as the stage direction introducing one of the polyphonic songs exhorts (Lihani 1969: 166), but it should lead them to convert, not to Christianity as in the case of Dionisio, but rather to a state of greater piety. It is worth noting that Dionisio starts out as the odd man out, for not only is he a pagan, but he is also an anachronism, for he lived after the death of Christ. So by casting him as a witness—however indirect—to the Passion, he stands in for the spectators, who were likewise not eyewitnesses to the Passion, but nonetheless experience it indirectly through Fernández's play. And it is Dionisio's status as an anachronism that facilitates that identification between character and spectator.

The three Marys enter singing in three-part polyphony, and then continue their lamentation as they sing a little motet (*motezico*) (Lihani 1969: 164). This highly emotional scene stands out because it is the first time the play has had recourse to music. Inasmuch as the two short (three-line) polyphonic interventions have very little 'content' ('Poor us' ('ay, mezquinas') and 'Oh pain' ('Ay dolor'), interrupted by five lines of dialogue), the songs are not used to provide information but rather to react emotionally to the events of the Passion already narrated. The music to the songs of the three Marys is no longer extant, but it is likely that it contributed to the emotional charge of their laments. Although different in rhyme scheme, the two brief songs may have been linked by their music, for the stage directions indicate that the *motezico* is to be sung to the same *sonada*, that is, the same melody as the previous polyphonic song.⁴¹

When St Matthew gets to the moment when Pilate turns to the crowd and says *Ecce homo*, an image of the *Ecce homo* suddenly appears in the acting area,⁴² the characters all kneel, and they sing *Ecce homo* three times in four-

40 The anti-Jewish stance the play foments likewise serves to condition Dionisio's emotional response, for he ends up voicing his own anti-Jewish sentiments, thereby connecting in solidarity with the other characters (Lihani 1969: 163–64).

41 Tess Knighton has suggested (email of 3 December 2014) that perhaps the *motezico* was based on the harmonization of a melody presented in either the Tenor or the Superius of the previous song. Musically literate spectators might have been able to perceive the thematic relation between the melodies of the two songs.

42 In an instance of overkill, the stage direction states that this is to be done 'repente a deshora', that is 'suddenly suddenly' (Lihani 1969: 170). Although the devotional aspect of

part polyphony. St Matthew goes on to narrate the Blessed Virgin's sorrow and the nailing of Christ to the Cross, at which point a cross suddenly appears. Once again the characters kneel, and they sing *O crux, ave, spes unica* in polyphony. Jeremiah appears and begins a great lament, and despite Mary's physical presence in the acting area, it is St Matthew who quotes—oddly enough in Latin—her plaint *O vos omnes*.

When Dionisio asks to see Christ's tomb, a representation of the tomb (*monumento*) suddenly appears, the characters kneel, and all sing a polyphonic four-voice song.⁴³ Tess Knighton comments that 'the ceasing of action and dialogue and its replacement by music, shifted the focus of the audience to contemplation of the Monument as a visual symbol of Christ's death and its meaning for Mankind' (Knighton 2007: 73). But the play does not quite end here, for meditation upon the implications of the Passion continues in the play's final song, which is polyphonic and in dialogue: 'Say, why do you die on the cross, O Redeemer of the world? /—Alas! [I die] for you, sinner' ('Di, ¿por qué mueres en cruz, / universal Redemptor? /—Ay, que por ti, pecador').⁴⁴ A musical setting of this song for three voices survives without attribution in the Palace Songbook (*E-Mp* 1335, fol. 278v) (Music Example 4.1). Fernández's dialogued villancico is also a dialogue with the audience of the play, as the spectators, all of them sinners too, are interpellated by the constant reiterations of 'sinner' ('pecador') in the villancico's refrain.

It is odd that the paired final songs with different rhyme schemes are merely juxtaposed and in a sense run on in the printed edition without a separate rubric for the second song. The two song texts are stylistically different, for *Adorámoste, Señor* is an apostrophe to Christ's tomb, while *Di, ¿por qué mueres en cruz?* narrates in dialogue the life of Christ, beginning with the Nativity and

the text is of paramount importance, the play in some ways anticipates the aesthetic of surprise that will come to be associated with the Baroque.

43 The 'monument' was an altar raised in Spanish churches on Holy Thursday in memory of Christ's sepulchre. Its presence in the play supports the hypothesis that the work was performed in a church (Lihani 1969: 45), possibly Salamanca Cathedral, although monuments were also erected in the royal chapels (Fernández de Córdova Miralles 2002: 281).

44 From 1522 Fernández was Professor of Music at the University of Salamanca, so it is tempting to speculate that, given his training in music, he could have composed the music for his own plays. For Fernández's position as Professor of Music, see Lihani 1973: 29. The polyphonic composition that immediately precedes the play's final villancico is a setting of *Adorámoste, Señor*, whose music is lost, but whose scansion does not seem to correspond to any of the extant musical settings of the same text or its variants; see Knighton 2007: 56. Once again, it is pertinent to wonder whether or not Fernández set his own text to music.

Di, ¿por qué mue - res en cruz, u - ni - ver - sal
So - fris - te mu - cha as - pe - resa sien - do del mun -

8 re - den - tor? ¡Ay, que por
do Se - ñor. que por ti

15 ti, pe - ca - dor! Con - tem - plan - do tu gran -
y po - co a po - co

22 - de - sa, te vi ch - qui - to nas - cer,
cre - çer en nues - tra na - tu - ra - le - sa.

- de - sa, te vi ch - qui - to nas - cer,
cre - çer en nues - tra na - tu - ra - le - sa.

EXAMPLE 4.1 Anonymous, Di, ¿por qué mueres en cruz? (E-Mp 1335, fol. 278v)

ending with the Crucifixion. The paired songs are the musical high point of the play, for previously the musical interventions of the characters have been quite brief, as in the case of the three Marys' two three-line songs. Whereas *Adorámoste*, *Señor* addresses Christ's tomb in the second person, *Di, ¿por qué mueres en cruz?* adopts the first person, relating Christ's sacrifice to the individual soul: 'I saw you born as a little boy', 'I saw you arrested and beaten', 'I saw your delicate body carry the cross on your shoulders', etc. ('te vi chiquito nacer', 'Vite preso y açotado', 'Vi tu cuerpo delicado / llevar a cuestras la cruz', etc.). (Lihani 1969: 176–77). The villancico's refrain likewise uses the first person, for it is Christ's voice that always answers 'for you', constantly bringing the collective *we* of the polyphony back to the individual *I*, the individual soul, the individual sinner. The use of the first person in this final villancico invites the spectators to imagine themselves as witnesses to Christ's life and mentally and metaphorically to join their voices with the collective voice of the final polyphony.

In this way, the series of tag-team narrators that has served to tell the story of the Passion ends with the recapitulatory narration contained in the play's final villancico that is sung, not by a single individual, but by all the participants together. Thus we can see the final villancico as bringing all the performers together singing in unity, underscoring that Christ died for everyone. Once again, we can interpret this unity either in a general sense or in the context of the socio-religious tensions of late medieval Spain as all, whether Old or New Christians,⁴⁵ join together at Christ's tomb to mourn the Saviour's death.

Music and spectacle do not come together only in dramatic performances in the strict sense. Daily life, especially for the upper classes, also offered opportunities for self-presentation in the form of the spectacle of the self. In a sense, it could be said that it was not sufficient merely to belong to the aristocracy in the Middle Ages; the possession of nobility was only a complete advantage if it could be flaunted before non-nobles (see Chapter 5). It was therefore necessary to set those of high rank apart and to mark the social differences between the seigneurial class and the lowborn. To that end, various markers of social status were called upon to create, define, and parade differences between social classes. But what was the advantage of, for example, wearing fine clothing if members of other social classes could afford the same style and quality of garment? Therefore, sumptuary laws were enacted to

45 The apostles, of course, were Jews (that is, New Christians in the play's late medieval context), while Dionisio was a gentile, that is, an Old Christian.

restrict the use of such luxury items as silk clothing to the upper classes and to forbid other social classes to wear it.

And what role do music and spectacle play as markers of social difference in the late Middle Ages? It seems that everyone at the time shared the same soundscape, whether composed of church bells, vendors hawking their wares, or, as Hollywood would have it, strolling minstrels. Aristocrats, on the other hand, seem to have had the luxury of creating their own soundscape, thanks to the musicians that often accompanied them. This use of music is cogently illustrated not so much in the case of the Catholic Monarchs themselves, but by a relatively minor noble, Miguel Lucas de Iranzo (d. 1473), a man of humble birth raised to the nobility and named Lord High Constable of Castile by Enrique IV, the future Queen Isabel's half-brother. Not born into the nobility, Iranzo had to prove himself worthy of such an exalted rank by the ostentatious display of the prerogatives of that class. And music was part of that self-display (see Chapters 3 and 5). To that end, Iranzo seems to have perpetually surrounded himself with trumpeters, drummers, and shawm-players, never leaving home without them, and at home often dancing to their music late into the night.⁴⁶

The punctuating effect of the music provided by Iranzo's musical entourage is underlined by the fact that his chronicle never comments on the quality of the music or exactly what was played; rather, it seems to restrict its comments to how loud—and even deafening—the sound was, often using such terms as *ruido* (noise) or *estruendo* (din) to refer to it. In this way, not just music but more especially loud music contributed to what we might call the spectacle of the self, the 'ta-dah' moment. The music that highlighted such moments seemed to be proclaiming: 'Look at me, I'm hearing Mass,' 'Look at me, I'm at a banquet,' or 'Look at me I'm walking down the street'. This use of music in a sense turned the aristocratic lifestyle into a sort of perpetual spectacle and turned those surrounding the élite into spectators. Because of that audience, the soundscape of the aristocracy was not hermetic; rather, the very purpose of such 'ta-dah' moments was to call attention to every aspect of their noble lives and to convert passers-by and onlookers into spectators, whether they liked it or not. And when Iranzo celebrated events in public, the whole population participated and people came into town from the outlying areas (Mata Carriazo 1940b: 259), attracted by the entertainments as well as by the free food (Mata Carriazo 1940b: 250, 258). Even the death of Iranzo's brother became a public affair, with everyone in town invited to the funeral Mass (Mata Carriazo 1940b:

46 The significant role that music plays in Iranzo's chronicle has been discussed by Gómez Muntané 1996b and Knighton 1997.

250). Iranzo's chronicle constantly calls attention to the Constable's generosity, for such conspicuous expenditures of wealth were considered a hallmark of the nobility he was so anxious to construct and to display (see Chapter 5).

In 1461 at one of the banquets that celebrated Iranzo's wedding festivities, each dish that was carried into the banquet hall was 'announced' as if it were a person by a flourish of not only trumpets and drums, but also tabors, timbrels, shawms, shouts, shrieks and the cheering of *locos truhanes* [court jesters?]. The chronicle refers to these sounds as a 'continuo zombido', that is, a 'constant buzzing sound' (Mata Carriazo 1940b: 52) (see Chapter 3), but the word can also refer to the ringing in the ears caused by loud noises. And when the Constable left his palace to attend Mass, he was accompanied—literally—by trumpets, shawms, and jesters. Then, during Mass, trumpets and shawms played as the Constable and his entourage processed through the church, and then again at the Elevation of the Host (Mata Carriazo 1940b: 154–55). For Epiphany of 1464, during the service trumpets and shawms saluted the exposition of Veronica's veil, one of Jaen's most precious relics. Those instruments also played while the faithful venerated said relic and, to the extent that Iranzo himself was one of those devotees, the music called attention to his piety (Mata Carriazo 1940b: 160). Otherwise, it was the organ that regularly played during church services. Since Iranzo's benefactor, Enrique IV, had been born on the vigil of Epiphany, in Jaen the *Te Deum* was sung on that day in his honour after Vespers in *alternatim*: the clergy sang one verse, while the organ played the next one, and so on (Mata Carriazo 1940b: 159) (see Chapter 3).

We are fortunate to have a musical composition relevant to Iranzo's musical self-display. The manuscript of his chronicle housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid contains an anonymous sixteen-verse poem with its music, a composition, usually referred to as a ballad, whose text focuses precisely on Iranzo's loyalty to the sovereign to whom he owed everything (Music Example 4.2).⁴⁷ The text begins 'Loyalty, oh loyalty! / Loyalty, tell me, where are you?' ('Lealtad, ¡o lealtad! / Lealtad, dime, ¿do stás?') (Mata Carriazo 1940b: 328) (see Chapter 2). The next phrase answers: 'Go, oh King, to the Constable / and in him you will find it' ('vete, rey, al Condestable / y en él la fallarás') (Mata Carriazo 1940b: 328). So, perhaps oddly, the song's first strophe is an imaginary dialogue between the king and the personified quality of loyalty. Since the king can find no better model of loyalty than his lord high constable, the song goes on to say, he will sleep soundly on Iranzo's bosom. While this verse is metaphorical, not kinky, does the song text suggest a Constable almost feminized by his relation

47 The song has the added distinction of being one of the earliest extant polyphonic compositions with a Castilian text.

Le - al - tat, ¿o le - - al - tat! Le - al - tat

Le - al - tat, ¿o le - al - tat! Le - al - tat di -

Le - al - tat, ¿o le - - al - tat! Le - al - tat

Le - al - tat, le - al - tat, ¿o le - al - tat! Le - al - tat di -

6

di - me ¿do es - - - tás? Ve - te

- me ¿do es - - - tás? Ve - te

di - me ¿do es - - - tás? Ve - te

- - - me ¿do es - - - tás? Ve -

EXAMPLE 4.2 *Anonymous, Lealtad, ¿o lealtad! (E-Mn 2092, fols 234v–235), opening*

to the king or are listeners expected to associate the phrase with the biblical ‘bosom of Abraham’? Be that as it may, the poem then turns more testosterone-laden and bellicose, as the poetic voice assures the king that with Iranzo’s help he will recover the parts of his kingdom usurped by his enemies and then be able to wreak vengeance upon them (Mata Carriazo 1940b: 329).⁴⁸

Although Spanish ballads cover a wide thematic range, the so-called historical ballads celebrated in song the heroes (and some antiheroes) and the high

48 While it is easy to assume that *Lealtad* originated in Iranzo’s circle, it is also possible that the initiative came from Enrique IV. In 1462 to celebrate Iranzo’s successful campaign against the Muslims of Granada, Enrique had a ballad composed and set to music by the musicians of his private chapel (Mata Carriazo 1940b: 90) (see Introduction). Unfortunately, neither the poem nor the music of that ballad has come down to us.

points (and some low points) of the past, often the distant past. However, the so-called frontier ballads that appear in the fifteenth century celebrate the nearly contemporary events and protagonists of the last stages of the Reconquista, Spain's struggle against the Muslim other that had occupied its territory for some 700 years. Normally, ballads have no author but are orally transmitted by 'the people'. Writing around 1449, Íñigo López de Mendoza, the Marqués de Santillana, associates them with the lowest social classes (Gómez Moreno & Kerkhof 1988: 444) (see Chapter 2).⁴⁹ The ballad composed in honour of Iranzo is thus a relative anomaly, originating as it does in an aristocratic social milieu. On the one hand, the very use of ballad metre links Iranzo's exploits to those of the great heroes of Spanish history. On the other hand, the ballad was probably newly composed by a single musician and/or poet, and that fact and its sophisticated polyphony distance it from the straightforward monody of the traditional ballad and bring it closer to elite culture.

Stevenson comments that the text in praise of Iranzo is set with balanced musical phrases and achieves a certain unity through the repetition of rhythmic figures. He further notes the composition's 'simplicity and stateliness', 'symmetrical phrases', and its 'clear harmonic structure' (Stevenson 1960: 206). Thus, the song's musical structure may have conveyed a sense of solidity and unstinting support, something that the king badly needed and something that he received from Iranzo, for even after most of Enrique IV's supporters had abandoned him to join forces with first the king's half-brother Alfonso and then, after Alfonso's death, with Enrique's half-sister Isabel, Iranzo remained a loyal supporter of his sovereign.

Drama, pageantry, and music are never isolated from the preoccupations of their age, be they messianic currents or dynastic issues. Notably in the Kingdom of Aragon, the Corpus Christi pageants were regularly 'recycled' for festive occasions, especially royal entries. The choice of pageants was probably not arbitrary, and we have seen some sort of intentionality in the selection of spectacles for Queen Isabel's entry into Calatayud. Moreover, the entry's organizer Juan de Nueros may have 'kidnapped' the spectacle for his own self-serving purposes. Such recycling brings into question any simplistic sacred/profane dichotomy. Machines were used for dramatic effect in both religious plays and civic pageants, while the use of popular melodies as *contrafacta* in religious plays both enhanced and complicated the reception of the spectacle.

49 However, ballads were quite the social climbers, and by the end of the fifteenth century they were being sung by the ladies of Queen Isabel's court (Fernández de Córdova Miralles 2002: 299–300). Fernández de Córdova Miralles cites examples of ballads with a strong propagandistic component composed by members of the queen's court or her chapel.

Representations of the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin provided a devotional moment, and if the monarch was present, the performance could be seen as enhancing the status of Mary's human devotee. We observed a similar effect in the Christmas play performed in Saragossa in 1487 for the Catholic Monarchs. God the Father and King Ferdinand occupied equivalent positions on the play's vertical axis, the Father's divine presence bolstering the king's prestige at a crucial moment in which royal power was being contested in Saragossa. Lucas Fernández sought to effect his audience's conversion to a state of greater holiness, and the use of music at strategic points in his Easter play helped to provoke an emotional response to the Passion and thereby to foment the play's express goal of moving the spectators to increased devotion. And the nature of the religious politics of the age meant that some spectacles provided less than unambiguous celebration and had a darker side that pointed to the incipient Inquisition and the on-going tensions between Old and New Christians.

Love or liberality? Music in the Courts of the Spanish Nobility

Roberta Freund Schwartz

The role of music among the Spanish high nobility during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs remains somewhat elusive. Due to the extensive destruction of family archives by natural disasters, theft, wars, neglect, transfer, and dispersal, few, if any, of the libraries and archives of Spain's noble households survive intact, and many contain distressingly few records from this period.¹ Thus, compared to institutions like the royal chapels and major cathedrals, relatively little is known about the musical establishments of these courts. However, the information that can be gleaned indicates that members of the high nobility were important patrons of musicians, played a key role in popularizing the vihuela, and, particularly after the death of Ferdinand in 1516, were the primary supporters of indigenous secular music. It is also the case that their patronage of music was rather different to that of other European nobles—and for a number of reasons.

The turbulent transition of Spain from a collection of independent kingdoms to a more or less unified nation under a pair of strong monarchs created a noble estate in the service of, rather than in competition with, the Crown. Most of the Iberian high nobility was created during the fifteenth century, when warring rival factions solicited allies by granting titles and lands to powerful vassals. By the time that Ferdinand and Isabel married in 1469, the number of noble dynasties had increased dramatically, and the Catholic Monarchs awarded even more to their allies during the war of succession over Isabel's ascendancy to the throne. In 1400 there were fewer than ten noble families in Spain; by 1480, the year that the queen's rivals were finally vanquished,

1 By the late eighteenth century, the abbot of the Monastery of San Francisco in Guadalajara was aware of a 'smuggling ring' involved in the theft and traffic of rare books and documents from public and private archives, and cited the problem as a 'pestilent and lethal cancer'; Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero y Regular, Leg. 2099, s.f. Many palaces were specifically targeted during the eighteenth-century War of Succession, the Napoleonic Wars, and the Spanish civil war. Several were bombed; others were looted and their contents wantonly destroyed.

there were forty-nine, and new titles continued to be issued (Highfield 1965: 376).

While the newly minted high nobility was vastly influential within each family's own domains, it was very largely subjugated by royal authority (Highfield 1965: 253). Their position within Castile and Aragon was determined by the noble family's relationship with one or both of the Catholic Monarchs, and given the large number of newly created nobles in the Spanish kingdoms, contention for royal access and influence was fierce. While economic power and extensive networks of clients were important factors in this competitive environment, it was also crucial for members of the new aristocracy to demonstrate their worthiness through piety, devotion to the humanities, and liberality, which came to be considered truer indicators of inherent nobility than bloodline.

The essayist Sebastián de Covarrubias defines the 'hombre liberal' as 'he who gracefully, without consideration of any reward whatsoever, does good and gives to the needy, observing the manner in which it is given so as not to give in to wasteful extremes' ('El que graciosamente, sin tener respeto a recompensa alguna, haze bien y merced a los menesterosos, guardando el modo devido para no dar en el extremo de pródigo') (Riquer 1943/98: 765). However, in practice, the term was employed to describe munificence in a broader sense; those nobles who allotted vast sums to lavish livery, banquets with fifty different dishes, and extensive musical establishments, were deemed by chroniclers of the period—who always speculated about the cost—as both 'liberal' and 'truly noble' (Fernández Madrid 1991: 106–8). 'Liberalidad' was the ultimate tool in the rivalry for fame and favour; extensive spending on luxurious entertainments, artistic patronage, and other displays of apparently limitless wealth largely replaced military reputation as a means of ascendancy (Domínguez Ortiz 1973: 39). While this might suggest a tendency toward lavishness and great expense at all times, the pursuit of 'liberalidad' and, by extension, the patronage of music, was influenced by a number of other factors, including financial realities, personal tastes, and the reputation and duties of individual nobles. Some supported choirs and instrumental consorts because they loved music, some paid the substantial sums involved to prove they could afford to do so, and some spent as little as they could on an ephemeral art that was unlikely to preserve their fame over time.

Given that documentation of the households of the high nobility from the age of the Catholic Monarchs is relatively sparse, information on their patronage and use of music has to be extrapolated from fragmentary records from a select number of households:

The Dukes of Alba: the First and Second Dukes, don García Álvarez de Toledo (d. 1488), and his son don Fadrique (1460–1531), enjoyed a particularly close relationship with Ferdinand and Isabel, who frequently visited their court at Alba de Tormes near to Salamanca. Don Fadrique can be considered to have been one of the king's closest advisors from 1504–16. The family is best known for its patronage of the poet-composer Juan del Encina.

The Dukes of Gandía: the duchy was purchased by Cardinal Rodrigo de Borja, the future Pope Alexander VI, in 1485 to provide an inheritance for his illegitimate offspring. Members of the Borja family were the most significant cultural force, aside from the Church, in the region of Valencia before 1525. Significant figures are:

- Cardinal Rodrigo de Borja (1431–95)
- Pedro Luis de Borja (1462–88), First Duke of Gandía
- Juan de Borja (1476–97), Second Duke of Gandía
- María Enriquez (1469–1537), Second Duchess and Duchess regent 1497–1511
- Juan II de Borja (1494–1542), Third Duke of Gandía.

The Mendoza family and the Dukes of Infantado: the Mendoza dynasty formed the wealthiest and largest aristocratic family in Castile throughout much of the sixteenth century. Their appetite for lavish display and strong support of the arts and letters meant that their family seat in Guadalajara was highly regarded by the Catholic Monarchs; several of the Mendoza family's cadet branches resided there, and it became a centre for celebrations, receptions, and ambassadorial functions.² Vihuelist Alonso Mudarra praised the Third and Fourth Dukes for always employing 'excellent men in all kinds of music' ('de toda musica había hombres excelentes') (Pujol 1949: 26). This sentiment was seconded by Mateo Flecha in his ensalada *La Viuda*, in which the widow Music mourns the death of the Third Duke, saying 'What a husband I lost!' ('¡Qué marido perdi!') (Flecha 1581: fols 22v–23). The most prominent Mendoza patrons of the era of Ferdinand and Isabel were:

- Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1417–78), First Duke of Infantado
- Íñigo López de Mendoza (1438–1500), Second Duke of Infantado
- Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1461–1531), Third Duke of Infantado
- Íñigo López de Mendoza (1493–1565), Fourth Duke of Infantado

2 Devotion to the arts was a central component of the Mendoza family psychology; in particular, they revered their literary ancestors, especially the celebrated poet Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana (1398–1458); see Nader 1986.

- Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar y Mendoza (1464–1523), First Marquis of Cenete
- Mencía de Mendoza (1508–54), Second Marchioness of Cenete.³

The Count-Dukes of Benavente: the Pimentel family was a significant force in Castile-Leon and the city of Valladolid, and was allied by marriage to the Mendoza family. A single set of accounts from 1499 bears witness to the music at their court prior to 1520; these accounts cover the transition between the rules of Rodrigo Alonso de Pimentel (1441–99), Fourth Count and First Duke of Benavente, and his son, Don Alonso de Pimentel y Pacheco (1470–1530), the Fifth Count and Second Duke.

The Dukes of Arcos: one of the two great noble houses of southern Andalusia. The First Duke, don Rodrigo Ponce de León (1493–1530), established his main residence in Seville, and, according to the dedication of Francisco Guerrero's *Sacrae Canciones*, was known for his love of music (Salazar de Mendoza, *Crónica*, 1620; Guerrero 1555: fol. iv).

Dukes of Medina Sidonia: the Guzmán family was the dominant noble house in southern Andalusia and a significant political and social force in Seville. The few records from the Third through Fifth Dukes—Juan Alfonso Pérez de Guzmán (1464–1507); Enrique Pérez de Gúzman (d. 1512), and Alfonso Pérez de Guzmán (d. 1549)—as well as contemporary chronicles, establish them as significant patrons of music (see Gómez Fernández 2016).

While the musical patronage of these noble dynasties varied significantly, even within each family, there are broad commonalities from which it is possible to extrapolate a picture of music in the noble courts during the age of the Catholic Monarchs. For example, each noble household maintained its own chapel for the celebration of the liturgy, though large private choirs, such as those maintained by some Italian nobility, were quite rare. Determining the exact size is complicated by personnel identified as chaplains or clerics; they may have sung polyphony as well as plainchant, although it is perhaps safest to assume that their contributions were limited to the singing of chant.

Throughout his tenure, the First Duke of Alba had a musical chapel consisting of a chapel master (*maestro de capilla*), four singers, three choirboys and two *negrillos*.⁴ The *negrillos* were young black slaves owned by the duke; although rarely mentioned in standard histories of the period, the ownership of slaves, both black and white, was widespread in the Spanish kingdoms,

3 In 1541 Mencía de Mendoza became the Second Duchess of Calabria upon her marriage to Don Fernando de Aragón.

4 Madrid, Archive of the Dukes of Alba [ADA], C. 180–9; C. 301 [Libro Maestro], fol. 1241.

particularly at the noble courts, and a significant number of slaves received musical training (Domínguez Ortiz 1987: 25–26; Fernández Martín 1988; Cortés López 1989: 98–101, 237; Lowe & Earle 2005). First the Franco-Flemish composer Juan de Urreda, then the cleric Pedro Leal, were designated as *maestro de negrillos*, and their salaries included funds for teaching the boys to sing.⁵ The chapel also included two organists, one explicitly designated as ‘sacred’ (‘sagrada’).⁶ The Second Duke, don Fadrique, seems to have maintained a choir of approximately the same size: five adult singers, the *maestro de capilla* Diego de Flores—the same chapel master who served his father—and three choirboys.⁷

Indeed, this seems to have been the minimum size for noble chapels during the age of the Catholic Monarchs. Although nothing is known of the music chapels of the First and Second Dukes of Infantado, Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza (1428–95), brother of the First Duke and both High Chancellor of Castile and Archbishop of Toledo, maintained a fairly substantial musical establishment at his palace in Guadalajara. Several days after his death on 11 January 1495 four of his chapel singers—Juan de Cespedes, Juan de las Heras, Juan Roman, and Pedro de la Puebla—passed into the service of Queen Isabel; a fifth singer, Juan Ruiz de Madrid, had already been appointed a member of the Castilian royal chapel in 1493 (Stevenson 1960: 242–43; Knighton 2001: 105, 334). At its peak in May and June 1499, the musical chapel of the Second Count-Duke of Benavente comprised a chapel master, six singers, an organist, and three choirboys, and in 1512 Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar y Mendoza, the First Marquis of Cenete, maintained six adult singers, an organist, and two choirboys.⁸ There is no extant roster of chapel members of the Third Duke of Infantado; however, notary protocols document at least six adult singers. A 1531 inventory of the duke’s possessions lists six red cassocks for the choirboys, and six more in black, suggesting there were at least six choirboys, though possibly a pool of as many as twelve.⁹

5 Madrid, ADA, Libro Maestro, fols 277 and 395. Two drummers of the First and Second Dukes of Gandía were slaves, and about two dozen more musician slaves are to be found listed in the accounts of noble households from later in the sixteenth century.

6 Madrid, ADA, Libro Maestro, fol. 78.

7 Madrid, ADA, C. 157–38. The extant records cover only the years 1488–1500, and the Second Duke ruled until 1532.

8 Toledo, Archivo Histórico Nacional de la Nobleza [AHN Nobleza], Osuna Leg. 418¹, no. 15; San Cugat del Vallès, Centro Borgia, Arxiu del Palau, Cenete Leg. 138.

9 Guadalajara, Archivo Histórico de Protócolos [AHP], Prot. 2, fols 34v–36, 374v; Prot. 3, fols 132v–33v; Prot. 5, fol. 447; Prot. 10, fols 147v–49v; Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna, Leg. 1832, no. 1, fol. 25; Leg. 3400, fol. 149.

Ensembles of this size would have been more than sufficient for the performance of three- or four-voice polyphony, with several boys singing the Superius, and one or two adults on each of the lower voice parts (Fallows 1983; Knighton 1992: 568). The contribution of these musical resources to the celebration of the liturgy in noble chapels would surely have been similar to the pattern established in the Castilian and Aragonese royal chapels (Knighton 2001: 112–14). On a daily basis, the chapel singers would have performed the Mass and Office in plainchant, perhaps at times in alternatim with the organ, although this basic approach was very probably enhanced by semi-improvised counterpoint and additional, improvised service music by the organist, as well as the occasional motet. The major feasts of the liturgical year would have almost certainly involved polyphonic performance of sections of the Mass as well as the Office in a solemnification of the occasion.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to add anything more specific in nature about the polyphonic repertory of noble chapels since very few pieces or sources can be linked directly to noble establishments during the era of the Catholic Monarchs: few extant prints and manuscripts from this period survive, and none remain in noble libraries (see Chapter 11).¹⁰ Household inventories from this period are frustratingly vague in terms of content; most volumes are described simply as ‘books of music’, although they can give some indication of musical genre, with reference to polyphonic Masses and Magnificats, as well as music for the Passion and specific feasts, such as that of Epiphany. The polyphonic repertory sung in noble chapels was almost certainly more than might at first appear to be the case, including Franco-Flemish as well as locally-produced polyphony (see Chapter 7). Two noble households—those of the dukes of Infantado and marquis of Cenete—owned books of music by Josquin, and the marquis also owned a copy of a work by Franchinus Gaffurius.¹¹

Most chapel singers were paid from household accounts, but members of the high nobility, like the monarchs, also petitioned the papal court for benefices to help defray the costs of maintaining a chapel and to add to its status. An extant copy of a letter forwarded to proxies of the Third Duke of Infantado, don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1461–1531), explains that ‘because His Most Illustrious Lordship has a very solemn chapel with a large number of singers and chaplains, for the honour and growth of the [liturgical] services’ (‘por

10 Part of this dispersal may reflect a peculiarity of Spanish financial documents of the period. Unless outstanding debts were settled in cash at the time of the debtor’s death, all his or her material goods not directly willed to a person or institution were inventoried, valued, and sold at auction.

11 Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Leg. 1834 no. 2; Leg. 1906.

quanto vuestra senoria Illustrissima tiene una muy solene capilla donde grande numero de cantores y capillanes se honra y acreçienta el culto divino'), the duke requested that the first six hundred ducados worth of benefices vacated in his domains should be conceded to his chapel in perpetuity.¹² Accounts of the duke's establishment provide a more detailed picture of the way that chapel choirs functioned as part of noble courts. According to his chroniclers, the duke was very fond of sacred music and considered it to be a priority in the running of his household.¹³ To this end, he maintained 'a chapel of excellent musicians' ('una capilla de excelentes musicos'), which, according to the Venetian ambassador Andrés Navajero, who visited Guadalajara in the 1520s, 'demonstrates that he is very liberal in all things' ('mostrando en todo ser muy liberal') (Fabié 1983: 23). Alfaro Núñez de Castro, whose account provides the most detail about music at the ducal court, states that many Masses were celebrated daily in the duke's chapel, and on feast days of any rank 'they celebrated a sung Mass in polyphony, as if it were a royal chapel, and the duke don Diego was always present at these [celebrations]' ('todos los dias de fiesta se cantava una Missa a canto de organo, como una capilla real, y el duque Don Diego siempre asistiendo a ellas') (Núñez de Castro 1653: 156). The papal brief that granted the duke's chapel many of the same privileges as a church, such as celebration of Mass at any hour of the day and the giving of communion and taking of confession, also contains an unusual clause that sanctioned polyphonic celebration of the Office.¹⁴ Thus the polyphonic Office was probably also performed on major feast days, and the court owned several books of music for the Office liturgy, including a collection of Magnificats, six books of Passion settings, as well as works for Christmas Matins.¹⁵

Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza is reputed to have had a special devotion to the feast of Corpus Christi:

12 Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Leg. 2280³, fols 93–94. It is not clear from later records whether the duke's supplication was granted or denied.

13 Accounts of the dukes of Infantado and other nobles in Guadalajara are unusually well documented. Three early seventeenth-century histories of the city (one by the city recorder of deeds, the other a cleric of the Sixth Duchess) are based on a treatise on the Mendoza by the family historian Francisco de Medina y Mendoza (1516–77). To judge by comments found in Medina y Mendoza's biography of Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza, he consulted the family archives and interviewed witnesses to the events he described.

14 Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Carpetas 197, no. 16; and 201, no. 15.

15 Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Leg. 1832 nos. 1 and 4.

which was always celebrated with the utmost solemnity; throughout the Octave, the Blessed Sacrament remained uncovered in the chapel ... and polyphonic Masses and Vespers were sung. On the first day of the Octave, there was a solemn procession around the upper gallery of the palace, which was decorated with luxurious tapestries and paintings, with four altars in the four corners, adorned with images and relics.¹⁶

For the rest of the Octave, the duke sponsored entertainments throughout the city, including bull fights, tournaments, plays, and dances.¹⁷

These practices were similar to those of his father, the Second Duke of Infantado, don Iñigo López de Mendoza (d. 1500), who was particularly devoted to the feast of the Ascension. He funded an annual procession in Guadalajara that departed from the Convent of Nuestra Señora de Afuera, an institution of which he was patron, and continued to the Franciscan monastery, where a three-voice Mass was celebrated. The procession then continued to the chapel of the Hospital de la Misericordia (also under Mendoza patronage), with the monks and clerics from the three institutions 'all singing for their orders, as is customary ('todos cantando por su orden que es acostumbrado'). The procession was followed by civic celebrations of a more secular nature.¹⁸ Support for public religious celebrations of this type was provided by most of the dukes of Infantado, who 'spent many ducados on tapestries, musicians, altars and other festive items' (*gastando muchos ducados en colgaduras, musicas, altares, y otros aparatos festivos*) as they were 'so inclined to the divine worship that feasts are celebrated [here] with particular ostentation and majesty' ('tan inclinados al culto divino que hacen sus fiestas con particular ostentación y magestad') (Torre *Historia*: fol. 43).

The use of churches or monasteries that came under the patronage of a noble family for public expressions of religious devotion was fairly common, and these institutions functioned as external extensions of their private establishment. The degree of involvement and funding varied, and several types of patronage were common. The first were direct endowments ('dotaciones') to a religious institution, which could comprise income from land rents, cash

16 'Celebrava solenissimamente cada año la fiesta de Corpus, todo el octavario estava descubierto el Santissimo Sacramento en su Capilla ... y cada dia se cantavan Missas, y Visperas. El primer Lueves desta festividad a la tarde hazia una procession muy solene en torno de los corredores altos de su casa, que tenia adornados con ricas colgaduras, y quadros, con quatro Altares en la quatro esquinas' (Núñez de Castro 1653: 156).

17 Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Leg. 1832, nos 1 and 4.

18 Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Leg. 3402, fol. 371. The document dates from the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

bequests, the financing of the construction of a building, or the donation of items, such as the pair of organs purchased by the First Duke of Alba for the Monastery of San Leonardo in Alba de Tormes, and a similar bequest by the Third Duke of Infantado to the Franciscan monastery in Guadalajara.¹⁹ Liturgical books and manuscripts were also commonly presented as gifts. Another form of support was the common practice of funding chaplaincies (*capellanías*), which provided financial support for a chaplain or musician. The duties of this employee usually included the celebration of certain Masses or Offices, or yearly commemorations of a particular individual's death or other event.

Noble patronage could extend to assuming total financial responsibility for an ecclesiastical institution. The benefits were extensive: not only was the reputation of the benefactor enhanced as regards his or her benevolence and piety, but such devotion to a religious institution, particularly in cases where sole and exclusive patronage was assumed, was also tantamount to making that church, chapel or convent a sub-component of the court. In such arrangements, funds were provided for the entire workings of the religious institution: salaries were provided for a specified number of chaplains, monks or nuns, musicians, and choirboys; the necessary vestments, ornaments, books and other items essential to the celebration of the liturgy were either donated or funds provided for their purchase; and arrangements were made for the feeding and upkeep of personnel.

Such was the case with the collegiate church of Santa María in Gandía, founded by Doña María Enríquez, the Second Duchess of Gandía (1474–1539) and niece of Ferdinand the Catholic. In 1486 her father-in-law, Rodrigo de Borja, then a cardinal, conceded some of the income from the archdeaconate of Xàtiva to fund benefices for what was at that time a parish church. After his ascension to the papacy in 1492, Borja approved a bull to convert the institution into a collegiate church (*colegiata*), which gave the duchess control over the writing of the foundation statutes (*Calderón Compendio*: fol. 90v).²⁰ Since collegiate churches operated with a large degree of autonomy from the local diocese, the patron or patroness could assume considerable power over the institution.²¹ In addition to other conditions established by the 1511 foundation document of the collegiate church of Santa María in Gandía, funds were allocated to a musical establishment: prebends were reserved for a chapel

19 Madrid, ADA, C. 180–9; Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Leg. 1843, no. 27.

20 Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Leg. 522, no. 8.

21 William H. Fanning, 'Collegiate', *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 4 (NY: Robert Appleton Company, 1908) <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04114a.htm>> (14 December 2014)

master, a choir of eight singers, four choirboys, and a dulcian player.²² The salaries for the musicians, canons, and other dignitaries were partly funded through benefices; the remainder was provided for from the financial resources of the ducal household. The duchess also contributed funds for 'different pious works for Matins, Vespers, Masses, and Salve services' ('para diferentes obras pias de Matines, Visperas, Misas y Salves'), as well as Masses, processions, canonical hours, and celebrations of the feasts of Corpus Christi and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary with 'great solemnity and splendour' ('gran solemnidad y esplendor') (León 1926: 85).²³ It is not known if doña María exercised her right, enshrined in the foundation document, to name or approve new appointees, including musicians. This was significant; although the duchess maintained a chapel in the ducal palace, the singers and instrumentalists of the collegiate church served as its musicians during her rule (León 1926: 28).

Some members of the high nobility regularly employed singers from nearby religious institutions to provide more elaborate music on feast days than their chapels could usually provide, thus creating important connections with local ecclesiastical institutions. The Second Marchioness of Cenete paid singers from Valencia Cathedral to sing Mass and Vespers in her court chapel on major feast days. Rodrigo Ponce de León, First Duke of Arcos (r. 1493–1530), likewise supplemented his chapel with singers from Seville Cathedral, and the Second Duchess of Gandía requested that several singers go to celebrate the Salve service at her palace on Saturdays.²⁴ The dukes of Medina Sidonia also employed musicians from Seville Cathedral; in 1477–78 several choirboys and three singers, including the composer Juan de Triana, frequently sang for Mass at the ducal palace. As Juan Ruiz Jiménez notes, 'these exchanges continued into the sixteenth century: the 1516 roster of musicians in the service of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, Fifth Duke of Medina Sidonia, includes the singers Alonso Vergil and Juan de Salcedo, as well as the organist and composer Rodrigo de Morales' (Ruiz Jiménez 2009b: 405).

The evidence suggests that even those singers employed on a permanent basis at noble courts rarely travelled with their employers. Indeed, only one record from this period has as yet been found to indicate that a nobleman travelled with his chapel choir. When in 1475 the Second Duke of Medina Sidonia led a campaign to seize the estates of the Order of Santiago from a rival, his entourage included a 'large chapel of singers and many trumpets and sackbuts,

22 Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Leg. 541, no. 19.

23 Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Leg. 541, no. 19.

24 San Cugat de Vallès, Centro Borgia, Arxiu del Palau, Cenete Leg. 135, fol. 7; Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Leg. 1634/1, no. 142.

and polyphonic music and boy singers from the cathedral, and many highly decorated vestments and ornaments' ('muy gran capilla de cantores e muchas trompetas e sacabuches, e músicas acordadas e niños cantores de la Iglesia Mayor, e muchos arreos de vestimentas e ornamentos...') (Gómez-Moreno & Mata Carriazo 1962, 1: 87). The expedition did not go well; the duke failed in his attempt, and the musicians and some wind instrumentalists were taken as recompense for the attack. This instance of musicians travelling with their noble patron is somewhat inconclusive: it is not clear that these singers were paid employees at the ducal court, and the expedition was fairly local. The preponderance of the evidence suggests that this would in any case have been a rarity: when the First Duke of Alba travelled to Andalusia in 1478, he left orders that his singers be paid their usual salaries in his absence, and the account books of the Second Marchioness of Cenete and Second Duke of Gandía contain payments to local singers when the nobles were away from their domains.²⁵

However, when members of the nobility travelled, they were frequently accompanied by their trumpeters and drummers and their *ministriles altos* (a wind ensemble of shawm- and sackbut-players, see Chapter 3). These musicians were the most visible—and audible—manifestation of liberality among the aristocracy, as witnessed by numerous extant accounts of processions, celebrations, formal entries, and other civic events. The First Duke of Alba, don García Álvarez de Toledo, had four trumpeters, a drummer, and four sackbut-players accompany him when he went visiting, and they were provided with a livery of stylish purple doublets, tabards, capes and silver shoes, as well as pendants bearing his ducal device.²⁶ This corps of heraldic musicians was common to all the most important nobles of the time. The Alba accounts contain many descriptions of visitors arriving with a complement of instrumentalists in tow, and it was customary for the host to present these visiting musicians with small cash gifts or other valuable items; similar payments are found in the extraordinary accounts of the Second Duke of Borja, don Juan de Borja (c. 1476–97) (Sanchis Sivera 1919: 96).²⁷ Likewise, the Third Duke of Medina Sidonia, don Juan Alfonso Pérez de Guzmán (1464–1507), was 'always accompanied to and from his palace' by his *ministriles altos*, 'dressed in livery in his

25 San Cugat de Vallès, Centro Borgia, Arxiu del Palau, Cenete Leg. 144, no. 5; Compte de les Rebudes e dates fetes per lo magnífich Mossen Jaume de Pertusa cavaller per lo Illustríssimo Senyor Duch de Gandia, reproduced in Chabás Llorens 1893: 120, 123; Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Leg. 745/1, no. 1.

26 Madrid, ADA, Libro Maestro, fols 158, 1213. His son Fadrique employed roughly the same retinue, but with five sackbut-players; see ADA C. 23–29.

27 Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Leg. 745/1, no. 1.

colours and bearing the arms of the family'. The musicians also played for 'equestrian games sponsored by the family, whether in the Plaza de San Francisco or in the square outside their own residence, in which case they played from the turrets of the medieval palace on special occasions' (Ruiz Jiménez 2009b: 403). These events might range farther from home; the wives of several minstrels of the count-dukes of Benavente held powers of attorney to collect their husbands' salaries, 'while he serves the count in Italy and in whatever other places he is called to in the service of our lord' ('serviere el conde en Italia y en otras quales que pertenecia al servicio de su señoría').²⁸

The exact number of *ministriles altos* varied from court to court. The Fifth Count-Duke of Benavente, Juan Alonso Pimentel (1470–1530), supported up to seven shawmists or sackbut-players, seven trumpeters, and two drummers; the First Duke of Arcos, don Rodrigo Ponce de León, had formal livery for twelve minstrels, six trumpeters, and three drummers, though it appears that at least some of the musicians who accompanied him for formal entries were paid by retainer rather than as permanent members of his court.²⁹ For example, all six of the First Duke of Arcos's trumpeters received food rations and payments only when they were called to serve. According to a contemporary chronicle, the Third Duke of Infantado never left his palace without his personal retinue, which included 'all kinds of musicians' ('músicos de todos tipos'). It can be surmised from inventories of the ducal wardrobe that this ensemble consisted of nine to thirteen trumpeters, four drummers, and nine other minstrels.³⁰

The impact of these displays is evident from a report to King Ferdinand on the eve of the battle of Tordesillas in June 1474:

the duke of Alba was there to receive His Majesty... Of the pomp of the duke I don't need to say anything to your Lordship, because you already know, if not by seeing it, at least you have heard it; and one would think, sir, that he had not left anyone in his household—I speak of drummers, slide trumpets (*trompetas bastardas*), sackbuts, and trumpets, and twenty pages...³¹

28 Guadalajara, AHP, Prot. 13, fols 125v–26, 134v. The wording is identical in the three *cartas de poder*.

29 Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Cartas, Leg. 513–7; Leg. 616, no. 106, Leg. 418¹, no. 15.

30 *Nobiliario del Cardenal Mendoza*, Madrid, BN MS 11577, cited in Layna Serrano 1942, 3: 33; Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna, Leg. 1832, nos 1 and 4.

31 'lo duch de Alba isque á reebir su Magestat... De la pompa del Duch no vull dir alguna cosa á V.S., perque ya la sap, si no per vista, al menys por hoyda, é pensau, senyor, que nenguna

The number and variety of instrumentalists that accompanied the young duke to the battlefield clearly lent him prestige and significance. Likewise, visiting dignitaries at the court of the dukes of Medinaceli were awed by the duke's entrance into the dining hall, preceded by 'all his trumpets and "clarines",³² and two Moors with large drums in the Moorish style, and many other musicians' ('iban delante todos sus trompetas y clarines, y dos moros con grandes tambores al estilo morisco, y otros muchos músicos') (García Mercadal 1917–19, 1: 179). When Pedro González de Mendoza was sent by Ferdinand to receive Cardinal Rodrigo Borja in Valencia, don Pedro greeted him with a procession that involved all the city's nobility; eight bishops were announced by his minstrels, standard bearers, and twenty mounted knights in formal Arabic dress (Medina y Mendoza 1853: 191). The incident stimulated such deep admiration in Borja that he instructed his son Juan, the Second Duke of Gandía, to cultivate similar luxury and hospitality (Sanchis Sivera 1919: 56).

It is never indicated in chronicles or accounts what the instrumentalists played for these occasions beyond calls and fanfares, although they may have also performed sacred or secular pieces that were sufficiently festive or appropriate to the occasion (Polk 1997: 44–45). An extant contract between a shawm-player of the duke of Infantado and a prospective student specifies that the young man should be taught not only how to play the instrument, but also to 'perform some songs' ('tañer algunas obras') (see Chapter 3).³³ This phrase might indicate a practical evaluation of skills or a selection of songs (or both); it certainly suggests a wider repertory than stock formulae.

Ministriles altos also provided music for other occasions: musical accompaniment to feasts, *representaciones*—a category encompassing tableaux, spectacles of various sorts, and theatrical entertainments (see Chapter 4)—and, of course, dancing. All commentary on dance music in this era is necessarily speculative, as very few examples appear in either Spanish manuscripts or prints until the sixteenth century. However, some information on the subject is provided by a mid-fifteenth century Italian dance treatise by Antonio Cornazano: *Libro dell'Arte Danzare* (1455–65). Cornazano states that the 'cheeriest of all dances', the *saltarello*, was called the *danza alta* by the Spanish, 'and it is derived from the *bassa danza*, since it is always performed after it' (Dolmetsch 1954: 15). Both dances were improvised upon standard tenors, of

cosa se ha dexada en casa, dich de atabals, trompetes bastardes, sachabuches, é trompetes, e xx patjes' (Paz y Meliá 1914: 159).

32 The exact nature of the 'clarin' is still unclear, other than that it was a brass instrument with a piercing tone.

33 Guadalajara, Archivo AHP, Prot. 6, fols 7–8.

which several sixteenth-century examples survive as the basis for variation sets in vihuela tablatures (see Chapter 13). However, it is likely that, as in other European countries, more than one acceptable accompaniment pattern existed, as a great many of the villancicos of the succeeding generation were based on variants of stock melodic and harmonic patterns such as the *folia* and *romanesca*, which may also have been used for dancing (Rey [Marcos] 1978a). Contemporary evidence suggests that dance music would have been performed by a consort of no fewer than three shawms, perhaps with the addition of a *trompette à ménestrels* or sackbut to perform the foundation tenor: the standard *alta capella* of the era (Núñez de Castro 1653: 140; Mata Carriazo 1940b: 44–45). Similar ensembles played for banquets and festivities, though a wider repertory would have been offered on these occasions. A reception for Ferdinand's father, Juan II of Aragon (d. 1479), at the court of the Marquis of Santillana in Buitrago, included a procession through 'streets covered with fragrant wildflowers; [and] a group of minstrels played joyous songs' ('alfombradas las calles con olorosas floras campesinas, tocando alegres sonatas las cuadrillas de ministriles') (Layna Serrano 1942, 1: 191–92). No extant Spanish sources contain works that appear to have been written specifically for instrumental ensemble (with the exception of the anonymous 'Alta' in *E-Mp* 1335, fol. 223; see Chapter 13), but consorts undoubtedly performed a wide variety of vocal repertory, whether memorized aurally, learnt by heart or performed from manuscript (see Chapter 3). The aforementioned contract specifies that the student was to be taught to play the alto, tenor, or soprano shawm, or the cornett, depending on his aptitude. The contract also indicates that during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, some—probably most—*ministriles* were proficient on more than one instrument; the teacher, Diego Vasquez, played both cornett and shawm. In another contract from the same period, the shawm-player Garcí Gonzales offered to teach his prospective student to play either the shawm or sackbut.³⁴ The value of *ministriles altos* to the noble courts is clear from their compensation; in all the courts for which financial records survive, minstrels and trumpeters were paid twenty to fifty percent more than singers, clerics, or even chapel masters.

The nobility also employed *ministriles bajos* or instrumentalists playing 'soft' instruments such as lute, harp, vihuela or recorders. Of the few noble families from this period for whom pay records are extant, three—the First Duke of Alba, the Second Marchioness of Cenete, and the Third Duke of Infantado—had keyboard players other than chapel organists on their pay roll for at least part of their rule, and the Second Count-Duke of Benavente and

34 Guadalajara, AHP, Prot. 6, fols 7–8; Prot. 10, fols 147v–49v.

Fifth Duke of Medina Sidonia employed harpists.³⁵ The keyboardist of the Marchioness of Cenete is described as playing the drums and recorder as well as harpsichord.³⁶ Almost all these nobles employed at least one vihuelist, whether of the bowed or plucked vihuela. Pedro de Yllescas, who was employed by the First Duke of Alba, was designated as ‘tañedor de vihuela de arco’, as was the Juan de Yllescas employed by don Fadrique, the Second Duke. Both dukes were also patrons of the *trobador* Juan de Valladolid, formerly employed by Juan II of Aragon, Borso d’Este, Ludovico Gonzaga, and Ferrante I, King of Naples.³⁷ Valladolid, also known as Juan Poeta, was a representative of the late troubadour revival of sung poetry that flourished in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Spain, described by don Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana (and father of the First Duke of Infantado) in the celebrated introduction, or *Proemio*, to his *Canciones e Decires* (1430–47) (Ochoa 1965: 11). These latter-day *trobadores* worked at the courts of the Aragonese and Castilian kings—Valladolid was a member of the entourage of Isabel when she entered Seville in 1477, shortly before he surfaced in Alba de Tormes (Rubio González 1983–84: 106)—but they were also sought after in the papal chapel in Rome, the Italian ducal courts, and the kingdom of Naples, where they were called *improvvisatori* who performed sung recitations of poetry to their own accompaniment on lute or bowed vihuela (Gómez [Muntané] 1992).

Those Spanish *improvvisatori* who worked in Italy would have absorbed Italian forms and styles, but they also performed Castilian-texted villancicos, and, in particular, romances. The villancico began as a song genre of popular origin, possibly performed with an improvised instrumental accompaniment; only in the latter half of the fifteenth century was it adopted by courtly poets (see Chapter 2).³⁸ Juan Díaz Rengifo defines the villancico as ‘a genre of *copla* (verse) that is only composed to be sung. The other metres serve to represent, teach, describe, for history, and other reasons, but this one is only for music’ (‘Es un genero de copla que solamente se compone para ser cantado. Los demas metros sirven para representar, para enseñar, para describir, para historia, y otros cosas, pero este solo para la música’) (Díaz Rengifo 1606: 30). The romance, with its roots in the medieval epic, was sung or performed as a form

35 Madrid, ADA, C. 180–9; San Cugat de Vallès, Centro Borgia, Arxiu del Palau, Cenete Leg. 142, no. 1; Guadalajara, AHP, Prot. 10, fol. 149v; Ruiz Jiménez 2009b: 410; AHN Nobleza, Osuna Leg. 481, no. 15.

36 San Cugat de Vallès, Centro Borgia, Arxiu del Palau, Cenete Leg. 142, no. 1.

37 ADA, Libro Maestro, fol. 478; C. 157–38 quarto 25, 32; see Rubio González 1983–84: 102–6.

38 The term ‘villancico’ did not come into common usage until the latter part of the fifteenth century; see Pope 1954b: 191–92.

of musical recitation throughout Europe. In his *De inventione et usu musicae* (c. 1480), Tinctoris mentioned that 'all over the greater part of the world the bowed vihuela is now used ... in the recitation of epics' (Gässer 1996: 29–30). While the romances composed in the era of Ferdinand and Isabel may or may not always have been performed in this manner (see Chapter 3), excerpts of older epics appear in many early Renaissance Spanish manuscripts and prints, including the Palace Songbook (*E-Mp* II-1335), which is connected to the Alba court (as will be discussed below). It appears highly likely that much of the original poetry written under the patronage of the Spanish nobility was recited or sung, as well as read, and probably constituted an important part of the musical repertory of noble courts.

Those musicians designated on pay rosters or in other documents as both singers and vihuelists probably sang and accompanied themselves or others on the instrument: Mossen Pedro served both the dukes of Medina Sidonia and the dukes of Infantado; Spinoza also served the dukes of Infantado; and Juan de Valladolid and Juan and Pedro de Yllescas, all in the service of the dukes of Alba, were designated as vihuelists and singers. Two of the vihuelists of the Third Duke of Infantado are listed in documents as both vihuelists and singers, though it is not clear whether they played bowed or plucked vihuelas. A third vihuelist, whose exact connection with the court is unclear, merits further discussion. In the preface to his *Tres Libros de música en cifra para vihuela* (Seville, 1546), Alonso Mudarra mentions 'the days that I worked in studying the vihuela... and in knowing that I was raised in the household of the most illustrious dukes of Infantado my lords, don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who God has in His glory, and don Iñigo López, who now lives and God our Lord preserves' ('los dias que ha que trobado en el studio de la vihuela... y por saber que me e criado en casa de los Illustriosos señores Duques del Infantado mis señores don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, que Dios tiene en su gloria y don Iñigo López que oy vive y dios nuestro señor guarde') (Mudarra 1546: 26). The meaning of the phrase 'e criado' is somewhat ambiguous: as it follows mention of his study of the vihuela, it may mean that he studied with a musician employed by the court, but it is also possible that some member of his family was a servant of the duke, and he was therefore brought up in the palace.³⁹ Mudarra was musically active at the court, as a 1525 letter states that a vihuela belonging to him had accidentally been assumed to belong to the duke and was subsequently traded for a harpsichord.⁴⁰ In 1509 the Fourth Duke of

39 A notarized letter of obligation by a Bartolomé Mudarra of Guadalajara in 1539 (Guadalajara, AHP Prot. 16, fol. 161) lends weight to the possibility of a family connection.

40 Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Leg. 2280/1, fol. 98

Medina Sidonia employed four vihuelists *de arco*; while they may, too, have sung poetry to the accompaniment of the vihuela, the number suggests they may have played consort music; this may be the earliest known reference to a viol consort in Spain (see Chapter 3).⁴¹ The Third Duke of Gandía possessed 'four books of music for the bowed vihuela' ('quatre livres de cant pera les violes d'arch'), and the First Marquis of Cenete owned vihuelas in three or four different sizes, which suggests that the bowed vihuela consort was known in the noble courts at least a decade before similar ensembles were heard at the royal court of Charles V.⁴² As no music for either bowed or plucked vihuela survives in Spanish prints or manuscripts prior to Luis Milán's *El Maestro* of 1536, it is impossible to determine the repertory performed by these musicians or ensembles; however, it is fairly safe to assume that ensembles played both sacred and secular music from vocal prints and manuscripts, and that the solo repertory was not dissimilar to that found in early collections: improvisatory works, such as fantasías, intabulations of sacred or secular pieces, and works based on a *cantus firmus*.

Not all the music heard at the courts of the high nobility was performed by professionals; music was also a popular pastime for nobles and courtiers. In the fifteenth century, poetry 'in the form of song' was an essential part of courtly and military training and a skill passed on to all young noblemen (see Chapter 2); it was a favourite form of relaxation in army encampments and one of the principal forms of entertainment at noble courts (Nader 1986: 78–79). There is little reason to doubt that the skills praised by Castiglione in *Il Cortegiano*—the ability to sing 'upon the book' and to play several instruments—were also desired qualities among the aspiring Spanish nobility (Nader 1986: 79; Strunk 1998: 326). Even in an earlier era, the Sevillian nobleman don Pero Niño, Count of Buelna (d. 1435) suggested that singing—probably both polyphonic works and accompanied song—was a standard element of all noble residences, particularly if ladies were gathered:

for their loves they sing graceful cantigas and delightful dezires, and notable motes, and ballades, and chaces, and redondillas, and lays,

41 Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Legs 109, no. 1, 111^a.

42 Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Carpeta 132, no. 1; Leg. 1906. The vihuelas (in Catalan 'violes') are listed as 'gran', 'chica', 'bigarrado' (motley), and 'mitjana'; the inventory also contains two other vihuelas of undesignated size, a lute, and a guitar.

and virelays, and complaynças, and canciones and sonbays, and the notes of each clarify the words and praise their intention...⁴³

Several members of the high nobility from this period were known for their musical skill. According to the dedication of Guerrero's *Sacrae Canciones*, don Rodrigo Ponce de León, the First Duke of Arcos, 'not only frequently listened to those who sang with skill and sweetness, but he himself sang with accuracy, and in tune...' ('no solo escuchaba con frecuencia a los que cantaban con pericia y suavidad, más tambien cantaba él mismo con precision y afinación') (Guerrero 1555: fol. 1v; Salazar de Mendoza *Crónica*). While no accounts of the vocal talents of the Third Duke of Infantado survive, he apparently knew a great deal about music, and was so involved in his musical establishment that he personally took time to hear a young singer who wished to be in his service; the duke gave him a reward (*merced*) for his performance, though later wrote via an intermediary that the boy did not have a fine voice and that he would not hire him.⁴⁴ The duke's son, don Iñigo López de Mendoza, was lauded as 'a great musician, who played all instruments with proficiency, and was particularly accomplished at playing the lute' ('gran músico, tocava todos los instrumentos con suficiencia, en especial en puntear un laud') (Núñez de Castro 1653: 180). His stepmother, María Maldonada, was also a talented musician, who sang and played with facility and grace; indeed, she was a commoner who had won the heart of the Third Duke after performing for him in his chambers (see Chapter 14).⁴⁵ The duke's children and heirs were mortified by this marriage to a woman of lower social status, but music was clearly key to her relationship with the elderly duke, as her wedding gifts included several vihuelas, a small clavichord, a harpsichord, and a book of polyphony. Although there are no direct references to the Second Marchioness of Cenete playing an instrument, inventories of her possessions show that a claviorgan, two harpsichords, and a clavichord were located in her personal quarters.⁴⁶ Her organist, Juan Navarro, also listed as master of keyboard instruments, was charged with the repair, maintenance, tuning and re-stringing of the court's claviorgans, harpsichords, and clavichords; such specific tasks strongly suggest that she

43 'por sus amores graciosas cantigas e saborosos deziros, e notables motés, e valadas, e chasças, e reondelas, e lays, e virolays, e complaynças, e sonjes e sonbays e figuras en que cada una aclara por palabras e loa su yntençion e propóstio...' (Mata Carriazo 1940a: 71).

44 Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Leg. 2280/3, fol. 215.

45 Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna, Leg. 3402/2, fols 401–6v.

46 San Cugat del Vallès, Centro Borgia, Arxiu del Palau, Cenete Leg. 141 no. 6, and Leg. 142 no. 1.

played these instruments, as such details do not appear in records from other noble households.

Richard Pinnell has noted that members of Spain's royal families received instrumental instruction on several instruments, particularly the clavichord and the vihuela (Pinnell 1998: 170–75). While less rigorously documented, there is evidence that the same was true of the high nobility as well, though little of it is from the period around 1500. Doña Mencía de Mendoza studied with Miguel Ortiz, the music master of the Marquis of Cenete's court, learning to sing and play the vihuela; based on the evidence mentioned above, she probably received instruction on keyboard instruments as well.⁴⁷ Don Francisco de Borja, son of the Third Duke of Gandía (future head of the Jesuit order and saint), received musical instruction from the court organist, Alfonso de Ávila. The young Borja was taught both the theoretical and practical aspects of music, and from an early age he often sang with the ducal choir during religious services; he probably received organ lessons as well, since later accounts state that he played the instrument capably.⁴⁸ In general, it is clear from the few household inventories extant from this period that noble courts possessed more vihuelas, harps, clavichords and organs than needed for their *ministriles bajos*, and that many aristocratic lords and ladies also played instruments.

Other than court vihuelists and the nobles themselves, it is difficult to determine who performed secular music at the courts of the Spanish aristocracy. The singers listed as members of noble chapels are designated only as such, although they very probably performed both sacred and secular works as the occasion demanded. Ana, a female singer in the employ of the Second Duchess of Alba, would certainly have sung secular songs.⁴⁹ At least one other musician at the ducal court in Alba de Tormes had exclusively secular duties: the poet-composer Juan del Encina (1468–1529) (see Chapter 2).⁵⁰ Although there is no extant documentation of his position or even of his service at the court,⁵¹ it can

47 San Cugat de Valles, Centro Borgia, Arxiu del Palau, Cenete Leg. 127.

48 Suau consulted the depositions of family members, particularly the saint's brother, Tomás, for the preliminary hearing to begin canonization proceedings in 1610. Tomás, also a student of the organist Ávila, recalled the specifics of his musical education, and claimed that his brother was given the same training.

49 Madrid, ADA, C. 22–75, no. 1. Nothing else is known of 'Ana, cantora de la duquesa'.

50 Encina's name does not appear on any surviving pay rolls in the Alba family archives, although there are two references to a modest yearly stipend to defray the costs of his studies for three years, from 1498–1500; see Madrid, ADA, C. 256–55.

51 The oft-repeated statement that he served as the duke's master of ceremonies is conjectural: it appears to have originated with Sullivan and has been repeated in every major work on Encina since, despite the lack of evidence (Sullivan 1976).

be established that Encina was, for an undetermined period of time, an employee of the house of Alba. The dedication of his 1496 *Cancionero* to the Second Duke and Duchess of Alba, don Fadrique and doña Isabel, is not in and of itself proof of this association; however, his eclogues—the short, pastoral plays recognized as one of the cornerstones of the Spanish dramatic tradition—provide definitive proof of his involvement in the musical and theatrical life of their court.

The first and second eclogues, both performed ‘on the night of the birth of Our Saviour’, constitute two parts or acts of a single work performed on that occasion. The introduction to the first eclogue states that the duke and the duchess are in the castle chapel in Alba de Tormes ‘hearing Matins’ (‘estavan oyendo maitines’) when ‘Shepherd Juan’ enters; he is described as ‘very happy and proud, because he has been received by his lords as theirs’ (‘muy alegre y ufano porque sus señores le avian ya recibido por suyo’). In the name of Juan del Encina, he presents the duchess with a poetic work of one hundred verses written in praise of the feast being celebrated, most probably the poem *Natividad de Nuestro Señor trobado por Juan del Enzina*, which is dedicated to the duchess, and is of that length; it is generally assumed that the role of ‘Shepherd Juan’ was performed by the playwright himself (see Chapter 4).⁵² Encina was already closely connected to the Alba family; while at the University of Salamanca—probably between 1485 and 1490—he served as a page to the chancellor, don Gutierre de Toledo, the duke’s younger brother (Sullivan 1976: 15).⁵³ The chancellor, therefore, was in an excellent position to become acquainted with the student Encina as a potential author and composer, and probably recommended Encina to the duke, his brother.

The pastoral eclogues were not only spoken works; they also incorporated villancicos composed by the playwright (see Chapter 4). The flexible structure of the eclogue as developed by Encina and other poet-musicians in the last quarter of the fifteenth century meant that it could accommodate nearly any poem with a refrain, whether in the course of the play or by way of conclusion. Of the nine Encina eclogues known to have been performed at the ducal court, only a small number of the villancicos are extant: *Gran gasajo siento yo*, which concludes the first eclogue and survives in the so-called Segovia Songbook

52 The assumption that Encina and Pastor Juan are one and the same appears to have originated with Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (Asenjo Barbieri 1890: 30) and has been accepted by all known commentators on Encina, due to the logical belief that the author would hardly entrust such an important dedication to another person.

53 As records of the University of Salamanca from this period do not survive, it is not possible to determine the exact dates of Encina’s matriculation.

(*E-SE* ss, fols 207v–208r), though with only a fragment of the text; Encina's Rabelasian *Hoy comamos y bebamos*, the final villancico of the sixth eclogue; and the medial and final villancicos of the eighth eclogue, *Gasajémonos de huzia* and *Ninguno cierre las puertas* (*E-Mp* 11–1335, fols 101v–103r, 105v–106r). In all of Encina's early eclogues, the cast consists of no more than four characters; the fifth eclogue requires four performers; three have lines and the fourth enters only at the end 'to help them sing' ('para ayudar cantar') (Pérez Priego 1991: 139). Apart from Encina himself, it is not known whether the other performers were actors, musicians or members of the court; at least some of the courtiers would have been able to sing polyphony, and there are numerous examples of lower-ranking members of noble courts providing entertainment for their lords. It is more likely, however, that the other actors in these plays were singers of the ducal court, with Encina taking the Tenor part, since he sang in this range during his time as a singer at Salamanca Cathedral.

The seventh and eighth eclogues provide evidence that Encina composed songs and verse beyond what was needed for the eclogues performed for the dukes of Alba. At the beginning of the eighth eclogue, the character Mingo, 'in the name of Juan del Encina' ('en nombre de Juan del Encina'), presents his patrons with a 'compilation of all his works' ('la compilación de todos sus obras'), which strongly suggests that the character—who appears in both plays—and composer were one and the same. Based on the provisional dating of the eclogues, this compilation is thought to have been his 1496 *Cancionero*, in either print or manuscript copy, though it is possible that this was a different collection, one of poems and songs. In the seventh eclogue, Mingo, who is competing with squire Gil for the affections of the shepherdess Pascuala, explains that though he is poor he will 'serve her with playing music, singing, dancing' ('la serviré con tañer, cantar, bailar'; l. 117) and can give her, amongst other items, 'cantilenas and chanzonettas pulled from my collection' ('cantilenas, chançonetas le chaparé de mi ható') (ll. 149–51) (Pérez Priego 1991: 173ff).⁵⁴ Encina probably cites these minor genres, rather than the villancico or romance, to signify Mingo's rustic origins. In the eighth eclogue, Gil encourages Mingo to earn some money by giving the dukes 'his cantilenas' ('dales de tus cantilenas'; l. 119), and Mingo later states:

<i>Trobe y cante quien cantare</i>	Let compose and sing he who sings,
<i>que yo te prometo, Gil,</i>	that I promise you, Gil,
<i>so pena de ruin y vil,</i>	on pain of ruin and villainy
<i>sí yo nunca más trobare,</i>	that I will compose no more

salvo quando lo mandare save when it is ordered
qualquiera destos mis amos. by whichever of my masters.
 (ll. 138–43).

The implication of the last few lines is unclear, but does establish that Encina had been writing music for the court. This is significant, as the composer is heavily represented in probably the only extant manuscript that can, with some confidence, be linked to the Spanish nobility: the Palace Songbook (*E-Mp* 11-1335) (see Chapter 11).

The inventories of the possessions of nobles, as already mentioned, are as vague with reference to secular collections—most of which are described simply as ‘little books of songs’—as to books of sacred music. Occasionally, a genre or language is indicated. The library of the Third Duke of Infantado included, together with more loosely defined volumes, four little books of Italian songs—which are described as having identical bindings, probably indicating part books rather than four individual manuscripts—as well as ‘things for eclogues’ (very possibly those by Encina), and a book of ‘cantigas’. The Third Duke of Gandía possessed a book of Portuguese music, in addition to sets of four- and five-voice partbooks containing secular songs.⁵⁵

None of these match the description of the Palace Songbook, and since it was discovered in the library of the royal palace in Madrid in 1870, only two provenances for the manuscript have seriously been considered.⁵⁶ The disproportionately large number of pieces attributed to Juan del Encina—seventy-eight in all, or one-fifth of the total—suggests it may have originated at the ducal court at Alba de Tormes, especially as the first piece of the collection, *Nunca fue pena mayor*, is by Urreda and has been claimed as a setting of a text by don García, the First Duke of Alba (see Chapter 2). Whether or not the position of *Nunca fue pena mayor* is significant as regards the provenance of the Palace Songbook, the piece was almost certainly written during Urreda’s years at the Alba court. Moreover, Urreda’s two other extant secular compositions appear in the earliest layer of *E-Mp* 11-1335. Close ties between the manuscript and the court of the dukes of Alba are confirmed by the fact that the majority of songs in the third section of the Palace Songbook (*E-Mp* 11-1335, fols 99v–258v) are attributed to Encina, and the songs copied at fols 197v–224v (designated subsection C by José Romeu Figueras) are almost exclusively by

55 Toledo AHN Nobleza, Osuna Leg. 1834, nos. 1 and 4; Carpeta 132, no. 1.

56 Ángel Manuel Olmos Sáez has recently suggested a third option: the court of the Admiral of Castille, Fadrique Enríquez, at Medina del Rioseco, based on the inclusion of nineteen works by Gabriel Mena; see Olmos Sáez 2012.

Encina. However, some of the texts differ so significantly from those of Encina's 1496 *Cancionero* that Romeu Figueras believes they were edited prior to their inclusion in the published anthology, and thus, 'the copyist had to have access to manuscript copies coming from the musical environment that surrounded Encina, which is to say, the House of Alba' (Romeu Figueras 1965: 8–9). In Encina's first eclogue, the character Juan states that the compilation of his works will soon be produced because some have already been illegally distributed and corrupted, indicating that at least some of his verse had already begun to circulate in manuscript.

The majority of the other composers represented in the Palace Songbook served in the royal chapels of Ferdinand and Isabel at some point during their reigns, which suggests close connections with the royal court. Wherever the manuscript was compiled—and it was clearly put together over an extended period and involved the inclusion of self-contained fascicles of songs (see Chapter 11)—the interchange of musicians between the ducal and royal courts and the close personal relationships between Ferdinand and the First and Second Dukes of Alba would suggest that its repertory was very probably performed and known at both courts. Thus its contents can be considered typical of the kind of polyphonic songs heard at noble courts (see Chapter 2). A great many of the songs in the collection are steeped in the courtly love tradition; the poetry is largely a continuation of the Provençal and Catalan troubadour traditions infused with the influences of Italian poets such as Dante and Petrarch, who were much in vogue among the well-read Spanish nobility, based on their literary collections; works in this style were seen as the most lofty, cultured, and aristocratic type of poetic expression (Boase 1978: 31). However, the Palace Songbook also contains many 'rustic' villancicos on pastoral themes by Encina and others. Commentators on poetry from the mid-fifteenth century, such as the Marquis of Santillana, condemned these simpler verse forms and modes of expression as vulgar; they were considered appropriate enough for the entertainment of the lower echelons of society, but were hardly comparable to the high poetic arts of the cultured élite. Yet, this collection of songs, begun in the second half of the fifteenth century and unquestionably performed for the aristocracy, contains a high proportion of works that the Marquis would have considered to be 'base' entertainment (Boase 1978: 31). The popularization of the pastoral vein, a trend spearheaded by Encina, was still in its infancy when the majority of the poems—if not the songs themselves—in the Palace Songbook were written.

The Palace Songbook also contains a number of sacred villancicos—some of the earliest examples extant—and polyphonic romances. The latter are split equally among well-known traditional epics, such as *Durandarte*, *Durandarte* and *Pésame de vos el conde*, and commentaries on current events, such as

Encina's *Triste España sin ventura*, a plangent lament on the death of the heir to the throne, Prince Juan, in 1497. The anthology also contains a handful of *lingua franca* pieces, generally mixes of Portuguese, Italian, Catalan and Castilian lyrics, though some include sections in various dialects of the Spanish kingdoms. Pieces of this type seem to have been popular at courts, as were estrambotes, frottole, and other Italian-texted works. It is not surprising that the urbane nobility were well acquainted with popular styles from other countries, and were particularly knowledgeable about Italian music and literature, given their service as diplomats and functionaries at the papal court in Rome and in the Aragonese territories of Naples and Sicily, their involvement in Italian military campaigns, as well as familial connections with the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Compensation, Job Security, Hiring, and Sharing Musicians

Pay records, along with notarial documentation of purchases of rent-bearing lands, slaves, homes, dowries for relatives joining convents, and donations to religious establishments suggest that most musicians employed by the Iberian nobility enjoyed a financially secure existence (Freund Schwartz 2001a: 185–200, 293–99, 320–27, and 368–70). Those in permanent service received a salary (*quitación*) and a daily food ration as standard compensation, and many also received allowances for clothing (*vestuario*). Favours or gifts (*mercedes*) were given for a variety of reasons, not only for extra duties—such as presentations of compositions or special rewards—but also to defray personal expenses, such as relocating to the court, lodging and transportation, and payments to musicians who were ill or absent for some reason. Most noble households also proffered aid (*socorros*) for unforeseen expenses or pensions to the widows and families of deceased musicians.

The paucity of documents makes it difficult to determine definitively how often musicians were retained after a change of duke or other titled person, but a significant enough number appear in rosters and pay records to establish that it was not standard practice to dismiss the entire musical establishment when a nobleman died; rather, it was the custom of the dukes of Infantado to retain personnel after such changes, if the musician in question so desired (Cruz de Arteaga 1940, 1: 250). No complete lists of employees are extant for the Infantado household, but almost twenty percent of the musicians whose names have been recovered worked for more than one duke (though it should be mentioned that all but one are instrumentalists). This was not necessarily true for other courts of the era, but at least thirteen musicians from other noble

households appear in the records of more than one nobleman, and four—the chapel master Diego de Flores (Alba), trumpeter Fernando de Quirós (Alba), the vihuelist Rodrigo de Illescas or Yllescas (Medina Sidonia), and the trumpeter Francisco de Morales (Arcos)—served more than one generation of the respective noble families over a period of more than thirty years.

Evidence suggests that the majority of the singers and instrumentalists engaged by the nobility were native to the area in which the courts were located. Although the origins of musicians are rarely mentioned in household accounts, notarial documents and other peripheral sources establish that many of the instrumentalists who served the dukes of Infantado were from Guadalajara and the surrounding area, and that the known employees of the dukes of Arcos and Medina Sidonia were from Seville. Miguel Lucas de Iranzo, the High Constable of Castile, also imported musicians from Seville on a fairly regular basis, ‘proof of his friendship with the dukes of Medina Sidonia’ (Mata Carriazo 1940b: plate 1).⁵⁷ The teaching contracts with musicians from the ducal court of Infantado, discussed above, specify that between half and two-thirds of their compensation was due only after the student found employment, and two of the three specify the duke as the future employer.⁵⁸ This suggests that not only did courts retain the services of their musicians whenever possible, but that they may also have cultivated young talent to take into their service.

Certainly, some singers and instrumentalists received their posts based on family connections to either the musical establishment or the court administration, as concentrations of surnames on rosters are not uncommon, and on occasion indicate familial ties. As mentioned above, Juan and Pedro Yllescas, vihuelists to the First and Second Dukes of Alba, were almost certainly related, as were the trumpeters of the Arcos court, Alonso and Juan Lorenzo and Francisco and Martín de Morales. Martín de Lilaz and his nephew Juanin, along with Juan and Melchior de Logroño, served the count-duke of Benavente; Francisco de Castillo and his son, known as ‘el moço’ served the dukes of Infantado, as did the two Diego Vásquez, ‘el viejo’ and ‘el moço’. The Second Duke of Alba employed four sackbut-players who were related—Pedro, Diego, Francisco, and Juan de Flandes (their name indicating that they had travelled

57 The same surnames appear among the musical and clerical personnel of the Mendoza courts generation after generation—Vásquez, Robledo, Torres, Castillo, González, and Camargo—suggesting that these families were from the local urban centre or surrounding area.

58 Guadalajara, AHP, Prot. 3, fol. 132v; Prot. 5, fols 325–28, 408–10; Prot. 6, fols 7–8; Prot. 10, fols 147v–149v, 329.

to Spain from northern Europe)—as well as Fernando de Quirós, the father of Juan de Quirós, a trumpeter of the First Duke.⁵⁹ Most of the musicians listed above are instrumentalists, and given the nature of instrumental training at the time, it is logical that family members would pass their skills on to the next generation, but the sheer number of such synchronicities—and many more examples are found later in the sixteenth century—surely reflects a preference for hiring family members as ready-made ensembles.

Some noble courts recruited musicians, and particularly singers, from local institutions. The dukes of Alba exercised considerable influence in Salamanca, and, given the direct connection with the university via don Gutierre de Toledo, the chancellor of the institution and brother of don Fadrique, it seems likely that, as in the case of Encina, musicians from that institution entered ducal service. The dukes of Arcos seem to have recruited almost exclusively in Seville, and primarily from the cathedral. Lorenzo Suarez, a servant (*criado*) of the court, reported to the First Duke, Rodrigo Ponce de León, on 28 November 1522:

I have procured the singers, and as for choirboys, there are none that could be sent because the maestro has only a few and they are needed here... [there is] a *tiple* [singer of the Superius part] who could come, and this is being requested of the chapter; Luzero has taken charge of this, and I will send [the singer] when it is time...⁶⁰

These arrangements may not have been solely matters of convenience, as the influence of the nobility over local institutions would allow them to secure the best available musicians.

The courts of the high nobility also shared musicians. The dukes of Medina Sidonia and their cadet branches, including the counts of Niebla and counts of Orgaz, all of whom resided in Seville, very possibly combined their musical forces for grand civic occasions, and also loaned musicians to other members of the Andalusian nobility, such as the Constable of Castile (see Chapter 3) (Ruiz Jiménez 2009b: 401–2). The tightly-knit Mendoza family combined their musical forces for urban celebrations in Guadalajara. An account of the

59 Madrid, ADA, Libro Maestro and C. 157–38; Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Legs 418 no. 15, 1614 no. 2, 1616 no. 3, 1617 no. 85; Guadalajara, AHP, Prot. 5, fols 239–240v; Prot. 7 fol. 628; Prot. 6, fols 7–8.

60 'Los cantores he procurado y de mochachos no ay ningunos que se quede enbiar por que el maestro tiene pocos y son menester para aqui...un tiple ay que puede ir y este sea de pedir en cabildo de lo qual tenia cargo Luzero quando sea tiempo yo lo enbia' (Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Leg. 1634², no. 71); the letter is torn along the right edge, obscuring part of the contents.

wedding of the First Duke of Infantado mentions that the preparations included rehearsals of the instrumentalists employed by different branches of the Mendoza family who were to perform together as a single, grand ensemble, and chroniclers mention other examples of the families who combined their chapels and minstrels for particularly lavish events (Layna Serrano 1942, 1: 196). The most notable, and one of the fullest accounts of the role of music in noble celebrations during this period, was the reception of the French king, Francis I, in Guadalajara in 1525. The captive sovereign was being transported to prison in Madrid, and arrangements had been made to lodge overnight in Guadalajara, where he was received as an honoured guest.⁶¹ The duke's minstrels cleared a path to the palace, and the citizens presented dances and games in the richly decorated plazas along the route of the procession as it made its way to the square in front of the ducal palace. There, a number of singers and instrumentalists from the various cadet branches of the family were gathered and provided 'delightful music' ('deliciosa música') as the duke greeted the French monarch. Later a grand banquet took place in the courtyard; while the guests ate, musicians serenaded the diners from the upper galleries. When night fell, troupes of minstrels and dancers entertained the assembled gathering until the early hours of the morning; the noble guests congregated in the palace gardens, where they were entertained by the duke's musicians. The next morning the duke, the king, and their respective entourages heard a polyphonic celebration of Lauds and Mass in the ducal chapel 'with the accompaniment of organ, singers, and minstrels' ('con acompañamiento de órgano, cantores, y ministriles') of the combined courts of Guadalajara. That afternoon a grand tournament took place in the square, followed by dancing and music. The visiting monarch was fêted for several more days with similarly ostentatious entertainments.

The nobility also lent musicians to local cities and organizations. An undated missive includes a request on behalf of the city of Segovia to borrow the trumpeters, drummers, and minstrels of the duke of Infantado for the reception of the Empress Isabel into that city in 1527, while in 1511 the city of Melilla paid trumpeters and singers of the duke of Medinaceli for their services participating in a civic event.⁶² Likewise, the *ministriles altos* of the dukes of Medina Sidonia occasionally played for processions and celebrations in Seville Cathedral and for other public events, such as Ferdinand's visit to the city in

61 The exhaustively researched account by Amanda López de Meneses—part of a full-length study of the incarceration and ransom of the French king—conflates all known accounts of the festivities in Guadalajara; see López de Meneses 1964: 333–35.

62 Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Leg. 2280³, fol. 214, Leg. 1611, no. 1.

1507 (Ruiz Jiménez 2009b: 405). Accounts of grand civic occasions, such as the reception or marriage of a monarch and major religious celebrations in Seville, Valencia, and Barcelona frequently mention that all of the musicians of the city were in attendance; though not specified, on many occasions these surely included the singers and minstrels of the resident nobility.

The high aristocracy also shared musicians with or loaned them to the royal courts. On two occasions functionaries from the court of Charles v requested the services of musicians of the household of the dukes of Infantado.⁶³ The second of these missives, dated 1524, specifies that the court would like to borrow the vihuelist 'Mossen Pedro', who the king understood sang and played very well, as well as 'the boy' ('el mochacho'). Was 'the boy' in fact Alonso Mudarra? If current estimates of his year of birth are correct, the vihuelist would have been about fourteen years old at the time. The singer Cristóbal de Morales—who shares only his name with the later sixteenth-century composer—was attached to the court of the dukes of Medina Sidonia for almost forty years, and was successively loaned to Enrique iv and the Catholic Monarchs, as were several chapel singers from Seville Cathedral (Ruiz Jiménez 2009b: 405).

The most extensive case of shared musical employees—and probably their music as well—was that of the Catholic Monarchs and the First and Second Dukes of Alba. The First Duke's most historically renowned musician, Juan de Urreda, was hired for the household in 1476; two weeks after he began service, the duke ordered that additional funds and food rations be given to 'Johannes Hurrede, singer of the king, our lord' ('cantor del rey nuestro señor'), but the composer does not appear on the rolls of the Aragonese royal chapel until 1 April 1477 (Knighton 2001: 346). This incongruity helps to explain a long acknowledged, though poorly understood, relationship between the royal courts of Aragon and Castile and the ducal court at Alba de Tormes. Although the monarchs had a number of castles and fortifications at their disposal, neither Isabel nor her husband had a fixed household *per se* until 1477, and it appears that the ducal palace served as the *de facto* court for the young king and queen until their situation was stabilized. This would explain the disbursement of 200,000 maravedís by the queen's treasurer to the Alba court for 'the salary that the duke my lord has to have for the people that he had, and has, who are in the service of the king and queen, our lords' ('para en cuento del sueldo quel duque mi señor ono de aver para la gente que ha tenido y tiene en servicio del rey y reina nuestros señores'), hence the frequent traffic of musicians and repertory between the royal courts and Alba de Tormes in the 1470s

63 Toledo, AHN Nobleza, Osuna Leg. 1976, no. 1 and no. 39².

and 1480s.⁶⁴ Urreda seems to have been simultaneously employed by both the king and the duke for several years. Similarly, in 1494 Queen Isabel loaned the Second Duke of Alba a sackbut-player, Francisco Galiano, who received a gift or *merced* each year for his service at the noble court while continuing to appear on the pay rolls of the Castilian monarch, and Ferdinand's minstrel Bartolomé Gaço 'temporarily' served at the Alba court for eleven years before returning to royal service (Anglés 1941/60: 69; Knighton 2001: 148–49). Higinio Anglés noted that the Second Duke of Alba, don Fadrique, 'alternated the music of his house with that of the court of the king' throughout his reign, particularly with regard to the performance of secular music, and this arrangement apparently lasted well into the reign of Charles V (Anglés 1944: 19). Anglés does not specify whether he refers to exchanges of musical personnel or music, though both seem to have occurred (as is evident from the repertory of the Palace Songbook discussed above), and simultaneous employment of musicians at both establishments, as well as the transference of musicians from one court to another; five more musicians passed between the Alba and royal courts prior to 1500. This formed part of an established tradition; reciprocal lending of musicians between noble and royal households would seem to have occurred from the late fourteenth century onwards, probably due in part to the lack of a centralized source of power and the itinerant nature of the royal court. As Juan Ruiz Jiménez notes, 'the royal court was peripatetic, and the musicians who travelled with it varied according to its requirements. They accompanied it on its journeys on a temporary basis, residing for the rest of the time in a particular place and were thus able to serve other patrons' (Ruiz Jiménez 2009b: 404) (see Introduction).

There is much about music at the courts of the Spanish high nobility during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs that remains to be explored further. What has emerged to date hints at a rich and extensive artistic culture supported by the nobility, both inside and outside their residences. While a love for music was a factor, the importance of the noble quality of 'liberalidad' cannot be overstated. For all nobles it was a means of enhancing personal reputation, and a demonstration of the stability of their fortune and position through displays of apparently limitless wealth. Thus the support of musical establishments in, or attached to, the noble courts and the use of music in religious and civic celebrations at some level was a requisite attribute of high noble status. Demonstration of that status, and the ever-present reality of needing to secure royal favour, were crucial to the Castilian nobility, given their diminishing role in the affairs of the kingdom, and in their attempt to establish, and then

64 Madrid, ADA, Libro Maestro, fol. 336.

maintain, their seigniorial authority over their territories. Their methods of supporting musicians and musical establishments placed great emphasis on local concerns; for the most part, the aristocracy of the time of the Catholic Monarchs appears not to have attempted to engage the most noted musicians of the day, since it seems that securing that level of prestige was of relatively little interest. The current lack of more detailed information for the courts of the nobility around 1500 makes it difficult to assess to what extent there was direct rivalry between their courts, and this relative lack of competition may have been a factor in their not looking further afield. Nevertheless, it is clear that the musicians hired by the Spanish aristocracy were not necessarily of inferior quality, since a fair number of those employed in their establishments were loaned to or shared with the royal households, or later moved into positions in the royal courts as well as the cathedrals (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 also shows the mobility of musicians, both singers and instrumentalists during this period. Due to the scarcity of records and the frequency with which musical personnel were listed only by their first name, last name, or a diminutive, it is impossible to say how many local musicians received their initial musical training or began their careers at noble courts. It may be the case that many more of the noted musicians and composers of Spain either served in noble courts or received a musical education under their patronage.

As far as can be determined, the musical repertory of noble courts was extremely diverse. The few inventories that contain substantive descriptions of polyphonic books and manuscripts suggest that, while the Franco-Flemish composers who were prized in other countries were represented, they did not dominate. This is particularly true of secular music; though the inventories include collections of polyphonic settings of Italian, Portuguese, and French texts, Castilian-texted compositions by indigenous musicians seem to have been favoured. It is worth noting that only a handful of the aforementioned musicians are known to have been composers, and only Encina and Urreda—and possibly Gabriel Mena—definitely wrote music during their periods of employment at aristocratic establishments.⁶⁵ However, members of the high nobility appear to have been important supporters of indigenous secular forms and styles, particularly after the accession of the Hapsburg monarchs in 1516. In large part, this was related to their support of native poets, who continued to cultivate the villancico and romance, as well as Italianate genres such as the soneto and frottola. Also important was the continued encouragement of the

65 Given the many examples of incomplete names or attributions, as well as the substantial percentage of unattributed works, in the extant manuscripts, it is not possible to ascertain whether some of those listed are composers of known works.

TABLE 5.1 *Musicians of noble families subsequently employed by royal households or cathedrals*

Name	Voice or instrument	Noble family	Later employment
Bernaldo de Brihuega	organ	Alba	Isabel
Juan de Cespedes	singer	Mendoza	Isabel
Rodrigo Donaire	vihuela	Medina Sidonia	Isabel; Manuel I of Portugal
Juan Durán ^a	organ	Alba	Salamanca Cathedral
Juan del Encina ^a	tenor	Alba	Malaga and Leon Cathedrals
Juan de Espinosa	theorist	Mendoza	Archbishop of Seville
Diego de Espinosa	shawm	Mendoza	Toledo Cathedral
Bartolomé Gaço	<i>ministril alto</i> (sackbut)	Alba	Ferdinand
Bernabé Gascón	trumpet	Mendoza	Empress Isabel; Charles v
Garci Gonzales	sackbut/shawm	Mendoza	Duke of Calabria; Toledo Cathedral
Juan de las Heras	singer	Mendoza	Isabel
Alonso de León	singer	Alba	Palencia Cathedral
Andrés López	organ	Alba; Villena	Toledo Cathedral
Juan Ruiz de Madrid ^a	singer	Mendoza	Isabel
Juan de Morales	sackbut	Mendoza	Toledo Cathedral
Rodrigo de Morales ^a	organ	Medina Sidonia	Seville Cathedral
Alonso de Mudarra ^a	vihuela	Mendoza	Seville Cathedral
Alfonso Ordoñez	singer	Alba	Santiago de Compostela and Palencia Cathedrals
Pedro de la Puebla	singer	Mendoza	Isabel
Juan Roman ^a	singer	Mendoza	Isabel
Juan de Salcedo	singer	Medina Sidonia	Seville Cathedral
Pedro de Salazar	singer	Mendoza	Duke of Calabria; Philip II
Heronimo de Sotomayor	sackbut	Mendoza	Toledo Cathedral
Tordesillas ^{a, b}	singer	Benavente	Ferdinand and/ or Isabel
Johannes de Urreda ^a	singer	Alba	Ferdinand
Alonso Vergil	singer	Medina Sidonia	Seville Cathedral
Pedro de Villada	singer	Mendoza	Seville Cathedral

a Known or possible composer

b Either Alonso Hernández de Tordesillas or Pedro Hernández de Tordesillas; the former served Ferdinand; the latter Isabel, until her death in 1504, when he entered the service of the Aragonese royal chapel.

improvisatori and the extemporized singing of poetry; indigenous instrumental genres such as the fantasía, tiento, and diferencia probably grew out of this tradition, as did the nobility's early support of vihuelists.⁶⁶ This support grew more important and significant over the course of the sixteenth century.

66 Diana Poulton & Antonio Corona Alcalde, 'Vihuela', *Grove Music Online*, accessed December 29, 2014; <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/29360>>.

Music and Musicians at the Portuguese Royal Court and Chapel, c. 1470–c. 1500

Bernadette Nelson

In August 1471, on the feast of the Assumption, King Afonso v, his son and heir Prince João, and many others processed solemnly ‘e com muito maravilhoso e grande triumpho’ to embark on their voyage from Lisbon (Restelo) to the Algarve and from there to the Moroccan coast on their campaign to capture Asilah and Tangier. Once in Lagos they attended Mass, during which their imminent departure was announced, and then took part in a procession through the streets to board the ships, accompanied by a loud band of trumpets and several other types of musical instrument: ‘having heard Mass, and a devout sermon for the occasion, and having announced their departure to Asilah, he and the Prince [went] in a devout procession accompanied by a clamorous sound of trumpets and loud and soft instruments, placed in the ships...’¹ The royal fleet of four hundred and seventy-seven ships with about thirty thousand men, including musicians, arrived at Asilah on 20 August, which the king took with ease, and on 25 August the Bishop of Lisbon, Jorge da Costa, celebrated solemn Mass in the mosque—from then on dedicated to St Bartholomew (honouring the day of the victory). The *mesquita* in Tangier was similarly transformed into the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Assumption (Gomes 2009: 250–52). The royal party returned to Portugal triumphant, carrying booty of considerable value (Serrão 1996: 88).

This momentous victory was not only commemorated in Portugal but also simultaneously elsewhere in Europe, particularly at the courts of Burgundy and France where pageants and magnificent displays of splendidly costumed cavalry were organized. It was to become one of the most celebrated and iconic feats of Portuguese history (Serrão 1975: 47–48). A series of tapestries depicting

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1 ‘depois de ouvir missa, e para o caso uma devota pregação, e revellar a todos sua ida sobre Arzilla, foram elle e o Principe com uma devota procissão e grande estrondo de trombetas e manistreis altos e baixos, mettidos nos bateis...’ (Pina *Crónica*: Cap.CLXIII, 59).

the battle and victory was swiftly commissioned, remaining as one of the most tangible visual records of that time.² These tapestries are notable for their rich iconography that depicts the king's musicians playing a wide variety of musical instruments, including his famous *trombetas de guerra*, many displaying the royal standard.³ The triumph was also to inspire a number of historical accounts and poetic commemorations, notably by the humanist Cataldo Parísio Sículo whose Latin poem *Arcitinge* (c. 1490) is said to have given rise to further epics recounting Portuguese history such as the later chronicles of Damião de Gois and João de Barros (Burke 2011).⁴ Moreover, thanksgiving for the Moroccan victory resulted in a specially written set of liturgical Offices with music: *Vesperae, Matutinum, & Laudes cum Antiphonis, & figuris musicis de inclyta, etc miraculosa Victoria...*⁵. The only surviving evidence for this work is the description by Barbosa Machado in his *Bibliotheca Lusitana* (published in Lisbon in 1759). According to this description, the dedicatory matter in the manuscript indicated that the Offices had been written or composed by a certain 'Alvarus'. It is generally believed (though not proven) that this was Álvaro Afonso, Afonso v's chapel master from at least 1452, and one of the longest serving singers at the Portuguese court and chapel. Unfortunately, none of his compositions is known to survive save a fragment of poetry dating from his time as a singer in the royal chapel (1438–46), which is included in a cancioneiro preserved in the Vatican (Ferreira 2008, 1: 53).⁶ The 1471 *Officium de Victoria Christianum* was dedicated to Afonso v and ordered to be celebrated throughout Portugal. It was in fact not the only set of liturgical Offices specially written to mark a military success in Portuguese history, others of which may

2 The origin of these tapestries commemorating the occupation of Asilah and Tangier is disputed (see Serrão 1988: 351–52 and GomesS 2009: 253–54). They are now preserved in the Collegiate Church of Pastrana in Spain.

3 Players on this occasion may well have included the then 'rei dos trombetas', Martim d'Alemquer, who appears in documentation dating from between 1451 and 1475. (Unless otherwise indicated, information concerning musicians and dates of their activity in this essay is derived from documents reproduced in Viterbo 1932, which should be consulted for transcripts of original documentation and archival references.)

4 The humanist scholar and writer Cataldo Parísio Sículo was invited to Portugal from Bologna University in 1485, first as tutor to Prince Jorge, illegitimate son of King João II, and later as tutor at the royal court.

5 *Vesperae, Matutinum, & Laudes cum Antiphonis, & figuris musicis de inclyta, etc miraculosa Victoria in Africa parta ad Arzillam era* (1471); see Barbosa Machado 1759, 1: 10, and Viterbo 1932: 5–7.

6 Álvaro Afonso, who was also a priest, had previously been a singer in the chapel of the Infante Pedro (Ferreira 2008, 1: 56).

also have included newly composed liturgical texts with music (see Chapter 8).⁷

Just a few years later, Portugal and Spain entered one of the most troubled periods during this era, the so-called Wars of Succession (1475–79), which initially arose from a joint claim to the Castilian throne on the death of Enrique IV in December 1474. Afonso V's ambitions to unite the peninsular crowns began with marriage to his niece Juana 'La Beltraneja', illegitimate daughter of the Castilian king and presumptive heiress to the throne, and he entered Spain via Plasencia in 1475, claimed her hand and proclaimed them joint sovereigns. At the same time, Isabel, Enrique IV's half-sister, and already married to King Ferdinand of Aragon, maintained her claim to the throne. Loyalties were thenceforth divided in both nations. The Portuguese were, however, weakened by their loss at the battle of Toro (1475), and Afonso's pretensions to the Castilian throne were further dashed when the pope refused to acknowledge his proposed union with Juana, and Isabel of Castile was acknowledged as Enrique IV's successor. Afonso V also sought the support of the French king, Louis XI, which resulted in an extended thirteen-month sojourn in France (1476–77) where he was well received and honoured. War continued for several years, eventually drawing to a close with the Treaty of Alcáçovas-Toledo in 1479–80 when Ferdinand and Isabel were confirmed as sovereigns of Aragon and Castile, although relations between Portugal and Spain remained uneasy for a further decade.

Following this covenant, and as part of the resulting peace treaty of the *Terçarias de Moura*, it was agreed that the Portuguese prince Afonso would marry the eldest daughter of the Catholic Monarchs, Isabel, when they both came of age.⁸ Juana 'La Beltraneja', having renounced her claim to the throne, travelled to Portugal in 1479 where she remained for the rest of her life under the protection of four successive monarchs.⁹ Also as part of this treaty, it was agreed that there should be an 'exchange' of royal and closely related noble children, who were to be kept as 'hostages' in opposing royal courts. Thus the future Manuel I and his elder brother, Diogo, Duke of Viseu, spent a significant period of time at the court of the Catholic Monarchs under the guardianship

7 For example, a forerunner of this *Officium de Victoria* was that commemorating the success of the Battle of Salado in 1340, known also as the office *In festo Victoriae Christianorum*, which still survives: see Corbin 1947 and Ferreira 2013: 81–82 (see also Chapter 8).

8 This important event took place in Evora in 1490 during the reign of João II (see below).

9 Juana died in Lisbon in 1530 during the early part of the reign of João III. Known in Portugal as 'a excellente senhora', she became an important figure and patroness, and maintained a music chapel (see Nelson forthcoming).

of their aunt, Queen Isabel, and her eldest daughter Isabel was likewise taken to Moura in Portugal where she was protected alongside Afonso, the Portuguese Infante, by her aunt Beatriz. Manuel stayed in the Spanish court from January to October 1481 as a young adolescent aged eleven to twelve and Diogo spent about a year there from August 1481 to 1482. Manuel was due to go a second time on Diogo's return to Portugal, but instead only went as far as Moura where he stayed for eight to nine months in the company of the young princess Isabel and Prince Afonso (see Costa 2007: 74–80 and GomesS 2009: 302ff.).¹⁰ Significantly, he was to return to Spain to meet the Catholic Monarchs in 1498, less than a year after his marriage to their daughter in 1497.

The series of upheavals, varied itineraries and sojourns abroad of the Portuguese royal family and members of the nobility would clearly have had an impact on their personal lives and repercussions on their intellectual and cultural pursuits and contacts. From the musical point of view, this may have been more far-reaching than has generally been appreciated to date. As the evidence suggests, there seems no doubt that the atmosphere at the royal court and related princely courts would have encouraged exploration of ideas through international intellectual links and networks—not least as a result of the political and dynastic unions that ensued. Furthermore, as the various cultural resonances of the Asilah victory testify, a significant number of Portuguese exploits (especially in this age of discovery and overseas colonization) became part of a more international concern and interest. It should also be borne in mind that music constituted an important academic discipline at the university in Lisbon, where teachers and students benefited from pan-European debates and scholarship (Nelson 2011b: 198).

However, all this is difficult to measure precisely because of the dearth of musical sources from the period. The musicological literature to date has therefore mostly relied on evidence provided in the important series of contemporaneous chronicles that describe events involving music and musical instruments, and on documentation attesting to the names and activities of musicians and composers, as well as occasionally to now lost musical sources.¹¹ Information about music at the royal court has thus far been integrated into more general accounts of Portuguese music and therefore relatively swiftly dealt with. Yet it was clearly a flourishing institution culturally and musically, featuring both national and foreign (including northern European) singers

10 For his planned second sojourn in Spain in 1482, João II provided Prince Manuel with his own household including a chapel, singers and instrumentalists (Costa 2007: 78).

11 Important recent literature concerning Portuguese musical history includes Nery & Castro 1991, Brito & Cymbron 1992 and (with much updated information) Ferreira 2008.

and instrumentalists, and presumably to some degree, therefore, musical traditions from various places. To a very large extent this was due to dynastic links and continual contact between the courts of different nations throughout the fifteenth century, as well as exchanges of musical personnel. There is increased evidence for international musical contacts during the reign of Manuel I (r. 1495–1521); this included more exotic activity through the regular employment of slaves from Africa and 'India', many of whom may have played their indigenous musical instruments at special events and processions.¹²

Musicians at the Court of Afonso V

In his *Crónica de D. Afonso V*, Rui de Pina wrote that the king liked to listen to music: 'He greatly enjoyed listening to music, and he naturally, without artifice, had a gift for it' ('Folgou muito d'ouvir musica, e de seu natural sem algum artificio teve para ella bom sentimento'; Pina *Crónica*: Cap.CCXIII, 152). From Pina's account as well as through consideration of other types of documentation, it is evident that music formed a vital aspect of daily life at the royal court and chapel, for entertainment, as part of ceremonial and military campaigns, and on other formal occasions. Afonso also had a great interest in and knowledge of music theory, and was probably an amateur musician himself, having been taught by the leading court musician Tristão da Silva. He employed and patronized a large number of musicians, and many of their names survive, but incomplete records, and a lack of surviving rosters of singers and musicians associated with the royal court throughout this period, makes it difficult to assess the numbers employed on a regular basis and exactly who was there at any given time. Nonetheless, some idea of the formation of the chapel singers and other musicians during periods of approximately ten years may be gained through consideration of details and dates provided in the various documents—letters, payment records, appointments and other types of documentation, of which a significant amount was amassed and published by Sousa Viterbo (Viterbo 1932). (See Tables 6.1 and 6.2 below.) It is interesting to note that some of the singers may have had important administrative or secretarial positions both inside and outside the confines of the court, especially in connection with the customs houses in Lisbon, for example, and the assizes in the capital and elsewhere. The records also occasionally provide fascinating insight into

12 It falls outside the scope of this chapter to discuss music resulting from contacts made overseas during the voyages of exploration and discovery; see, for example, Morais 1986, Doderer 1991 and Brito & Cymbron 1992: 59–77.

TABLE 6.1 *Portuguese royal chapel singers in the 1460s and 1470s*

	1460s	1470s
Chapel masters	Álvaro Afonso (c. 1452–c. 1471)	João de Lisboa (c. 1476–84)
Singers	Estêvão Afonso (<i>tenor</i>) Nuno Álvares ?Clemente / Grimete Afonso Rodrigo Afonso Estêvão Anes ^a Tristão da Silva	Clemente / Grimete Afonso Rodrigo Afonso (<i>tenor</i>) Estêvão Anes Tristão da Silva Ghilherme Afonso (<i>tenor</i>) Fernão d'Evora Christôvão de Morales (1473) Pero Moniz

- a There were possibly two different singers with the same name in the middle decades of the fifteenth century, both of whom also had the job of 'escrivam da sisa da marçaria da cidade de Lixboa'; see Viterbo 1932: 49–50.

disciplinary action taken when singers misbehaved, as also occurred in other important chapels in Europe.¹³ Indeed, it is sometimes only through such reprimands that any notice is found about a particular musician.¹⁴

Tristão da Silva, the most famous musician associated with Afonso V's court, where he was employed for some thirty or more years, was from the Aragonese town of Tarazona. He was a friend of the theorist Ramos de Pareja and probably also the Franco-Flemish composer Juan de Urreda, who became chapel master at the Aragonese royal court in the late 1470s. It is said that Silva served as chapel master at the Portuguese court, although it is not entirely clear when this might have been.¹⁵ His international stature and influence can be mea-

13 For example, one Rodrigo Afonso, who was *tenor* in the royal chapel and served Afonso's court as 'servant and singer' for some twenty-six years (c. 1450–76), was called to justice for the number of injuries he had caused to others by his rough behaviour; he was pardoned in 1459.

14 The only document about the trumpeter, Martim Afonso, was a letter of pardon (1454). The administrative roles of singers at the royal court has recently been researched by Hugo Filipe Teles Porto (Porto 2014).

15 As yet, no firm documentation regarding a period as chapel master is known, although it is possible he succeeded Álvaro Afonso.

sured by the two known commissions received from King Afonso sometime in the mid-fifteenth century: a collection of Franco-Flemish songs and a theoretical work, *Amables de musica*, which was once preserved in João IV's music library. The prologue to this work apparently alluded to Afonso v's knowledge of music theory. It was dedicated to the Infante Henrique (d. 1460) who was also a lover of music and had a music chapel of his own. Like Álvaro Afonso and many other musicians and courtiers at the royal court, Silva wrote poetry, or *trovas*, of which a few examples are included in Garcia de Resende's celebrated *Cancioneiro geral* (1516), a compilation of poetry connected with the Portuguese royal court from the time of Afonso v through to that of Manuel I in the early sixteenth century.

Included among other singers associated with the royal court and chapel in the 1470s were Rodrigo Afonso (fl. 1450–76), Estêvão Anes (fl. 1450–c. 1475), Fernão d'Evora (fl. 1473–82), and the chapel master João de Lisboa (before 1476 to 1484) (see Table 6.1). It is interesting that a number of musicians associated with Afonso's court and chapel are identified in these records as 'Afonso' (used as a surname). In addition to the chapel master Álvaro Afonso himself, who was otherwise identified merely as 'Alvaro' (or 'Alvarus', as in connection with the Asilah Offices), were two singers, Clemente or Grimete (Afonso), and Guilherme (Afonso). The latter had the role of *tenor* in the choir, and in 1478 was given a large salary of 10,620 reais per annum for this important position. In addition, there is notice of a prominent Spanish singer named Christôvão de Morales who appears in documentation dating from 1473 when he was identified as a singer in the chapel of Afonso v's son, Prince João, and then (a month later) referred to by the king as 'nosso cantor'. This pay document states that he was to receive 10,000 reais per annum, indicating that he was also highly regarded. Given his elevated status and the fact that he was specifically referred to as Spanish ('castelaão'), it seems possible that he can be identified with the singer of that name who was associated with a number of royal and ducal chapels in Spain for a period of some forty years (c. 1462–c. 1502).¹⁶ No further documentation connecting him with the Portuguese court has yet been recovered. Although only relatively few names of singers survive in records dating from the time of Afonso v, in comparison with the numbers of singers associated with the chapel of João II (r. 1481–95) in the 1480s, and from what can be

16 In 1462 Cristóbal de Morales was a member of Enrique IV's chapel. For records of his sightings in prestigious Spanish chapels, see Knighton 2001: 193–95, where he appears as a member of the Castilian chapel from 1488 onwards, and Knighton 2005a: 88, when he is listed among singers in the royal Castilian chapel in Toledo in 1502. He subsequently appears in Seville: see Ruiz Jiménez 2009b: 204–5, and Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 146.

seen from later records, it seems likely that the chapel choir in the 1470s comprised at least a dozen (adult) singers. In addition, the names of younger singers (choirboys) are occasionally referred to.¹⁷

Instrumental music clearly performed an extremely important role at the royal court throughout this period. Surviving notices concerning individual musicians and other types of documentation, especially the chronicles and other narratives, testify to significant numbers of instrumentalists who regularly played both at court functions and outside the court when they accompanied the king, his courtiers, and other members of the nobility on special missions, including to the battlefield. The duties of wind bands, for instance, would have included playing suitable heraldic fanfares before, after, and as punctuations during the course of ceremonial proceedings, receptions and feasts, all in accordance with royal protocol. The names of quite a substantial number of trumpeters appear in the documents, as well as shawmists, drummers, and players of 'soft' instruments such as the lute, the cittern (*citaleiro*) and the organ. Among the latter were certain *mestres dos orgãos*, who would probably have been responsible for the tuning and upkeep of the instruments.¹⁸ As witnessed in the chronicles of João II, for example, the services of Moorish (*mouriscos*) and Jewish performers and dancers were also called upon during court festivals.

The regular and specific requirements of the large numbers and diversity of the instrumentalists in the service of the court and king necessitated some kind of structural hierarchy. Hence documents testify to the 'king' (*rei*) in the various categories of instruments, especially the trumpets and shawms, a structure inherited from medieval tradition. The 'king of trumpeters', for example, had a great many responsibilities, not only for players at the royal court itself (inside and outside the palace building, and elsewhere) but also for all trumpeters of the realm, including town players. Care was taken to ensure that all musicians in his employ were well regarded and treated. The *rei* could appoint players to other royal households or *moradias*, and these were specifically answerable to him. For instance, no trumpeter was allowed leave of absence without his permission, and he also had the authority to chain players up (and release them again) when they erred in their duties. Among those appointed 'rei dos trombetas' during Afonso V's reign was Martim d'Alemquer.

17 For example, in 1453 one Afonso Gomes was described as 'moço cantor da nossa capella'.

18 Among these instrumentalists were Lopo de Condeixa (a lute player), Estêvão Domingues (a player of the *citaleiro*), Manuel Pires 'o Rombo' (a *mestre dos orgãos* in Évora), and Lionardo and Ruy Martins ('players'—*tanjedores*—possibly of keyboard instruments).

Earlier, a João de Brayna (or Brayona, fl. 1440) was nominated 'Rey dos menestres de nosos regnos', for which position he was well paid.

The names of musicians who accompanied their patrons to the fields of battle are also found in surviving records. For example, two trumpeters from Torres Novas accompanying the Count of Penella on Afonso v's expedition to Spain in 1475 at the time of the war of Castilian succession were Pedro Álvares and Henrique Fernandes.¹⁹ Occasionally information is found about other activities players may have been involved in, such as teaching. For example, a Flemish player called Johan (João) de Reste, one of several who joined the court during the early period of the Burgundian-Portuguese court alliance,²⁰ is noted (in 1462) as teaching young players of the *charamela* (shawm) and *viola de arco* (bowed viol). Although much of the time the wind players would have played by ear and improvised standard calls and signals, as befitted their function, they were also normally expected to be able to read music, and to 'play from the book', as presumably were the majority of instrumentalists (see Brito & Cymbron 1992: 29).

Rui de Pina describes Afonso v as a king fervently devoted to the Catholic faith who regularly heard the Divine Office, generally preferring simplicity to elaboration in its celebration: 'the Prince was very Catholic and close to God, and very fervent in his faith; he continually and most devoutly heard the Divine Offices, and for the most part without great pomp and ceremony'.²¹ However, very little detail is known about musico-liturgical ceremonial in Afonso's chapel, although it may be surmised that on Sundays and the principal church feasts of the year, in addition to particular saint's days, singers were probably required for at least Mass and First Vespers.²² Afonso v had a special devotion to the two saints associated with Lisbon—St Anthony of Padua and St

19 It would seem that Torres Novas was the town of origin of a number of trumpeters. These included the *trombetas de guerra* Fernam Coroado (1446), Alvaro Anes Coroado and Álvaro Pires, both *moradores* in Torres Novas, and Pero Anes, trumpeter at the court of the Duke of Guimarães and Braganza, Fernando III.

20 Isabel of Portugal, daughter of João I, married Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1430; for more on this dynastic union and probable musical connections, see below.

21 'foi Principe mui catholico e amigo de Deos, e mui fervente na fé; ouvia continuada e mui devotamente os Officios Divinos, e pela mór parte sem grandes pompas e cerimonias'; Pina *Crónica*: Cap. CLXIII, 151; see also GomesS 2009: 334.

22 This is implied in a document officially nominating the singer Pero Vasques to his *mora-dia* allowance in Santarem, in 1454: 'we want him to come to serve in our court at the main feasts of the year as our other salaried singers do' ('queremos que de seu officio elle nos venha servir aa nossa corte aas festas principaaes do ano como os outros nossos cantores que sam assentados').

Vincent—and established a number of other particular devotions or commemorations, not least of which was the Asilah Office of 1471. The king was also responsible for the institution of annual royal commemorations during his reign. From 1457 onwards, for example, as thanks for the benefit and financial support he offered them, the regular canons of the College of Santa Maria da Alcáçova in Santarem celebrated sung Hours and a Mass every Friday in honour of Afonso's parents, his wife Isabel, and, later, for his own soul. He also provided alms and *tenças* to a number of other convents, monasteries and churches, including for the celebration of the exequies of his predecessors Fernando and João I (his grandfather) at Lisbon Cathedral (GomesS 2009: 336–37). The king's death in 1481 was mourned throughout the nation, and his exequies were performed 'very perfectly and with great emotion' ('muito perfeitamente e com grande sentimento') at the monastery in Batalha (Resende 1772: Cap. XXIII, fol. 9v; and GomesS 2009: 348).

To judge from available documentation concerning singers, musicians and other chapel personnel, Afonso v maintained an important and well-organized chapel comprising the usual hierarchy of chaplains, singers, servers and others. These were headed by the First Chaplain (*Capelão-Mór*) and the Dean, and included other more administrative positions such as Treasurer, which was an important role. This hierarchy obtained throughout the period. The high regard the king held for his chaplains is documented, and he took care to appoint well-educated clerics as preachers and ministers (GomesS 2009: 341). A few pieces of information concerning court musicians, the chapel and its members also emerge in the *regimentos* or constitutions that appeared during his reign for the running of the royal household and rules for its members. These principally concern the question of leaves of absence and the firm directive regarding the prior necessity to obtain formal permission. For example, one such stipulation appears in a 1474 decree included in Afonso v's *Livro Vermelho* that lists among persons to whom this rule applied the chaplains and chapel singers, the trumpeters, shawmists (*charamelas*) and drummers, the lute and rebec players, and a number of other officials or servants necessary to the everyday running of the court.²³ Regular attendance was clearly essential and misdemeanours among the chapel singers were especially reprimanded.

23 'Royal decree that orders that chaplains and singers and other officials and members of his household do not take leave of absence without first gaining permission, and if they leave without it they do not have residence' ('Alu[ar]a d'el rey per que manda que os capelães e cantores e os outros oficiaes seus e de sua casa se nom partam nem vão fora se[m] p[ri]meiram[en]te aver[em] sua lic[en]ça e se sem ela forem no[m] aja[m] m[ora] dia'; *Livro Vermelho*, fols 61r–v). The *Livro Vermelho* also includes information about the

The king also took a great interest in the running of a number of the ecclesiastical establishments throughout his realm, ensuring that these were maintained properly and to good effect, and was instrumental in the appointment and promotion of prelates to important ecclesiastical positions, including in the colonies (GomesS 2009: 165–66).²⁴

Although little is recorded specifically about Afonso's chapel, it seems highly likely that the traditions and musical standards to which he was exposed from a very early age in the chapels of his father King Duarte (who died when he was barely six years old) and of his uncles—all of whom maintained important musical establishments—would have influenced him. King Duarte is particularly associated with his set of regulations for the running of the chapel and its music known as the *Ordenança*, of which the definitive version dates from shortly before his death in 1436.²⁵ As regards music, this document provides vital evidence for three-voice polyphonic repertories and improvised *contrapunto*, and for certain exigencies concerning quality of sound and other important performance considerations in liturgical contexts and spaces.²⁶ The main Offices celebrated in King Duarte's chapel were Mass, Vespers and Compline. It was not until the latter part of João II's reign that more Hours were apparently integrated on a regular basis (see below). The *Ordenança* also indicates which church feasts were especially to be celebrated in the royal chapel, and special reverence was shown for the Offices of Holy Week. Music, including vocal polyphony, was an important aspect of liturgical worship in the chapels of Duarte's brothers Henrique, Pedro and Fernando, and they may have incorporated aspects of the Use of Salisbury, as introduced by their mother Queen Philippa, notably the 'entombment ceremony' (*Officio das endoenças*) on Good Friday (Corbin 1960: 131–59).

positioning of the altar, the royal curtained enclosure and seating positions (see Serra 1793: 484–85 and plates between 420 and 421; see also GomesR 2009: 100).

24 Included among those appointed to colonial positions was the well-known Italian scholar and humanist Justo (Giusto) Baldino, who was appointed bishop in Ceuta, 1479–93. Baldino's first contacts with the Portuguese court were made when he was in the service of Charles the Bold (see GomesR 2013: 643).

25 For the *Ordenança* and other documents relating to King Duarte's chapel and household, see Castro 1988: 565–66; and Dias 1982: 209–17.

26 See Nery & Castro 1991: 23–24, Brito & Cymbron 1992: 31–32, Ferreira 2008, 1: 50–51, Ferreira 2014, and Nelson unpublished.

The Portuguese Court in Its European Context

While concrete musical evidence from this era is wanting, a consideration of other available documentation, including literary sources, and of contacts between musicians of different countries, results in the probability that music sung at the Portuguese royal chapel would not only have included simpler kinds of polyphony such as *fabordão* and *contrapunto* but also repertories that circulated throughout Europe, and particularly in neighbouring Spain. By the last quarter of the fifteenth century, music by Urreda and other composers associated with the courts of Ferdinand and Isabel from the 1470s onwards was almost certainly familiar to singers associated with the Portuguese court, in addition to music by Ockeghem, who is known to have visited Spain and the Castilian royal court in 1470. Given also the connections at that time with the English royal court and chapel and the Burgundian court of Philip the Good and Isabel of Portugal, King Duarte's sister, it is almost certainly the case that there would have been musical exchanges or influences from northern Europe by at least the 1450s.

The union between the royal Avis dynasty (founded by Afonso v's grandfather, João i) and the English monarchy resulted in numerous links between the two countries and royal houses, both in the political sphere and culturally. Not least among these connections was Queen Philippa's continued adherence to the Use of Salisbury, although little has yet been identified concerning repercussions this may have had musically at the Portuguese chapels. Of particular importance as regards Portuguese and English royal court ceremonial and liturgy is the *Ordinacio regie capelle* preserved in Portugal (Évora, Biblioteca Pública, CV/1–36 d), which was specially written at the English royal court sometime in the middle of the fifteenth century for Afonso v from a series of sources in the English chapel dating from about the time of King Henry vi.²⁷ This document, copied by William Say, Dean of the Chapel Royal, describes various ceremonies, including royal christenings, the churching of the queen, royal exequies and coronations. It also has a number of chants of the Use of Salisbury for the coronation ceremony and other occasions, including processions.²⁸ The preface to this manuscript indicates that it had been requested by 'Aluarus Alfonsi' who in Portuguese musicological literature has generally been equated with the above-mentioned chapel master Álvaro Afonso and who was

27 The first transcription and analysis of this document was made by Walter Ullmann, with notes on the chant items by D.H. Turner (see Ullmann 1961).

28 These are found at the back of the document, fols 36v–41r; for further information on the music, see Ullmann 1961: 47–51.

later probably responsible for the 1471 Asilah Offices.²⁹ A completely different identification was previously offered in which he was identified as Álvaro Vaz de Almada, a Portuguese nobleman and Knight of the Order of the Garter, who requested a copy of the regulations of the chapel for the Portuguese king (Ullmann 1961).³⁰ Alice Berkeley developed this idea by suggesting that the document arose from a request made of Almada by King Afonso's uncle, Dom Pedro (then acting as regent), sometime after the death of King Duarte in 1436, in order to obtain a coronation ceremony that included the ritual of anointing that did not otherwise form part of the ceremony in Portugal.³¹ (The section *Ordo secundum quem Rex debet coronari* is in fact the most extensive in the manuscript.)³² The Almada identification is followed in Robert Nosow's discussion of a particular processional antiphon in the text that has an important bearing on music sung in Henry VI's chapel.³³ This *Ordinacio regie capelle* is seen as one of the most complete documents concerning structure, royal functions and ceremony at the English Chapel Royal during the period, and is also often cited in Portuguese music histories as one of the most significant sources of evidence concerning Afonso V's court and its links with England at that time, at least from the liturgical and ceremonial perspective. However, its history and even its use immediately after its arrival in Portugal have not yet been

29 See Nery & Castro 1991: 20; Brito & Cymbron 1992: 33; Ferreira 2008, 1: 53. In the library catalogue entry for this work, Alegria describes Álvaro Afonso as the 'intermediary' between Afonso V and the English court (Alegria 1977: 183).

30 It seems that Ullmann presumed that the book remained in the possession of the Almada family because of an eighteenth-century bookplate of a Didacus Fernandes de Almeida; see Ullmann 1961, Berkeley & Lowndes 1994: 29, and Berkeley 2001. This identification may still therefore be spurious.

31 This request had a bearing on the court, a papal bull 'authorizing the Portuguese heir-apparent to wear a royal crown and be anointed...' having previously (in 1428) been obtained. Dom Pedro requested the renewal of this privilege from Pope Eugene IV, and then made the commission for the English ceremonial (see Berkeley 2001).

32 Berkeley surmises that the manuscript was copied between 1447 and 1449, when Álvaro Vaz de Almada came to Portugal. He died in battle fighting for Pedro against the king that year (Berkeley & Lowndes 1994: 28–29, and Berkeley 2001). Berkeley provides evidence for Almada's service at the English court (Berkeley & Lowndes 1994: 29). The document is also discussed in GomesR 2003: 138 and GomesR 2009: 90–91.

33 See Nosow 2012: 8–10. According to Nosow, the reference in the *Ordinacio regie capelle* to a processional antiphon *Ab inimicis nostri*, to be sung twice weekly before Mass, provides insight into music sung in Henry VI's Chapel Royal and is linked with John Cooke's motet *Alma proles*.

established with certainty.³⁴ Any further repercussions of this exchange or the extent of direct links between the court and members of the English royal chapel during the fifteenth century are not yet known.³⁵

The marriage of Afonso V's aunt Isabel, daughter of João I, to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in 1430 had important repercussions in Portugal and inspired cultural exchanges.³⁶ Bruges, the focal point of the Burgundian court, soon became an important centre for Portuguese trade and commerce, not least because of the vast numbers of Portuguese who accompanied Isabel to the Burgundian court. The Portuguese *feitoria* was built there in 1445 before transferring to Antwerp. The famous portraitist Jan van Eyck formed part of the embassy that came to Portugal before the marriage, and from that time onwards paintings and other works of art, as well as artists, were exported to Portugal. Isabel, for example, had a number of precious paintings shipped, while Books of Hours in Portuguese entered the Burgundian Court library. Afonso V was a renowned bibliophile and his library is generally considered to have been on a par with those in other Iberian courts of the time (Viterbo 1901: 2–6, and GomesS 2009: 194–202). In addition to historical, literary and religious works, it is extremely likely that shipments from Bruges and the Burgundian court would have included musical sources: in c. 1471 at least one choirbook—a 'livro grande d'estante'—was sent to Afonso V's court direct from Bruges (GomesS 2009: 198). This choirbook could well have contained polyphonic music from the Burgundian court chapel and other important musical churches in and around Bruges. The repertory may even have been similar to that included in the Lucca Choirbook that was compiled in Bruges at around that time with music by Du Fay, Walter Frye, Damarto and Busnoys, among others.³⁷

It thus seems probable that the only known fragments of polyphonic music surviving from this era in Portugal, discovered in the mid-1990s, emanated

34 However, it is interesting that a "... liuro da coroaçam del Rei d'Ymgraterra" is recorded among books in Dom Manuel's wardrobe (1522): see Viterbo 1901: 19.

35 A further direct link with the English royal court occurred in 1489 when the Dean of the Chapel Royal, Thomas Savage, visited King João II (see below).

36 See GomesR 2013: 634–40. Isabel continued to take a great interest in Portuguese affairs, and many Portuguese settled in Flanders as a result of this union. Their son, Charles the Bold, was also very proud of his Portuguese ancestry and would have continued relations with his cousin Afonso up to his tragic death in 1477, which occurred just days after he met Afonso during his sojourn in France.

37 See Strohm 1990: 120–36 and 162–67. Another manuscript compiled at that time, and associated with the Burgundian Court chapel, is *B-Bc* 5557 with music by Busnois, Frye, Dufay, Regis, Ockeghem and others.

from the orbit of the Burgundian court during the time of one of the most famous composers there, Gilles Binchois (*P-LEm* 2-B-38: see Nelson 2004–5, 2011a). It is a parchment bifolium from what had clearly been a large and valuable choirbook that appears to have included a cycle of Mass Propers in three-part polyphony resembling those found in the famous Trent codices. It could have been intended for any of the royal court chapels in the middle decades of the fifteenth century, although the ‘use’ reflects that of Paris (as used by the Burgundian court), and therefore its suitability to the liturgy in Portugal is questionable. The precise provenance of the bifolium and its copying history are not yet known as it was used to cover baptismal records in a church in Peniche on the coast north of Lisbon.³⁸ The use of parchment for this codex is important for a consideration of its copying provenance, whether in the Low Countries or Portugal. Afonso v had instituted a court scriptorium, and records indicate that quantities of parchment were shipped over from Bruges for use there (Viterbo 1901: 3–4, and GomesS 2009: 198). Musical exchanges with the Burgundian court may also be attested by references to Portuguese instrumentalists who were there during the fifteenth century (GomesS 2009: 219).

Given Afonso v’s refined musical tastes and his relatively long sojourn in France in 1476–77, when he was lavishly entertained and honoured by Louis XI—visiting Tours, Paris and other places—it would seem likely that French musical sources would also have been acquired by the Portuguese court. The Portuguese king certainly received other valuable manuscripts as a result of this visit, two of which still survive in the Torre do Tombo (Lisbon): an Office of the Royal Order of St Michael (1476), and a Book of Hours (1475). Extant records show that several other Books of Hours of French origin were imported to Portugal at that time (GomesS 2009: 198). While in France, King Afonso attended a large number of liturgical services that would have included instrumental music and vocal polyphony.³⁹ During his sojourn, he would almost certainly have heard works by Du Fay (then recently deceased), Busnoys and Ockeghem. Cultural connections with France were paramount at that time, and many Portuguese authors sent their works for publication in the new printing houses, and links were established for the regular importation of

38 The music almost certainly reached one of the Portuguese royal court chapels from the Burgundian court during the time of Philip the Good (d. 1467) and Isabel of Portugal (d. 1471). The suggestion (Ferreira 2008, 1: 52) that it was intended for the IV Count of Ourem, Afonso (d. 1460), and his palace chapel is less likely as the fragment was probably copied after his death.

39 For a detailed account of Afonso v’s journey to France, see GomesS 2009: 281–92.

printed books from France from the 1470s onwards, especially to major convents. Before his death, Afonso V supported the settlement of three French booksellers in Lisbon, giving them the freedom to sell books there free of tax for a period of three years (Viterbo 1901: 5–6). It is important to note that codices, maps and books also came from Italy, especially from Florence, no doubt encouraged by the continued presence of Italian scholars at the court and also by connections established with leading humanists and writers in Italy (Serrão 1996: 343–44).

One of the most important Portuguese literary sources to reflect historical events and cultural life at the court during the time of Afonso V onwards is Resende's *Cancioneiro geral*, which was published in Lisbon in 1516. Topical events and debates featuring in this compilation are frequently arranged in long sequences of thematically organized poems (Macebo 2009: 7, and Brito & Cymbron 1992: 52), and these must often have been recited or sung as entertainment at the royal courts. Significantly from the musical perspective, the *Cancioneiro geral* is among the few extant works to provide evidence of a thorough music theoretical knowledge by some of the poet-musicians associated with the Portuguese royal courts, which in turn may reflect these writers' familiarity with the musical repertoires and polemics that circulated internationally, especially in Spain and Italy, in addition to Spanish poetic traditions.

One of the richest sections of the *Cancioneiro geral* in terms of musical allusions is the set of poems dedicated to the Duke of Viseu, Dom Diogo (1464/5–84), elder brother of Manuel I.⁴⁰ According to the opening dedication, the principal theme of this sequence of verses is given to the recreation of a 'fight', involving blows (*pancadas*), between two professional singers, a *tiple* (*tipre*) and a *tenor*.⁴¹ The twenty poems are by nineteen different authors who were presumably associated in some way with the court and household of the duke, and the royal court; some were probably singers who would have participated in chapel music. At least one of the duke's singers, and a contributor to this sequence, Afonso Rodrigues, is traceable to a document dating from 1484 (the year the duke was executed).⁴²

40 For a discussion of the poems from a musical perspective, see Ferreira 2005, Ferreira 2008, 1: 57–58.

41 'umas pancadas que deu um tipre a um tenor e abade, em paga doutras que lhe já dera, endereçadas ao Duque Dom Diogo'; see Dias 1990–93, 3: 204–11.

42 This document (4 May 1484) records Rodrigues, 'cantor do Duque de Uiseu', renouncing his position as *raçoeiro* in the church of Santa Maria in Alcacer de Sal in favour of Manuel Rodrigues. The duke was executed in late August that year; nothing further is known about his musicians at present.

It seems distinctly possible that the musical elements expressed in these poems resulted from a thorough acquaintance with trends both in the Spanish courts and in Italian musical circles. There are allusions to specific Spanish villancicos (here called *vilançetes*), which include Urreda's famous *Nunca fue pena mayor* and the popular *Donzella por cuyo amor* attributed to Juan Rodríguez in the Colombina Songbook (*E-Sco* 7-1-28) and the Palace Songbook (*E-Mp* II-1335).⁴³ Two more songs preserved in the Colombina manuscript can be identified: *Pues con sobra de tristura* and *De vos y de mi quexoso*.⁴⁴ These are the earliest known references to Spanish-texted villancicos in Portuguese literature. There are also references to musical techniques such as *contrapunto*, an improvised manner of contrapuntal singing that would have featured in the royal chapels from at least the time of King Duarte; this was clearly a topical subject by at least the late 1470s (see Chapters 12 and 13). To judge by the wry tone in which it is described in some of these verses, the results were not always satisfactory or harmonious. In addition, a distinguishing aspect of this particular set of poems is the use of precise musical terminology, although musical references are also to be found elsewhere in this anthology.⁴⁵

Especially intriguing are references to types of mensuration and prolation, notational combinations and to problems in the interpretation of these signs and issues—all of which are indicative of a specialist knowledge of musical theoretical matters—particularly in connection with the Agnus Dei of a specific *L'homme armé* Mass. Concern appears to be expressed in these verses about the complexities arising from the apparent juxtaposition or conflict of voice parts singing in two different sets of mensuration signs and prolations, and consequently the challenge of producing a harmonious ensemble in performance. This Agnus Dei is specifically mentioned in the poem by Fernam de Castro (the sixteenth in the sequence).⁴⁶ From the clues provided in the lines of this and two other poems,⁴⁷ Manuel Pedro Ferreira, in a detailed discussion

43 *Nunca fue pena mayor* was presumably composed when Urreda was in the service of the Duke of Alba in 1476–77. It was widely disseminated and survives in about a dozen musical sources; it may well have reached the Spanish royal courts with Urreda in 1477 and from there travelled to Portugal, where it was also frequently cited in the plays of Gil Vicente.

44 The allusion to this villancico occurs at the beginning of the poem by Rui Lopez: '*De ós e de mi queixoso o tenor ouvi cantar...*'; see Dias 1990–3, 3: 208.

45 This includes references to the Guidonian Hand and to the tuning of musical instruments (the lute played by Resende); see Ferreira 2005: 262, and Ferreira 2008, 1: 57–58.

46 For this poem by Fernam de Castro, see Dias 1990–93, 3: 209–10, and Ferreira 2008, 1: 58.

47 These clues consist of references to major prolation in the context of *tempus imperfectum*, and (in another verse) to the Tenor waiting for twelve 'compasses' before entering with the *cantus firmus* of the melody (Ferreira 2005: 265–66).

and analysis, concludes that the *L'homme armé* Mass in question was Ockeghem's.⁴⁸ Moreover, he surmises that in order to be able to describe its mensural and notational appearance and how to interpret it, the poets (and singers) must have been directly acquainted with a copy of the Mass, and he proposes that this would probably have occurred in the context of Afonso v's royal chapel (Ferreira 2005: 269).⁴⁹

Significantly, many of these issues resonate with discussions found in contemporary theoretical writings. Settings of Masses built on the popular *L'homme armé* tune were among the most widely known polyphonic Masses of the era, embracing those by Du Fay, Tinctoris, Busnoys, Ockeghem and many others (see Chapter 1). It was clearly a 'tradition', both competitive and imitative, which engendered as much discussion among fifteenth-century *cognoscenti* as it does in modern-day musicology and polemics.⁵⁰ As Richard Taruskin has indicated, there is good reason to suggest that Busnoys's setting was especially highly revered by composers, singers and theorists, and was much debated at the time. There are references to and citations from this Mass in both Tinctoris's *Proportionale musices* (c. 1474), and obliquely (but significantly) in Ramos de Pareja's *Musica practica* (Bologna, 1483),⁵¹ and later in Pietro Aaron's *Toscanello de la musica* (1523).⁵² Ramos de Pareja, who was personally acquainted with both Urreda and Tristão da Silva, famously describes Urreda as 'our very dear master of the Spanish king's chapel', and Tristão da Silva as 'our dearest friend and a man of the sharpest talent', discussing a number of the latter's ideas and theories (Miller 1993: 16 and 149). It is therefore significant that Ramos's discourse also reveals that Tristão da Silva had a particular interest in the notation of Ockeghem's *L'homme armé* Mass.⁵³ While Silva was first known in Spanish musical circles, he became attached to the court of Afonso v and then that of João II. Further, his contemporary Urreda

48 Ferreira also provides reasons why he considers that it was not any of the settings by Tinctoris, Busnoys and others in the Naples series (Ferreira 2005: 266–69).

49 It is fascinating that this section of Ockeghem's *L'homme armé* Mass still provides interpretative challenges in performance: see Wickham 2002: 593–607, and (response) Bowers 2003: 262–65.

50 There is a very large literature on this topic, including Burn 2001, where studies relevant to fifteenth-century settings are listed on p. 262, fn. 35.

51 See Taruskin 1986: especially 264–65, 269, 283–84 and *passim*.

52 It is also the Mass setting that has survived in the greatest number of sources. For its historical significance and likely connection with Charles the Bold, see Taruskin 2010: 483–90.

53 Ramos refers to an improvement to the notation of Ockeghem's Mass 'as singers and the musician Tristan de Silva wish' (Miller 1993: 149).

was King Ferdinand's chapel master at precisely the time when the princes Diogo and Manuel were hosted in Spain by the Catholic Monarchs.

It seems entirely probable, therefore, that the poems in the *Cancioneiro geral* reflect musical knowledge learnt both through practical experience and immersion in current theoretical concepts and polemics. This would certainly have been part of the musical education of those in close encounter with Urreda and his colleagues, and indeed of those—musicians, young princes and *cognoscenti*—acquainted with Tristão da Silva at the Portuguese court. This particular set of verses is generally thought to have been composed in the early 1480s, shortly before Dom Diogo's death in 1484, and it seems likely that they were written after his temporary exile at the Spanish court (1481–82). A number of the thematic sequences in the *Cancioneiro Geral* reflect jokes at the expense of others and scandals of the day that were often particular to small groups of people connected with court circles (see Macebo 2009: 7–8); it is possible that the series of *pancadas* expressed in these often satirical poems had more than one level of meaning and that a subtext was intended. For example, they may even have been intended to present Dom Diogo in an almost glorified regal position; there was no doubt a particular significance attached to the *L'homme armé* Mass, given that this Mass tradition was closely associated with the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece (and especially Charles the Bold) and Diogo was governor of the prestigious military Order of Christ.⁵⁴

Music and Ceremony at the Court and Chapel of João II

According to Garcia de Resende, whose entire life was spent at the Portuguese court,⁵⁵ João II (r. 1481–95) was a deeply religious man who attended Mass

54 Images and nuances expressed in this set of poems and the repeated phrase 'Aque d'El-Rei!' suggest specific meanings. It is interesting to note that it was around this time that Dom Diogo was involved in a conspiracy to overthrow João II that was to lead to his assassination by the king in August 1484, and that he was generally associated with dissident behaviour whilst in Spain. However, whether there was also a political subtext to these poems is not known. It is interesting that in the contemporary Spanish *Cancionero general* (1511), for example, there are a few poems that appear to refer to litigation leading up to the famous rebellion at Ponferrada (against the Catholic Monarchs) in 1485; see Macpherson 1997.

55 Resende, poet, musician and artist, was born in Evora in 1470 and was educated at the royal court alongside royalty and nobility, including Prince Manuel (b. 1469). At an early age he was appointed page (*moço da camera*) to João II, and then secretary (*moço de escrevaninha*).

every day and who observed and celebrated religious feast days with great devotion and style. He followed traditions set by his predecessors in festal celebrations,⁵⁶ and paid special attention to the major feasts of the liturgical calendar: Christmas, Easter, Corpus Christi with its processions and *touros*, and such feasts as St John the Baptist (Vespers, when there were great *fogueiras*, and Mass the next day, when there were *canas reaes*) and St George. These feast days, and also Sundays, were celebrated pontifically. As part of the festivities the king also organized dancing in one of the main halls, sometimes inviting finely dressed Moorish dancers,⁵⁷ and also often rode in state on horseback through the main streets to the accompaniment of trumpets, shawms, sackbuts and drums, much to the delight of the populace.⁵⁸ In addition, Resende's chronicle records how the king was especially devoted to the Virgin Mary and to the Passion of Christ.

As testified in King Duarte's *Ordenança* and in later documents, the Offices of Holy Week—in particular those associated with the *triduum*, and the 'entombment ceremony' on Good Friday—were of the utmost importance in the Portuguese royal chapels. Resende describes how the king always slept in the presence of the Holy Sacrament at this time, and this is verified in an account given by a member of the English embassy that visited Spain and Portugal in 1489, with audiences first with the Catholic Monarchs and then with the Portuguese king.⁵⁹ When João II requested the English ambassadors wait for their audience with him until after Easter, he indicated that he

56 'And the feasts were always celebrated by him with great devotion, and he always dressed richly, and with great awareness of the royal estate he kept the ancient traditions of his royal predecessors' ('E as festas erão delle com grande devoção celebradas, e sempre nelas se vestia ricamente, e com grande estado real guardava os antigos costumes dos Reys seus antecessores'; Resende 1772 [Prologue]).

57 'and on feast days [there were] dances, instruments, instrumentalists, dances by both male and female Moors dressed in silk...' ('e nos dias Santos danças, estromentos, menistres, e bailos de mouros, e mouras, vestidos de muitas sedas...'; Resende 1772 [Prologue]).

58 'And on these days, and also on Sundays, and holy days, he rood on horseback through the town, and often with trumpets, drums, shawms and sackbuts, and in great state, he processed through the main streets, and the whole populace was very content and diligent in attendance...' ('E nestas dias, e assi em os Domingos, e dias Santos, cavalgava polla Cidade, e muytas vezes com tro(m)betas, e atabales, charamelas, e sacabuxas, e com muyto estado andava as ruas principaes, de q(ue) o povo, e todos recebiaõ muyto contentamento, e com grande diligencia...'; Resende 1772 [Prologue]).

59 This ambassadorial visit preceded the marriage contract between Katherine, the youngest daughter of the Catholic Monarchs (then aged three), and Prince Arthur; for an account of this embassy to Spain and Portugal, see Gairdner 1858/2012.

normally stayed inside the church from Maundy Thursday for the *mandatum* ceremony until after High Mass on the eve of Easter Day.⁶⁰ By that time the *mandatum* ceremony had become one of the highlights of Holy Week in Portugal and occasioned solemn processions, ceremonial and music (see Corbin 1960).

Resende also testifies that together with a large number of excellent chaplains, João II had the best possible singers in his chapel, as well as fine accessories and furnishings so that the Offices and pontifical Masses could be celebrated with total and unrivalled devotion, reverence and ceremony: 'And so that the Divine Offices might be celebrated with great perfection and decorously, he always had many superb ornaments for chapel, and many and good chaplains and the best singers that could be found, and pontifical Masses were celebrated with greater devotion, solemnity and ceremonial than anywhere else'.⁶¹ In addition, Resende states that João II was the first of the Portuguese kings to celebrate all the canonical hours in his chapel, solemnly and with singing (possibly polyphonic), seemingly in imitation of traditions observed in the cathedrals.⁶² This decision apparently came only very late in his life (in 1495), when he was temporarily stationed in Évora, having attended services in the ancient cathedral: 'While he was in Évora that year [1495], he ordained that all his chaplains, singers and *moços da capella* should solemnly celebrate the Hours in his chapel, sung as they were in cathedrals. And thus he ordered the preparation of his choirs, seating, and many ornaments, and all the things needed, to perfection and in great abundance...'.⁶³ Accordingly, the king

60 'It was his custom to withdraw to the church on Maundy Thursday for the *mandatum*, and not to leave the church until Easter Eve, after the celebration of High Mass...' ('de costume il estoit acoustumé de soy retraindre à une eglise le jeudi oure au mandé, et ne saillir hors de ladite eglise jusques à vespre de Pasques apres que la gran messe est dicte...'; Gairdner 1858/2012: 188).

61 'E para se os officios Divinos fazerem em grande perfeição, e muyto acatamento, trazia sempre em sua capella requissimos ornamentos, e muytos, e bons capellães, e os melhores cantores, que se podião aver, e as suas Missas em pontifical eraõ ditas com mais devoção, acatamento, e cerimonias, que em outra nenhuma parte'; Resende 1772 [Prologue]).

62 Unfortunately, little is known about the choirs in Portuguese cathedrals during this period, although there was evidently a choral tradition led by chaplain-singers at Évora during the second half of the fifteenth century (see Alegria 1985: 84–85).

63 'Estando aqui em Évora neste anno [1495], ordenou, e fez, que todos seus Capellães, Cantores, e moços da capella rezassem as oras solemnemente em sua capella, cantadas como em Igreja Cathedral. E assi mandou logo para isso fazer seus coros, e assentos, e muitos ornamentos, e todas as cousas necessarias muy perfeitas, e em grande abundança...' (Resende 1772: Cap.CXCI, fol. 80r).

provided daily distributions for the members of his chapel. Resende relates that previously only Mass and Vespers were usually celebrated in the chapel, while the other Hours were said privately in his chambers.

Although relatively little is known about the actual music and polyphony sung in the Portuguese royal chapel during this period, information gleaned from chronicles and other types of documentation reveals that João II's chapel was a highly organized and well-endowed institution with good working conditions. Records of singers in the royal chapel during the 1480s and 1490s demonstrate that there was a fairly steady membership, and that therefore the incentive existed for singers to remain a long time in royal service. At least eleven or twelve singers served contemporaneously in João II's chapel by about 1485: Clemente Afonso (d. 1484), Gil da Costa, Lopo Dias, João de Guimarães, Afonso de Lisboa (previously in Afonso V's employ), Pero Moniz, João do Porto, Afonso Rodrigues, Bartholomeu Rodrigues, Tristão da Silva, Gil Vaz and Afonso Vicioso. Other names appear in documents earlier in the 1480s, and there are two more from 1487 (João Garção and João Rodrigues, who was also a chaplain). Bartholomeu d'Aguileira is only known through one pay record dating from 1483,⁶⁴ but a singer of the same name—Bartolomé de Aguilera—appears in records of the Aragonese royal chapel in the 1470s and up to 1482, and again in the Castilian royal chapel by the 1490s to the early sixteenth century (Knighton 2001: 168–70 and 193–95).⁶⁵ Given the close connections between the Spanish and Portuguese courts at this time, he was quite possibly the same person.

Over half a dozen of these singers were still employed in the royal chapel during the early years of Manuel I's reign (from 1496), including Gil da Costa, João Garção, João de Guimarães, Pero Moniz, João do Porto, Bartholomeu Rodrigues, and one singer, Lopo Dias (d. 1525) (Viterbo 1932: 211), who is recorded in the chapel from 1482 onwards, apparently remaining for over four decades, surviving into the early years of the reign of João III (Table 6.2). Pero Moniz was also apparently there for about thirty-six years, from about the 1470s onwards. In 1490 Afonso de Leão, who was identified as Spanish, was evidently highly regarded and also given a high annual *tença* of 12,000 reais per annum.⁶⁶ As discussed below, it seems possible that a number of singers (such

64 Aguilera was paid 10,620 reais brancos.

65 Aguilera also appears to have been paid at the Aragonese royal chapel in 1484, but his name is not found in the documents. In the Portuguese document (originating in Almeirim) he was described as 'nosso cantor'.

66 In a 1490 pay record he is identified as 'Afonso de Liam, castelhano, nosso cantor' (Viterbo 1932: 305).

TABLE 6.2 *Portuguese royal chapel singers from the 1480s to the mid-1490s*

	1480s	Early–mid 1490s
Chapel masters	João de Lisboa (1476–84) Nuno Álvares c. 1484–95	Nuno Álvares to 1495
Singers	Clemente / Grimete Afonso Bartholomeu d'Aguileira (1483) Tristão da Silva Fernão d'Evora Afonso de Lisboa Afonso Rodrigues ^a Gil Vaz ^b Afonso Vicioso ^c João Rodrigues (chaplain) Pero Nunes ^d Bartholomeu Rodrigues João de Guimarães João Garção Gil da Costa Pero Moniz Lopo Dias João do Porto	Pero Nunes Bartholomeu Rodrigues João de Guimarães João Garção Gil da Costa Pero Moniz Lopo Dias João do Porto Marcos Afonso ^e Afonso de Leão João de Coimbra (?) ^f

a He was *cantor do duque de Viseu* (Dom Diogo, d. 1484).

b He received a very high stipend of 12,000 reais.

c In 1483 he was given 9,600 reais *moradia*.

d In documents dating from 1490 appointing him to a scrivener's post he is already described as 'nosso cantor'.

e Marcos Afonso was previously (from the 1480s) singer in the ducal chapel of Dom Manuel.

f João de Coimbra was chapel master from 1496, and may have entered the chapel as singer before that date; it is also possible that he was known in Spain before this appointment.

as Afonso de Leão), besides instrumentalists, were recruited especially for the festivities celebrating the wedding in 1490 of João II's son, prince Afonso, and Isabel, eldest daughter of the Catholic Monarchs. João de Coimbra, who was appointed chapel master in 1496 during the first year of the reign of Manuel I

in succession to Nuno Álvares, may already have been a singer in the chapel.⁶⁷ Another musician of long standing, Tristão da Silva, probably continued his activities in the chapel. No compositions by these musicians are known to survive.

It is also possible that a number of French singers joined the chapel ranks in 1493 resulting from the visit of a French lord to the king when he was stationed in Torres Vedras. This grand visitor requested an audience with João II, expressing his wish to join an expedition to Africa. He was apparently accompanied on his trip to Portugal with courtiers and his own fine chapel which, according to Resende, comprised many and good singers ('muito boa capella de muitos e bons cantores': Resende 1772: fols 75r–75v).⁶⁸ As one of the honours bestowed on him, the gentleman (unnamed)⁶⁹ was made Count of Gaza. Among favours made in return, the Frenchman apparently left some of his chapel singers with the king.⁷⁰ Whether this actually happened or not remains uncertain as the French lord was called back to France on account of war having been declared there, without going to Africa. Resende was evidently deeply impressed by this chapel and its singers from which it may be inferred that they would have performed before the Portuguese king and court. They may therefore have introduced French and northern polyphonic repertoires, which would have included works sung in the royal and other court chapels in France.⁷¹

The chronicles and other accounts and documentation dating from the reign of João II are extremely rich with references to the playing of instrumental music at events both inside and outside the confines of the court. Resende's observations in the *Chronica de D. João II* make it abundantly clear that a band that usually comprised an ensemble of trumpets, drums, shawms and sackbuts ('trombetas e atambores, charamelas e sacabuxas')⁷² was frequently called

67 It is interesting to speculate whether João de Coimbra was the same musician as Juan de Coimbra who appears in the Castilian royal chapel in Seville in 1486 (Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 145). There were many connections between Seville and Portugal during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, not least of which was the close link between the Duke of Medina Sidonia's court and both the Portuguese royal and Braganza ducal courts.

68 This episode is also recounted in Rui de Pina's chronicle.

69 He has been identified as Reinaud, Baron de Longuy et de Châlon, one of the French king's counsellors (Michel 1882: 20).

70 'E assi lhe ficaraõ cantores de sua capella...' (Resende 1772: Cap.CLXIX, fol. 75r).

71 In the following chapter, Resende describes the visit to Torres Vedras of an ambassador from the King of Naples who, according to him, was the best keyboard player ever known (Resende 1772: Cap.CLXX, fol. 75v).

72 References to *sacabuxas* first appear in these chronicles (Alves 2014: 57); the term 'sacabuxa' is used in Portuguese documents to refer to the early trombone or sackbut (Alves 2014: 82.fn).

upon to play for receptions, ceremonies, banquets, and other formal events and proceedings, including in church. As Resende records, they often played at the beginning and end of ceremonies, accompanying entrances and exits of the king and other members of the nobility,⁷³ and probably during processions on these occasions. They may also have provided appropriate interludes and interpolations during ceremonies (such as meetings of the *cortes*, and ceremonies of the military orders) and other indoor events, including banquets. Other types of musicians may also have been in attendance, with some of them accompanying the various dances that regularly took place. Dancing was a prominent aspect of royal festivities and celebrations, and frequently included invited local dancers, besides Moorish dancers (also mentioned during the reign of Afonso v), all of which adds vital colour to the perception of musical life in Portugal at that time. The playing of music during ambassadorial visits and receptions, at grand royal ceremonies, and on major feast days, both in the royal palace and in the streets of the towns and cities, was evidently one of the most important ways in which the power, wealth and magnificence of the monarchy were expressed.

The account of the English embassy sent by Henry VII to the court of the Catholic Monarchs and then to that of João II in 1489, affords considerable insight into court ceremony, dress and manners at the Spanish court, as well as copious references to dancing (*basses* and *hautes danses*) and to the playing of instrumental music, both in Spain and Portugal.⁷⁴ For example, on arriving in Beja (Portugal) on 21 April 1489, the ambassadors were greeted by trumpets on their entry through the gates. The chronicler, Roger Machado, then describes the banners and gunners on the famous tower, and the burst of music from the instrumentalists positioned there: 'And that tower was draped in banners, and several cannoneers fired cannon shot in the squares. And when the cannon fire had ceased, the minstrels with their shawms and sackbuts began to play, which sounded marvellous since they were placed so high on the tower'.⁷⁵ The following day, on the eve of the Feast of St George, the king invited them to attend

73 For example, see the description of ceremonies marking the promotion of Dom Pedro de Meneses, Count of Villa Real, to the status of Marquis in 1489 (Resende 1772: Cap.LXXIX, fol. 37r).

74 This account was written by the chronicler Roger Machado who came with the party led by Richard Nanfan and Thomas Savage, Dean of the Chapel Royal (see Gairdner 1858/2012).

75 'Et estoit celle tour toute plaine de banieres, et sur les places estoit des canoniers plusieurs qui tiroint des coups de canons plusieurs. Et apres que les canons estoit cessés commenserent à sonner les menestres de leurs cherumbelles et saqueboutes marevillement bon à ouir de sy hault comme ils estoit en celle tour' (Gairdner 1858/2012: 191).

Vespers with him, and some days later, the ambassadors were received with honour at a banquet given by the Captain of Tangier, João de Menezes, which included instrumental music and singing: 'They were received at dinner by several ensembles and music of different kinds, that is singers, trumpets, bugles, shawms, sackbuts and many other kinds of music'.⁷⁶ This ambassadorial visit concluded with the king, João II, being invested with the Order of the Garter on 2 May 1489, 'very honourably and in the presence of the nobles of the kingdom',⁷⁷ and with continued festivities and religious services marking the Feast of St George, who was also patron of the Order of the Garter, as was customary in England. The names of only a very few instrumentalists from this time have been located: these include Diogo Álvares, Fernam Folgado, and Lopo Folgado (I), all of whom were royal trumpeters in the early 1480s.

A particularly remarkable ceremonial occasion during the reign of João II was the wedding in 1490 of his only son, Afonso, and Isabel, eldest daughter of the Catholic Monarchs, which took place in Evora, rather than plague-ravaged Lisbon. This union successfully drew to a close the hostilities that had existed between Spain and Portugal, and no expense was spared to make this a spectacular event. Musicians from the various courts played (and no doubt sang) together at the various events, and it constitutes one of the most colourful accounts in Resende's chronicle. Some of the most memorable passages describe the performance of instrumental music (and dancing), beginning with the representation and reception of the princess in Seville, at Badajoz and the Portuguese border, and in Evora on 22 November 1490 (Resende 1772: Cap. CXV, fol. 47r). The Catholic Monarchs and their family attended the ceremonies in Seville, where there was much celebration, music, entertainment, games and dancing. On her arrival in Evora, princess Isabel was again greeted with elaborate ceremony and music, and Resende relates at one point how the musicians of the king, of the princess, and also of the duke (Dom Manuel) and other noblemen all played together, the result of which was, according to Resende, astounding to hear: 'And the din made by all the trumpets and drums, and wind bands of the king, the princess and the duke, and many other nobles, was such that it was truly terrifying' (see Chapter 3).⁷⁸ At the gate of the city,

76 'Ilz furent receus à leur disner aveques plusieurs esbatements et melodies, assavoir chantes, trompettes, clarons, escalemées, saqueboutes et plusieurs aultres melodies' (Gairdner 1858/2012: 192–93).

77 'moult honnorablement et en presence de plusieurs nobles de son royaume' (Gairdner 1858/2012: 193).

78 'E o estrondo de todas as trombetas e atambores, menistres altos del Rey, da Princesa, e do Duque, e muitos senhores, que os leuauaõ, era cousa espantosa' (Resende 1772: Cap. CXVIII, fol. 52v).

various spectacles involving fine instrumentalists and singers were performed for the princess.

What is especially significant, and forms a pattern also discernible during the reign of Manuel I, were the concerted efforts to import the best fabrics and other types of goods from various parts of northern Europe for the occasion, in addition to musicians and instruments, all of which involved high expenditure: 'He ordered rich tapestries, and cloth of very fine wool to be brought in many ships from Germany, Flanders, England and Ireland... [as well as] many instrumentalists, players of loud and soft instruments, whose arrival and [the] preparation of these things incurred great expense.'⁷⁹ Damask and silks were also imported from Spain and Italy, and possibly other musicians and singers. Resende's text draws attention to the continued taste for Moorish customs at court, which included dancers, musicians and singers who were invited to participate in the wedding festivities: 'And so he ordered that all the Moorish men and women from all the Moorish communities in the realm who could dance, play and sing should attend the festivities...'⁸⁰ A wooden hall was specially constructed for the majority of these grand celebrations, meals, receptions and dancing, and a royal platform (*estrado*) occupied the width of the building. The positioning of the musicians is minutely described in Resende's account: there was also a special place reserved for the musicians on the royal platform, and a *catafalso das trombetas* next to it, as well as a place for the *trombetas bastardas* and the drums. One of the highlights of the banquet was a representation of the King of Guinea accompanied by two hundred men with their skin painted black, much dancing and further entertainment (Brito & Cymbron 1992: 74; Nelson 2009: 58).

After the solemn marriage ceremony in the cathedral, an elaborate and protracted banquet took place in the wooden hall. Resende describes how all the musicians punctuated the proceedings by playing each time the king, queen and prince drank from their cups, and whenever the new dishes appeared, producing a deafening cacophony: 'and the ceremony was such that it lasted for a very long time, each time they sat at table. And the din of trumpets, drums, shawms and sackbuts, and all the minstrels, was such that it was impossible to hear; and this happened every time that the king, queen or prince drank and

79 'Mandou vir de Alemanha, Flandres, Inglaterra, e Irlanda em nauios muitas, e muy ricas tapecerias, e panos de lam muito finos ... muitos ministros altos, e baixos, cuja vinda, e auimento destas cousas custou muito dinheiro' (Resende 1772: Cap.CXVII, fol. 49r).

80 'E assi mandou que de todas las mourarias do Reyno viessem as festas todos los mouroes e mouroas que soubessem baiyar, tanger e cantar...' (Resende 1772: Cap.CXVII, fol. 49v).

every time the new dishes were brought to the table...'⁸¹ The union of the prince and princess continued to be celebrated the following year, and in June 1491 preparations were made for their solemn entry into Santarem by boat from Almeirim, the seat of one of the most important royal residences. A fleet of boats was prepared to sail on the Tagus down to Santarem. Resende describes the dancing (*folias*), plays (*entremesas*) and celebrations—many involving music and musicians—that took place, often combined with gunfire. Festivities continued for several days.

In the following month, July 1491, prince Afonso was tragically killed, and Dom Manuel, Queen Leonor's brother, was named heir to the Portuguese throne. The sudden death of the young Portuguese prince was marked in verse, musical laments (*plancti*), and a romance in Castilian (Gómez [Muntané] 1994–95: 9–13).⁸² The general mourning and the solemn funeral with Vespers and sung Requiem Mass, which took place in the monastery of Santa Maria da Victoria in Batalha, are vividly conveyed by Resende (Resende 1772: Caps CXXXII and CXXXIV). While the musical elements are not described in detail, Resende's account of the exequies and the transfer of the remains of João II from Silves to Batalha initiated by Manuel I eight years later, in 1499, may provide important insight into royal funerary ceremonies in late fifteenth-century Portugal. Among the notable aspects of this liturgical celebration was the participation of instrumentalists and the organ during the Requiem Mass, as well as singing: 'and the Mass was performed with organ, shawms and sackbuts' ('e a Missa foy tangida com orgaõs, charamelas, sacabuxas') and, in addition to the statutory response after Mass, the canticle *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* was sung with instruments. The funeral cortege from Silves to the monastery was accompanied by a band of trumpets, drums, shawms and sackbuts.⁸³

The Spanish Connection and the Early Reign of Manuel I

Following the death of João II in 1495, Dom Manuel was crowned King of Portugal, and a time of relative peace and great prosperity ensued. Two years

81 'E era tamanha cerimonia, que duraua muito, cada vez que hiaõ à mesa. E o estrondo das trombetas, atambores, charamellas, e sacabuxas, e de todos los ministros, era tamanho, que se não ouuiaõ; e isto se fazia cada vez que el Rey, a Rayna, o Principe bebiaõ, e vinhaõ as primeiras iguarias à mesa...' (Resende 1772: Cap.CXXV, fol. 53v); see also Doderer 1989: 225–34 and Brito & Cymbron 1992: 30–31.

82 See also Ferreira 2008, 1: 59–60, and Fonseca 2007: 218–19.

83 See 'Trasladaçam do corpo do muy Catholico e Magnanimo ... Rey D. Ioam o Segundo...', in Resende 1772: fols 88v–90v.

later he married the widowed Isabel, and the strong musical connection with the Spanish courts was reignited, with singers, instrumentalists and musical repertoires going to Portugal increasingly from that time. Their union was, however, also extremely short-lived; Isabel died a year later. The first months of their marriage coincided with the death of Isabel's brother, Prince Juan, heir to the Castilian throne, with the result that the young Portuguese monarchs also became, unexpectedly, heirs of the joint Castilian, Aragonese and Portuguese crowns. Leaving Portugal in March 1498, they travelled to Spain for the oath-taking ceremony, first enacted at the cortes of Castile in Toledo, and then by the Aragonese cortes in Saragossa. This splendid ceremony, complete with musical accompaniment and interpolations of various kinds, has curiously been overlooked in histories until recently, and has also generally escaped musicological studies.⁸⁴

A full account of the journey to Toledo, the ceremonies there, and the onward journey to and sojourn in Aragon (Saragossa), constitutes an important section towards the end of Resende's chronicle: '*A entrada del Rey D. Manuel em Castella*' (Resende 1772: fols 90v–97r). While the musical elements in this account are by their nature largely anecdotal, it is possible that supporting archival documentation for the participation of musicians at this meeting may be encountered in the future. Resende provides insight into the circumstances of the dislocation and circulation of the royal and major ducal courts, complete with their musicians who played at various appropriate times, as was characteristic of such royal meetings and ceremonial. This also occurred four years later when Philip the Fair and Juana 'la loca' were similarly received in Toledo by the Catholic Monarchs for their subsequent oath-taking ceremony as heirs to the Castilian throne (Knighton 2005a; Morte García 2010).

In order to avoid any conflict between the Castilians and the Portuguese en route through Spain, the Portuguese royal party, at Ferdinand's behest, was relatively small, though richly equipped and attired. The important role of music throughout the sojourn in Spain is highlighted from the very opening of the narrative, although it is interesting that Resende is also careful to record the times when the Portuguese royal musicians remained silent. After leaving Elvas, and near the border with Spain, the royal party was met by the Duke of

84 A summary of the main account of this event by Resende is included in Costa 2007: 128–34; see also Pérez Santamaría 2013. Any direct encounters between court musicians and musical exchanges that might have occurred during the early years of Manuel I's reign have usually been connected with the dates of his two marriages with daughters of the Catholic Monarchs—Isabel on 30 September 1497 and Maria on 30 October 1500—rather than this particular occasion.

Medina Sidonia (Juan Alfonso de Gúzman) and a party of three hundred horsemen, including thirty-eight falconers. The duke's musicians—sixteen trumpeters 'all of silver' and eight drummers—played at various junctures, strictly in accordance with protocol; Resende notes that Manuel I's musicians did not play at this greeting. A similar formal ceremony and exchange of courtesies occurred with the arrival of the Duke of Alba and the Count of Feria; Alba was also accompanied by almost three hundred horsemen and musicians (trumpeters and drummers are mentioned). Resende describes how riders and horses were attired in black as a mark of respect for the recently deceased Prince Juan. Following the formal ceremonies in Badajoz, where there was a solemn service in the cathedral, the trumpets and drums of the households of the Portuguese king and other noblemen 'played no more' (Resende 1772: fols 91r–91v). It is significant that both the dukes of Alba and Medina Sidonia remained with the Portuguese royal party and, together with the Count of Feria, had a major role to play throughout the ceremonial proceedings in Toledo. The Duke of Alba also returned with King Manuel to the Portuguese border in early October 1498. The journey to Toledo included spending most of Holy Week (witnessing the special *Offícios das Endoenças*) and Easter at the monastery of Guadalupe, a favoured retreat of the monarchs and other members of the Portuguese and Castilian nobility.⁸⁵

On arriving in Toledo on Thursday of Easter Week, King Manuel, Isabel and the royal party were met by Ferdinand and his court. The Aragonese monarch was accompanied by an entourage of grandees, prelates, and others, amounting to some thirty thousand horsemen all splendidly attired, and his heraldic musicians ('e suas trombetas e atambores').⁸⁶ He was also closely accompanied by the Venetian ambassador.⁸⁷ Once again, Resende records that King Manuel's musicians did not play after entering the city.⁸⁸ The ceremonies took place over four sessions between late April and mid-May (Costa 2007: 131). On

85 The Holy Week ceremonies, with the celebration of a procession and Office, are briefly described in Resende's chronicle (Resende 1772: fol. 91v). Palm Sunday was spent at Merida.

86 This was clearly a grander event than the 1502 meeting with Philip and Juana when it was reported that only five to six thousand cavalry from the Aragonese royal household were in attendance. For the *ministriles altos* of both Spanish courts at the time, see Knighton 2001: 215 and 218.

87 The Venetian ambassador performed the same role in Toledo in 1502 (Knighton 2005a: 85).

88 'E el Rey nosso Senhor com todos seus officiaes ... e suas trombetas e atambores, os quaes não tangerão depois de entrar na Cidade' (Resende 1772: fol. 92v).

Sunday April 28,⁸⁹ Manuel I performed the oath-taking ceremony in Toledo Cathedral ‘com muito grande solemnidade’—an occasion marked by the loud and impressive playing of shawms, trumpets and drums (‘muitas charamelas, trombetas e atambores com muito triunfo e estrondo...’). The actual ceremony followed a solemn pontifical Mass, celebrated by the Archbishop of Toledo, during which the entire royal party of the Catholic Monarchs, King Manuel and his consort Isabel, complete with their retinues, were accommodated on a specially built and highly decorated platform (*estrado*) in the main church, complete with richly furnished chairs, carpets and other suitable types of decoration. Resende describes the various kinds of music that marked the whole occasion that emanated from the several organs, wind and other instrumental ensembles, and the peals of bells that rang out once the solemn ceremony was over: ‘and so many organs, shawms, sackbuts, trumpets, drums and other instruments that played together once the oath had been taken, and the bells rang out...’ (‘e tantos órgãos, charamelas, sacabuxas, trombetas, atambores e outros muitos estromentos que quando acabaram de jurar juntamente tangeram, e os sinos repicavan...’). It is likely that these bands of musicians, and presumably also the singers, included ensembles from the Aragonese, Castilian and Portuguese royal households, the cathedral choir, and possibly also those of the dukes and other noblemen in attendance.

After remaining eighteen days in Toledo, the two royal parties set out for Saragossa, eventually arriving on 1 June 1498. Detailed and colourful descriptions of similar receptions and the playing of musical instruments feature in this section of Resende’s account of this journey to Aragon and in Saragossa itself. Apart from the series of ceremonies marking this solemn oath taking, the feast of Corpus Christi was also magnificently celebrated both solemnly in the main church and on the streets (see Zurita 1580: 144r). The parties were accompanied by Cardinal Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo, and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Archbishop of Seville.⁹⁰

Some twelve weeks later, on 24 August, Prince Miguel was born in Saragossa, an occasion marked by rejoicing and celebration, the pealing of church bells, and the singing of the *Te Deum* in various processions throughout the realm. However, very soon after a difficult birth the young Queen of Portugal died. This unexpected and sad occasion, in contrast to the preceding magnificent ceremonies, was marked by great expressions of mourning. Manuel curtailed his sojourn in Spain and returned to Portugal, arriving in Lisbon in October

89 Costa gives the date as 26 April (Costa 2007: 131).

90 For further information on this series of events, see Costa 2007: 128–34.

1498. Their son Miguel, heir to all three peninsular crowns, died two years later in July 1500.⁹¹

It is no doubt of considerable importance that the Spanish and Portuguese courts and chapels were in close proximity in Toledo for a period of eighteen days from late April and May 1498 for the protracted ceremonies marking this historical event, and then three months in Saragossa, and further that the dukes of Medina Sidonia and Alba had prominent roles to play in the proceedings. Resende specifically notes that King Manuel was accompanied on his journey through Spain by many noblemen, knights and other officials of his royal house, and an eminent chapel of many fine singers and rich furnishings or ornaments ('e mui singular capella de muitos e bons cantores, e mui ricos ornamentos...') (Resende 1772: fol. 91r.). Evidence would suggest that there would have been a number of significant connections between personnel in the Spanish and Portuguese chapels on this occasion, as well as in other instances during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, many of which appear to be indicative of a continued pattern of musical exchanges.

Although no complete rosters of musicians at the Portuguese courts have yet been found, it is possible to estimate which among singers and musicians mentioned in documentation dating from the mid- to late 1490s might have accompanied the royal party to Spain to meet the Catholic Monarchs. These included the chapel master João de Coimbra,⁹² and the following singers: Bartholomeu Rodrigues, João de Guimarães (also an *escudeiro* in the royal household), João Garção, Gil da Costa, Mestre Matorim (a chaplain), Fernão de Sá, João Lourenço Carracão, Lopo Tinoco, Marcos Afonso (who was already in Manuel's ducal chapel well before 1485, remaining in his service until 1503),⁹³ and the above mentioned singers of long-standing, Pero Moniz and Lopo Dias (died c. 1525). Also among singers who Manuel I inherited from João II's chapel was João do Porto, who is found in documentation dating from between 1483 and 1497. It is possible that he, too, accompanied the Portuguese court to Spain (see Table 6.3). By 1499, in a roll of *Moradias* pertaining to that year, the chapel

91 From that time, up to the birth of his next son, João (III) in 1502, the Duke of Braganza, Dom Jaime, became heir to the throne and the king's right-hand man, a position he retained for the rest of his life. His role in connection with the royal court was almost identical to that of the dukes of Medina Sidonia vis-à-vis the Castilian court.

92 João de Coimbra's period of activity in the Portuguese royal chapel is only documented from January 1496, when he was already chapel master, having served in João II's chapel; he succeeded Nuno Álvares (Viterbo 1906: 1–3). Coimbra may also have served in the Castilian royal chapel: see above, n. 67.

93 Manuel's chapel with its singers was formed in about 1482, the year of his second scheduled sojourn in the Castilian court following the *Terçarias de Moura*: see above, n. 10.

TABLE 6.3 *Portuguese royal chapel singers from c. 1495 to c. 1505*

	Mid- to late 1490s	Early 1500s
Chapel masters	João de Coimbra (from c. 1495)	João de Coimbra – Mateus de Fontes (by 1502)
Singers	Bartholomeu Rodrigues João de Guimarães João Garção Gil da Costa João do Porto Pero Moniz Lopo Dias Marcos Afonso Pero Mendes ^b Mestre Matorim (chaplain) Fernão de Sá ^a Lopo Tinoco João Lourenço Carracão Diogo Belmonte	Pero Moniz Lopo Dias Marcos Afonso João Lourenço Carracão Diogo Belmonte João de Leão (?) ^c Pedro do Porto (?)

a Son of João de Coimbra, chapel master.

b See Porto 2014: 163.

c Singer in the chapel of Queen Leonor, Dom Manuel's sister.

singers (*cantores*) were headed by João de Coimbra, *Mestre da Capella*, Diogo de Belmonte (the earliest known reference to this important musician), Gil da Costa, Afonso Valente, *tanjedor*, and Lopo Tinoco.⁹⁴ This document also names among the *Capellães* several bishops and many other high-ranking officials of the royal chapel and chaplains, a number of whom probably also accompanied Dom Manuel to Spain.⁹⁵

94 P-Ln Cod. 10615 ('Moradias de 1499': fols 2v–3r.) Diogo de Belmonte was later to become chapel master for Manuel's daughter, the Infante Isabel (in 1517), and then for his third wife, Leonor of Austria (in 1519). In this document Tinoco is recorded as 'Lopo Tinoco da Infante'.

95 Included in this list was a chaplain called João do Porto, although it is not certain whether he was also the singer of this name who is never described as chaplain in the documents. Among the *moços da capella* were two sons of João de Guimarães.

Assuming that the majority of singers in the Aragonese and Castilian royal chapels in 1498 accompanied the Catholic Monarchs, they would have numbered about seventeen in the Aragonese chapel and almost forty in the Castilian.⁹⁶ In the Aragonese chapel these included Juan Ruiz de Madrid, Miguel de Salzedo, Francisco Pastrana and—precisely from May 1498 onwards—the composer Francisco de Peñalosa.⁹⁷ Prominent among the singers in the Castilian chapel were Alonso de Baena, Bartolomé de Aguilera, Francisco and Cristóbal de Morales, Juan de Anchieta, and the organist Lope de Baena. It seems distinctly possible that the Portuguese singer Pedro do Porto, also formed part of the Castilian chapel for this event, although this is not entirely certain as his whereabouts from 1497–98 to about 1509 have not yet been verified. It is possible that he returned to Portugal in the wake of the Portuguese king's fated sojourn in Spain.⁹⁸ In any event, he would probably have been in contact with the singers of the Portuguese royal chapel at that time. Until now it was thought that Pedro do Porto and Pedro de Escobar were the same person, but this has recently been refuted (Villanueva Serrano 2011a).

It is notable that a substantial number of these singers at the Spanish courts were also present at the almost identical ceremony in Toledo in 1502 when Philip the Fair and princess Juana were sworn as heirs to the Castilian throne (see Knighton 2005a). On this comparable occasion, not only were the Castilian and Aragonese chapel singers present during the ceremonies, but also those of the Duke of Burgundy and the cathedral itself. The Toledo Cathedral choir at that time included Pedro de Lagarto (chapel master), Jorge Maldonado, and

96 These numbers are based on the lists of singers in the Aragonese and Castilian chapels in Knighton 2001: 178 and 194–95.

97 The timing of this appointment is significant since it coincides with the 'meeting of chapels' in Toledo, April–May 1498. Virtually nothing is known about Peñalosa's career prior to May 1498; possibly he was previously attached to the household of one of the Spanish noblemen in attendance. He remained in the Aragonese chapel until 1516, the year of Ferdinand's death (see Knighton 2001).

98 Pedro do Porto was paid for his services in the Castilian court up to the end of 1498, although his name disappears from the documents in 1497 (Knighton 2001: 225). Villanueva suggests that Porto returned to Portugal in 1498 as a consequence of the return of the brothers Dom Denis and Dom Jaime, IV Duke of Braganza who had been at the Castilian court for about thirteen years following the execution of their father Dom Fernando, III Duke of Braganza, in 1483 (Villanueva Serrano 2011a: 12). In fact, the two brothers returned earlier, in May 1496, when Manuel I recalled them on his accession to the throne. Porto is later documented as chapel master at Valencia Cathedral from at least 1509 until 1517 (Villanueva Serrano 2011a). It is interesting to note that in 1498 the royal parties were due to go to Barcelona, Valencia, Granada and Seville after Saragossa, but this itinerary was cancelled because of the death of the young queen (Resende 1772: fol. 94r).

others. It therefore seems entirely probable that at the 1498 ceremony there was also a large group of singers from the cathedral in addition to the Castilian and Aragonese royal chapels, as well as, very possibly, singers who belonged to the households of Medina Sidonia and Alba. Resende describes how ‘toda a casa d’Alba’ accompanied the duke on this trip, for example, and so this group may well have included the poet and composer Juan del Encina, who was attached to the court of the duke of Alba from 1492 to about 1500, and Lucas Fernández; significantly, both writers were to have an influence on the development of theatre in Portugal through the playwright Gil Vicente.⁹⁹ From the point of view of relations between the various royal and ducal courts it is also significant that the Duke of Alba lavishly hosted Manuel and his court for a few days on his return to Portugal from Saragossa.

After the wedding of Afonso and princess Isabel in Evora in 1490, this was probably the most important ‘meeting of chapels’ experienced by the Portuguese court in this period. It may well have sown seeds for further encounters between several of these musicians and composers, resulted in the exchanges and circulation of polyphonic repertories and musical styles, and been pivotal for the careers of some musicians. For example, ‘Mateo Fonte’, a leading singer in the Castilian royal chapel from 1493 onwards, and who is likely to have participated musically at the oath-taking ceremony in Toledo 1498, is recorded as having gone to Portugal in late 1498/1499 and was definitely in Lisbon in 1501, even though he was still paid by the Castilian treasury during that period.¹⁰⁰ By 1502 he was singer and—in succession to João de Coimbra—chapel master at the court of King Manuel. He sometimes appears in documentation (embracing literary sources) attesting to his importance at the Portuguese court, including in the company of such distinguished musicians at the court as João de Villa Castim (his successor) and João de Badajoz (Viterbo 1906: 3–4). For example, he was praised in one of the *trovas* in Resende’s *Cancioneiro Geral* (Viterbo 1906: 3) and also in the famous verse included in the later *Miscelânea* by Resende where he appears with five other named musicians of probable Spanish origin (Knighton 2012a: 29) who included Badajoz

99 Like several other composers associated with the Spanish courts, Encina’s songs became known in Portugal (several are included in the Elvas *Cancioneiro*), as did his plays, which influenced Vicente (see Parker 1953: 25ff, Keates 1962: 83–89 and Miller 1970: 45–67). It is also thought that Encina visited Portugal in 1498, possibly as a guest of Manuel (see Stevenson 1960: 256). Fernández was at the Alba court from 1496 to 1498 when he went to Portugal with princess Isabel. A villancico attributed to ‘Luchas’ survives in the Palace Songbook, and may be by him; see Knighton 2001: 331.

100 I am very grateful to Tess Knighton for kindly providing me with details of documentation concerning Fonte (Mateus de Fontes) in Spanish archives, and for clarifying the date of his probable entry into the Portuguese court.

and Baena (see below). As discussed above, it is also possible that a singer in the Portuguese chapel in 1483 called Bartholomeu d'Aguileira, was one and the same as the Bartolomé de Aguilera who was a member of the Castilian royal chapel both in 1498 and in 1502 along with the well-known singer Cristóbal de Morales who may also have temporarily served in Afonso V's chapel.¹⁰¹ The almost identical experiences of these musicians who moved between the Spanish and Portuguese court chapels would doubtlessly have had some impact on the respective musical traditions of these establishments.

It was also at around this time that members of the Baena family of musicians—in particular the three brothers, Gonzalo, Francisco and Diego, sons of the vihuelist at the Castilian court, Alonso de Baena—must have come to the court of Manuel I. The brothers were all employed as *músicos de camera* (more particularly, players of the *viola de arco*),¹⁰² and Gonzalo also published a volume of keyboard tablature in Lisbon in 1540: the *Arte nouamente inuentada pera aprender a tanger* (see Knighton 1996 and Knighton 2012a). In the preface to this work, Gonzalo claims that he had already served the Portuguese king for nearly forty years. The preface would probably have been written sometime in 1539, well before the publication date of the book in January 1540, which takes us back to the time succeeding Manuel I's return to Lisbon in October 1498 or very possibly to about the time of his second marriage to princess Maria, the youngest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabel, in October 1500, when she brought over some members of her household and musicians. Judging from the polyphonic repertories included in this important source, Gonzalo de Baena included quite a substantial amount of music known to him and his fellow musicians through encounters with sources and composers at the Spanish royal court of the late fifteenth century, as well as later works.¹⁰³ Among other Spanish musicians who joined or visited the Portuguese royal court also by late 1500 was the vihuelist Rodrigo Donaire, who had previously served at the court of Isabel of Castile (Knighton 2001: 153–55), and one Garcia, a *menestrel* (see Chapter 3).¹⁰⁴

101 As mentioned above, Morales may well have been in the Portuguese chapel in 1473. Aguilera was a member of the Castilian royal chapel in 1502; however, a 'Bartolomé Aguilera de Toledo triple' was a member of the Aragonese royal chapel from 1477 (Anglés 1941/60: 49).

102 This is confirmed in documentation preserved in the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon dating from 1515–16 (Corpo Cronológico, Parte II, maço 59, no. 11, and Parte II, maço 64, nos 21–23).

103 It is especially interesting to find a number of works by Franco-Flemish composers surviving uniquely in Baena's book in addition to intabulations of music by Josquin and quite a substantial number of works by Spanish court composers (Knighton 2012).

104 Both musicians are mentioned in the description by the Spanish ambassador, Ochoa de Isasaga, of festivities at the Portuguese court at Christmas in 1500, the first Christmas

As the humanist Damião de Gois relates, Manuel I's love of music meant that he was almost invariably surrounded by singers and instrumentalists from many nations, and there is no doubt that during his reign the door was opened to wider influences from Spain, Italy and northern Europe.¹⁰⁵ There is no doubt that royal court musicians during this period would have become acquainted with a large selection of polyphonic music for at least four voice parts suitable for integration in liturgical worship as well as in more secular contexts at court. To judge from the evidence presented here and from records of other musical sources and contacts made between the royal courts. These court musicians would have experienced a range of musical traditions and repertoires of a fairly broad international spectrum. Unfortunately, however, there are no surviving music manuscripts directly associated with the Portuguese court from this era. The only—but extremely significant—manuscript with any confirmed link with the Maneline court in about 1500 is the Alamire manuscript *A-Wn* 1783, traditionally associated with the wedding of Manuel and Maria in 1500; it is generally considered to be a wedding gift from Philip the Fair (Dixon 1969; Kellmann 1999: 141; and Alvarenga 2010: 71). By at least 1515, in addition to music by Franco-Flemish composers as represented in this manuscript and later in the Baena tablature, repertoires could also have included musical works associated with the court of Maximilian I and the papal chapel (Blackburn 1996: 28–29). The vocal repertory included in a handful of the manuscripts preserved in Coimbra copied from the 1530s onwards, the earlier Lisbon source from the 1520s (*P-Ln* C1C 60),¹⁰⁶ the Portuguese *cancioneiros*,¹⁰⁷ and the references to villancicos in Portuguese court poetry dating from the 1480s, reveals that a large proportion of Spanish court music by such eminent composers and singers as Urreda, Anchieta, Peñalosa and Alonso de Alva was also known and performed at the Portuguese royal and ducal courts during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs.

following the marriage of Manuel I to Maria (see Torre & Suárez Fernández 1958–63, 3: 77–85).

- 105 'tinha estremados cantores, e tangedores, que lhe vinham de todas as partes d'Europa ... tinha uma das melhores Capellas de quantos Reis, e Principes então viviam'; for the full citation from Gois's *Chronica D'el-Rei D. Manuel*, see Brito & Cymbron 1992: 49–50.
- 106 For inventories of the earlier Coimbra manuscripts that contain music by Spanish composers, particularly *P-Cug* MM9, MM12 and MM32, and the Lisbon source, see Rees 1995 and Rees 1994–95.
- 107 Castilian-texted secular music is included in *P-Ln* C1C 60, and the Masson (or Paris) and Elvas *cancioneiros* (Brito & Cymbron 1992: 52–57).

Cathedral Soundscapes: Some New Perspectives

Juan Ruiz Jiménez

A series of important transformations took place in the Spanish Church during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs. These changes stemmed directly from their religious policies, inherited for the most part from Trastamaran diplomacy and consolidated through papal negotiation, especially during the papacy of the Valencian pope, Alexander VI.¹ A number of innovations affected cathedrals in various ways, notably in the appointment to bishoprics and other ecclesiastical benefices, episcopal reform and general reform of the clergy, as well as fiscal relations between Church and state (Azcona 1960; Aldea [Vaquero] 1999; Nieto Soria 1994; García Oro 1969, 1971) (see Chapter 8). Following the annexation of Navarre in 1515, the ecclesiastical geography of the Spanish kingdoms comprised forty-eight bishoprics, with thirty-one in Castile, sixteen in Aragon, and one in Navarre. These were grouped in seven archbishoprics, with the exception of the bishoprics of Burgos, Leon and Oviedo, which depended directly on Rome (Figure 7.1). The number and extent of the territories and pastoral reach of suffragan dioceses, together with their density of population and wealth, varied greatly, resulting in a hierarchy largely established by the level of income administered by each see and its jurisdiction. The importance of cathedrals in society created a complex web of interests, which all those with sufficient power—the monarchy, the nobility and the papacy—sought to control. Toledo was, by some distance, the wealthiest diocese, followed by Seville. In the Crown of Aragon, Saragossa was the most important, though its income was considerably less than that of Seville as it developed over the sixteenth century (Suárez-Pajares 2004: 193–94).

During the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, musical structures rooted in medieval practice were consolidated and standardized throughout the ecclesiastical networks of Castile and Aragon. This led directly to an exponential increase in composers and musical repertory patronized by the Church, both in institutional and private contexts, and in the amount of polyphony or composed for the solemnification of divine worship, whether liturgical or

* Translated by Tess Knighton.

1 The bibliography is extensive; for a useful summary, see Álvaro Fernández de Córdova Miralles 2005a.



FIGURE 7.1 *The ecclesiastical geography of the Spanish kingdoms c. 1500*

devotional. One of the main problems that confronts any analytical study of cathedral music is the still patchy knowledge of ecclesiastical history in the Spanish kingdoms (Knighton 1993: 88). This is particularly difficult for the period in question for two main reasons: first, because the structural model for cathedral musical resources—the status, hierarchy and reward mechanism of the individuals concerned, as well as their duties—was in a state of flux; once established, the model would survive, without significant change, until the cathedral music chapels disappeared centuries later. Second, and perhaps still more importantly, enormous variety characterized the pre-tridentine liturgy, in ritual as in text and chant melody. The situation in Aragon is especially difficult to assess; detailed studies of major cathedrals such as Tarragona and Valencia, both important archiepiscopal sees, or of Tarazona, with its large extant collection of polyphony, or Murcia, on the border between Aragon and Castile, are lacking. A recently published study of Aragonese cathedral

ceremonials (*consuetas*) affords some insight into the sensory and dramatic aspects of the liturgy of these institutions and their ritual spaces (Carrero Santamaría 2014a).² These lacunae in Spanish church music history mean that the discussion that follows may seem at times incomplete and to favour those institutions which, whatever their relative importance, have recently been studied in some detail, thus making possible a more in-depth analysis of their musical structures and liturgical practices.

The historiography of Spanish cathedral music has been characterized by each study being limited to a single cathedral, an approach pioneered by José López Calo in *La música en la catedral de Granada en el siglo XVI* (López Calo 1963). This model has been complemented by many further studies that focus on a single chapel master to outline the history of music in a particular cathedral in a specific period.³ Recently, a more dynamic view of cathedral music has begun to permeate even those studies that have partially adhered to the established model. The cathedral, through its codified system of bell-ringing, governed the passing of time and announced to the citizenry the principal events that occurred both within and beyond its locational boundaries. In this period, the cathedral was also the main urban centre for the production of sacred music and the dissemination of musical practices and repertoires to the network of ecclesiastical institutions, both secular and regular, of the city, whether through inter-connective processions or through the participation of cathedral musicians in other churches for the realization of ceremonies of various kinds. Given the cathedral's position at the top of the hierarchy, this process of dissemination expanded to include, through liturgical and ceremonial regulation, all the institutions situated within the limits of their corresponding sees. Printing, from its earliest appearance in the Iberian Peninsula, was supported both by the Catholic Monarchs and the upper echelons of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, who were quick to grasp its potential. It had an important role in the diffusion of decrees promulgated by synods with the

2 Much valuable information is to be found in Villanueva Astengo 1803–52, *Viaje literario a las Iglesias de España* (22 vols), the published result of the project *De antiquis Hispaniae Ecclesiae ritibus*, commissioned and financed by Charles IV's government, to chart the rites and customs of the early Spanish Church, which political circumstances limited to the dioceses of the former Crown of Aragon, and some unpublished research in Seville (see Ramírez Aledón 2008). Another important contribution is *España sagrada. Teatro geográfico-histórico de la Iglesia de España* by the Augustinian friar Enrique Flórez, begun in the eighteenth century and continued by the Augustinian Order, with the completion of fifty-six volumes by 1961.

3 For a complete bibliography up to 1997, see Ros-Fábregas 1998.

aim of reforming the clergy,⁴ and liturgical texts such as diocesan breviaries and missals,⁵ as well as books of particular musical interest, such as those that formed part of Cardinal Cisneros's vast publishing project (see Chapter 8).⁶ Within the complex cathedral network of the Spanish kingdoms there were further hierarchies, as well as connections and influences created by the circulation of prelates, prebendaries and cathedral musicians. This panorama was internationalized by the importation of repertories from foreign centres of production through the circulation of music manuscripts and printed books, as well as the sporadic presence of foreign musicians in certain cathedrals.

The cathedral soundworld in about 1500 was very varied, both as regards the range of sonorities and genres, and the architectonic geography. One of the aspects that musicological historiography has failed to address, or at best has treated anachronistically, is that of the close relationship between architecture and liturgy and the consequent transformation of performance space. The sensory elements of liturgical ceremonial, in which music had a major role, were essential to convey the theological message. Consideration of this correlation between space and ritual inevitably entails a decentralization of musical activity, traditionally limited to the choir, and its diffusion through the whole building. Physical spaces, such as the retrochoir, side chapels with relics or images of particular devotions, or the funerary chapels of kings, nobles and high-ranking clergymen in which votive services were founded, assume a much greater importance in devotional practices involving music. Similarly, studies of cathedral music have tended to overlook the role of monodic music in the form of plainchant and, further, have been inclined to establish a hierarchy of musico-liturgical genres in which Masses or motets are deemed to be more important than psalm-settings or hymnody, given the prime importance accorded the 'masterpiece' at the expense of the reality of the context in which such pieces were composed in accordance with doctrinal, functional and ceremonial factors.

Historiographical tradition has thus favoured the great works of great composers, failing to eschew such hierarchies and to contemplate the global space of cathedral ritual in which chant formed the musical axis of liturgical and religious ceremony. In this broader context, numerous pious endowments

4 The first book printed in Spain in about 1472 was the decrees of the Synod of Aguilafuente, a small Segovian village, convened by the Bishop of Segovia (see Reyes 2010).

5 Some of these incunable diocesan breviaries and missals were also printed outside Spain.

6 Between 1499 and 1520, Cardinal Cisneros sponsored the publication of fifteen liturgical-musical volumes, seven with the musical items of the various Toledan rites. A complete list and bibliography can be found in Burgos Bordonau et al. 2011.

multiplied exponentially the potential for musical activity, although it must always be borne in mind that plainchant lay at the heart of liturgical celebration in cathedrals. Before the adoption of the Roman rite, chant displayed a wide range of textual, melodic and performance variation, with borrowings from diverse traditions enriched by local practice stemming from variants in the Sanctoral and conditioned by the hierarchy of annual liturgical feasts established within each institution. Polyphony, as the vertical embellishment of plainchant, was invariably associated with and influenced by the ranking of a particular feast. Medieval polyphonic practices, whether improvised or written, vocal or instrumental, experienced a gradual but clear development from the beginning of the fifteenth century, with a great variety of new liturgical and paraliturgical polyphonic genres, both in Latin and the vernacular.

The interaction of all these elements created a breeding ground for musical culture and an increase in the musical resources needed to meet the growing and varied demand for polyphony. All these developments were favoured by the climate of religious reform and devotional fervour encouraged and controlled by royal power. The aim of this essay, rather than to present a historiographical survey of recent studies of music in Spanish cathedrals,⁷ is to offer new thoughts on these more recent approaches that afford a more holistic and dynamic—and less monolithic—view.⁸

Institutional Musical Structures: Consolidation of the Existing Models

The consolidation of the structure of the personnel involved in musical activity in Spanish cathedrals during the second half of the fifteenth century stemmed from the need to accommodate new repertoires and new performative spaces—in essence, new aesthetic and architectonic exigencies—as was occurring in other major European institutions. Many cathedrals, such as Seville, Jaen and Plasencia, experienced major alterations to their fabric that

7 See Ros-Fábregas 1998; Ramos López 2003b; Carreras 2005: 31–37; and Garbayo Montabes 2010. However, in his article, Garbayo Montabes continues to propose the need to complete the publication of musical catalogues and cathedral archival documentation and to continue editing 'outstanding works selected from the vast corpus dormant in Galician cathedrals', as well as the completion of cathedral studies still to be undertaken, all of which is rooted in the tradition trenchantly contested in Ros-Fábregas 1998. On the historiography of cathedral music catalogues, see López Calo 1990a.

8 This approach has already been proposed, in the broader frame of 'sacred music', in my contribution to two recently published volumes: Ruiz Jiménez 2009a and Ruiz Jiménez 2012.

affected their overall structure, with the moving of the choir from the presbytery at the east end to a section of the main nave, the addition of magnificent funerary chapels, and the redesign of the retrochoir—spaces that would witness important ritual activity.⁹ These architectonic works implied changes, sometimes radical, in the topography of some of the main performative spaces of the cathedral and its processional routes.¹⁰ The implications of these changes generally remain to be studied, but are particularly important for the perception by those attending cathedral services of the liturgical soundscape, where sound would have superseded the visual in those spaces where the ritual acts were more or less hidden in the closed-off area of the choir in which music was most often performed.

What follows is an analysis of the extent to which the structures that supported cathedral musical activity offered some continuity with those established in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, an aspect largely neglected by traditional music historiography. The changes introduced in the fifteenth century, rather than altering the earlier structures, consolidated and adapted them to new repertoires, forming the basis for certain sacred genres to be performed polyphonically and for new and enduring compositional techniques to be introduced. The transition from the fifteenth century to the sixteenth would consolidate, disseminate and standardize the model for church music that had been developing since the twelfth century. In essence, this model comprised four categories of musical personnel—the succentor, chapel master and adult singers, choir boys and instrumentalists—which, although they possessed a degree of autonomy and were governed by their particular statutes, were designed to interact and join together in the performance of the musical items required by liturgical practice and daily devotions. Regulations reveal how, in the second half of the fifteenth century, specialization in the function of the members of the music chapels was occurring in order to accommodate the major increase in polyphony and its infiltration of ritual, including liturgical and votive services, from which it had previously been absent.

9 Notable examples from the period include: the chapel of Álvaro de Luna in Toledo Cathedral, the Anaya family in Salamanca, the Vélez in Murcia, and the Constable of Castile in Burgos. There chapels were often endowed with an organ to accompany the liturgical services held there. On the architectonic spaces formed by the choir and retrochoir, see Navascués Palacio 1998; Rivas Carmona 1994; and Carrero Santamaría 2009.

10 Recent studies by Eduardo Carrero Santamaría are of particular relevance, notably the collection of essays on the various cathedrals of the Crown of Aragon (Carrero Santamaría 2014a).

The Precentor and Succentor

The precentor (*chantre*, *capiscol* or *primicerio*; in the Middle Ages, the *cantor*), continued to be ultimately responsible for the selection, teaching and correction of chant performed in the cathedral, even though in practice all his duties fell to the succentor (*sochantre*) and his position became essentially honorary and sanctionary. As was the case with other cathedral music posts, attempts were made in many institutions from the mid-fifteenth century to secure an ecclesiastical benefice for the position of succentor, usually a prebend or half-prebend, as at Toledo (1467) and Salamanca (1482) (Reynaud 1996: 2; Beltrán de Heredia 1966–70, 3: 169–70). The succentor's basic responsibilities remained largely unchanged and stable, with minor regional variations: to direct the plainchant; to intone the opening of the chants (or designate someone to do so); to draw up the choir list, in which the benefice-holders with different positions (deacons, subdeacons, those entitled to wear hoods, etc.) were to be entered; to take charge of the correction and custodianship of the music library; and to teach plainchant. His was thus an essential position, and he was immediately substituted on leaving the post or in case of temporary unavailability. Recognition of the succentor's workload is reflected in the appointment in some institutions of a second or deputy succentor, or 'commander of the choir' (*comendador del coro*), to share the succentor's duties. The succentor usually sang bass, and generally participated in the singing of polyphony, at least from the beginning of the fifteenth century. The choir, consisting of the benefice-holders, was reinforced by a group of salaried chaplains whose main function was to sing the chant in Mass and the Hours of the Office.

From Organista to Cantor

As mentioned above, plainchant was the musical mainstay of the liturgy of the Office and Mass, whatever the ranking of the particular feast to be celebrated. Nevertheless, it is clear that polyphony was sung in Spanish cathedrals from the twelfth century onwards, presupposing the need for specialist musicians capable of singing and composing polyphony. The existence of a skilled composer-singer (*organista*) is confirmed by Anonymous IV in his treatise: 'these kinds of books [are found] amongst composers of *organum* in France, Spain [Castile] and Ragonia [Aragon], and in parts of Pampilonia [Navarre] [...]'¹¹ *Organistas*, usually prebendaries, are found in several Spanish cathedrals suggesting that their presence was widespread (see Table 7.1). The term clearly does not refer to organists, as previous writers on Spanish medieval music have

11 Reckow 1967: 1, 60: 'Sed tales libri apud organistas in Francia, in Hyspania et [A]ragonia et in partibus Pampiloniae et Angliae et multis aliis locis [...]'. My translation is based on Yudkin 1985: 53.

erroneously assumed, but, as in France and England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to singer-composers. In addition to the well-known music manuscripts such as the Codex Calixtinus, and those of Madrid and Las Huelgas, fragments of *ars antiqua* polyphony have recently been discovered in the cathedrals of Sigüenza and Seville, suggesting a wider presence and use of polyphony in the cathedral environment than previously thought (Catalunya 2014; Ruiz Jiménez & Catalunya forthcoming). Table 7.1 shows that the phenomenon of the *organista* was not limited to the larger cathedrals, and that the term continued in use until the fourteenth century, although the data encountered so far is fragmentary. Salamanca was a special case since its university had a 'master of organum' (*maestro de órgano*) from the time of its foundation in the thirteenth century (Gómez Muntané 1990: 80). The university was closely linked to the cathedral, and in later centuries the position of 'maestro' was shared between the two institutions. The examples listed in Table 7.1 reflect continuity in the musical resources for the performance of polyphony in the cathedrals of the Spanish kingdoms. The *organistas* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries became the *magister in cantu* of the fourteenth century, the *magister puerorum* or *mestre del cant* of the fifteenth century, and the *maestros de capilla* of the sixteenth century; in each case, the nomenclature and function corresponded to their counterparts in cathedrals elsewhere in Europe.¹²

One of the key elements in the consolidation and prestige of the musical structure in cathedrals of the fifteenth century was the gradual institutionalization of the designation of prebends to the main musical posts. In the first half of the century, the diocese of Seville appears to have been the first to attain a papal bull for the master of the choirboys: *Ad exequendum* promulgated by Eugene IV in 1439, and *Votis illis* by Nicholas V in 1454. These bulls, both influenced by prevailing humanistic trends, enabled the position of chapel master to be consolidated, with its social and economic prestige being enhanced through the attachment of a prebend (Ruiz Jiménez 2008: 87–88). Eugene IV's bull essentially reflected those issued in Italy with a similar aim: Turin (1435), Bologna and Florence (1436), Treviso (1437–38), Padua and Urbino (1439), and Verona (1440–42) (Cattin 1981: 23, 27). In Seville, the first *cantor* (singer) to hold this prebend was Pedro Martínez de Xerez (from 1441 to 1447) (Ruiz Jiménez 2014b: 70). In Palencia Cathedral, where a choirmaster responsible for the musical education of the choirboys had been employed for many years, a canonry was attached to the position in 1465 (López Calo 1981, 2: 451). In other cathedrals in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, such as Santiago de

12 See, for example, Wright 1989; Bowers 1999 and Planchart 2008.

TABLE 7.1 *From magister organista to magister puerorum*

Name	Position	Institution	Date
Lucas	magnus organista, canon	Tarragona Cathedral	d. 1164 ^a
Magister Galterius	organista	Toledo Cathedral	12th century ^b
Iocellinus	organista	Toledo Cathedral	12th century
Magister Stephanus	organista, canon	Toledo Cathedral	1234–50
Magister Dominicus Pascasii	organista, canon	Toledo Cathedral	13th century
P. Leonis	magister in organo	Burgos Cathedral	1223 ^c
Magister Johannes	organista	Orense Cathedral	1230 ^d
Magister Laurencius	organista	Santiago de Compostela Cathedral	1235 ^e
Magister Martinus	organista	Segovia Cathedral	1247 ^f
	maestro en órgano	Salamanca University	1254 ^g
P. Muñoyz	magistro organi	Lérida Cathedral	1279 ^h
Guillermo de Colis	maestro de canto	Gerona Cathedral	1300 ⁱ
Pascasio Jimeno	maestro de música, prebendary	Mondoñedo Cathedral	1316 ^j
	magister in cantu	Sigüenza Cathedral	1343 ^k
Alfonso Sánchez	magistro in musica, prebendary	Salamanca University and Cathedral	1381 ^l
	magistro cantus	Saragossa Cathedral (La Seo)	14th century ^m
	<i>magister musicae / magister cantus</i>	Huesca Cathedral	c. 1400 ⁿ
Rodrigo Egidis	<i>magister cantus</i>	Barcelona Cathedral	1403 ^o
Alfonso Fernández	<i>cantor</i>	Toledo Cathedral	1418 ^p
Alfonso Sánchez	<i>magister puerorum</i>	Seville Cathedral	1419 ^q
Juan de Buena Ventura	maestro de canto	Leon Cathedral	1424 ^r
José de Anchorena	<i>maestro mayor de los cantoricos</i>	Pamplona Cathedral	1436 ^s
Johannes Brossano	<i>magistrum cantum; tenorista</i>	Lérida Cathedral	1438 ^t
Fray Diego	<i>cantor</i>	Palencia Cathedral	1445 ^u
Guillem Molins	<i>magistrum cantum; tenorista</i>	Barcelona Cathedral	1446–58 ^v

TABLE 7.1 *From magister organista to magister puerorum (notes)*

- a Anglés 1935: 67, 84.
- b References from Toledo Cathedral are taken from González Ruiz 1996: 188–89 and Linehan 2004: 40–41. The identity between Magister Dominicus Pascasii, canon and *organista*, and the precentor (at least 1238–61) of the same name in Toledo Cathedral who was also dean and in 1262 elected archbishop, although he died three months later, before he had been consecrated, is not clear; see Martín Gamero 1862: 876.
- c In 1252 the Burgos chapter expressed the requirement that ‘ut doctor in organo semper sit in eadem ecclesia per capitulum eligendus’. As ‘doctor in organo’ he would receive forty maravedís, while for ‘pulsanda organa consuetis solemnitatibus, quam reparanda’, he would be paid another twenty maravedís, thus having responsibility for both duties. Martínez y Sanz 1866: 265.
- d Filgueria Valverde 1992: 50.
- e Fernández de Viana y Vieites et al. 1992: 360, 370.
- f Villar García 1990: 214 (doc. 140).
- g Mansilla Reoyo 1945: 267.
- h Rius Serra 1926: 19.
- i In 1333 the *magister cantus* and canon Berenguer de Pavo died. *Magister cantus/ mestre de cant* continued to be the term used for the person responsible for the music chapel throughout the second half of the sixteenth century in Gerona Cathedral; Civil Castellví 1981: 546, 569–70.
- j Pascasio Jimeno was a canon of Palencia Cathedral; Cal Pardo 1996: 24.
- k ‘Magister in cantu qui infantes cori et alios clericos tam in cantu organico quam plano docere sciat et instruere’. See Minguella y Arnedo 1910–13, 2: 531; and Ruiz Torres 2014: 85–86.
- l Beltrán de Heredia 1966–70, 1: 58.
- m The *Constituciones de la Iglesia de Zaragoza*, ratified by Benedict XIII, include this position, with the duty of teaching the untrained clergy and the boys (mentioned from 1317 onwards). Calahorra Martínez 1977–78, 2: 13–14.
- n In Huesca Cathedral, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, there were (in addition to the two succentors) a *magister musicae*, a *magister cantus* and four *pueri chori*; Durán Gudiol 1964: 30.
- o Madurell Marimón 1951: 205.
- p He was paid in 1418 ‘de su oficio de mostrar a los moços el canto de órgano’; Asenjo Barbieri 1986, 1: 211.
- q Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 210, 213.
- r As early as 1423 reference is found to a singing teacher for the choirboys and those clergy who wished to learn; see Beltrán de Heredia 1966–70, 1: 206. In 1424 the position was held by Juan de Buena Ventura, *cantor* in the service of the bishop Juan Rodríguez de Villalón who had just died; Álvarez Pérez 1959: 39–40.
- s Goñi Gaztambide 1983: 15.
- t Mujal Elías 1975: 58.
- u He was contracted to be present in the cathedral to sing polyphony on Sundays and major feasts, at Mass and Vespers, and to teach plainchant and counterpoint to the six choirboys; López Calo 1981, 1: 450.
- v Guillem Molins and Mateo Ferrer held the same post in Juan II of Aragon’s chapel, reflecting the longstanding link between cathedrals and royal chapels; Gregori i Cifré 1983: 10–12.

Compostela, the *cantor* responsible for training the choirboys could be a prebendary, without the prebend being officially designated to the post.¹³ While the teaching duties of the *cantor* or *magister* are clearly established from the twelfth century, documents of the second half of the fifteenth century do not specify his responsibility as director of a group of polyphonic singers, even if some level of supervision can be assumed, especially given that his status as a prebendary placed him in a privileged position. Nor is the obligation to compose polyphony for the institution he served specified. Composition appears to have formed part of the activities of any singer who wished to compose, whether or not he was designated master of the choirboys. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the terms *maestro de los mozos* and *maestro de capilla* occasionally appear as synonyms. This gradual process of consolidation continued throughout the first decades of the sixteenth century until the term chapel master was used consistently, with direction of the other polyphonic singers becoming an integral part of his duties.¹⁴

As part of this process of consolidation, cathedral chapters also sought prebends of various kinds to support at least four singers, one for each voice part, and this continued into the seventeenth century. Singers were admitted dependent on complex and demanding tests that guaranteed a solid foundation for the choir. A good example is Toledo Cathedral where six prebends for singers were annexed in Innocent VIII's bull of 1489, and this number was increased to eight (including one for the chapel master) in 1498 by Alexander VI; all these were allocated to singers by 1508 (Reynaud 1996: 4–6). The remaining musical personnel were salaried, their remuneration being taken initially from the caputular mensa and later, over the course of the century, from the cathedral fabric. In order to supplement these rather meagre salaries, the singers were frequently presented to chaplaincies to increase their income. Until a systematic and detailed analysis of cathedral vocal resources of the period is undertaken, it is not possible to establish a general pattern, if such a pattern ever existed. A preliminary survey would suggest a great deal of variation,

13 In Santiago in 1469, the chapter ordered that the canons Juan de Monterroso, Francisco de Coruña, Pedro de Coruña and Alfonso Pérez should be paid 400 maravedís 'por quanto eran cantores e honrrauan a iglesia'. In 1480, Juan de León was appointed *maestro de canto* to teach six benefice-holders and six choirboys; on 31 January 1487, he was made a canon. For the limited extant information on musicians in Santiago Cathedral in the second half of the fifteenth century, see López Ferreiro 1904, 7: 331–35.

14 The *Consueta* of Granada Cathedral, copied in about 1520, states that among the responsibilities of the chapel master was that of rehearsing the singers and giving the beat ('llevar el compás') when polyphony was sung at the lectern, and the singers were obliged to obey him (López Calo 1963: 13–19, 135–36, 145, 148).

especially in terms of numbers, depending both on the institution in question and the period under scrutiny, and taking into account economic factors.¹⁵ The impact of the residency requirement of prelates, the education of chapter members and their level of commitment to the realization of the liturgy—all aspects that were fomented by the religious policy of the Catholic Monarchs—can be directly linked to the increase in quality and quantity of cathedral musical resources.

The Choirboys

The main duty of the *cantor* or *magister* in the cathedrals of the later Middle Ages was to teach music to the choirboys, a specialized branch of ecclesiastic education through the well-established cathedral schools. This musical training, although primarily aimed at the choirboys, was not limited to them and included other members of the community, as is clear from the decree of the archbishop and chapter of Sigüenza Cathedral of 1343: 'Wishing to increase the impact of worship, we command and ordain that in our church of Sigüenza the *magister* should teach and instruct the choirboys and other clergy in both plainchant and polyphony'.¹⁶ The presence of choirboys, in varying numbers, harks back to the medieval origins of cathedrals; from the thirteenth century onwards their musical training and participation in the liturgy became increasingly important and regulated (Boynton 2008: 43–44). The number of boys specified in the prebends held by the *magister puerorum* in the fifteenth century was usually six, although this number could vary considerably. From at least the first half of the fourteenth century, boys sang polyphony with adult singers (as the example of Sigüenza shows) in addition to their well-regulated contribution to the singing of plainchant (Ruiz Jiménez 2008: 88, 95; Reynaud 1996: 142–43). As the membership of the cathedral choir increased and became more specialized, the original nucleus of choirboys split into two groups. One group consisted of those designated from the end of the fifteenth century by some variant on the diminutive of *cantor* (*cantorcito* or *cantorcillo*); they

15 For an approximation of the numbers of salaried singers in Seville Cathedral between 1408 and 1513, see Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 206. A snapshot of the cathedral's musical resources in 1467 includes the succentor (who also sang polyphony), an organist who held a half-prebend, the *magister puerorum*, who was a prebendary and a singer; twelve adult singers (plus two more for part of the year), eight choirboys and two organists who served in the chapel of the Virgen de la Antigua (Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 279).

16 Minguella y Arnedo 1910–13, 2: 531: 'Item desiderantes vt cultus diuinus potius augeatur statuimus et ordinamus quod in nostra ecclesia Seguntina sit magister in cantu qui infantes cori et alios clericos tam in cantu organico quam plano docere sciat et instruere' (Ruiz Torres 2014: 85).

increasingly participated in the performance of polyphony and came under the *magister puerorum*'s jurisdiction. The other group, in some institutions supervised by the boys' master of plainchant, continued to be called *mozos de coro*. In the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the terminology remained ambiguous, with the expression *mozo de coro* used generically for both groups (Ruiz Jiménez 2008: 88).¹⁷ More years would pass before the Castilian term 'seise', which clearly refers back to the number of choirboys mentioned in Eugenius IV's bull, became standard. An interesting example of a music theorist working in the cathedral environment is that of Guillelmus de Podio, who can be identified with Guillem Molins (fl. 1446–1500†), *mestre de cant* at Barcelona Cathedral (from at least 1446 to 1458), singer and chapel master in the service of Juan II of Aragon, and *mestre de les escoles de cant* at Valencia Cathedral (1480–1500) (Villanueva Serrano 2010). Molins wrote the first music treatise to be printed in Spain—the *Ars musicorum* (Valencia: Hagenbach & Hutz, 1494)—which was highly influential on later treatises. He held various ecclesiastical benefices in Gerona, Barcelona and Valencia cathedrals—a common practice among singers who served at some point in the royal chapels or those of high-ranking clergymen of the period.

Organists

Organs, implying the presence of organists, were well established in cathedrals by the thirteenth century. For example, in 1252 the chapter of Burgos Cathedral recorded the need for a composer-singer ('doctor in organo') who, in addition to his ordinary duties, would receive extra payment for 'playing the organ on feast days and for maintaining the instrument' ('pulsanda organa consuetis solemnitatibus, quam reparanda'), thus taking on both responsibilities (see Table 7.1, note c). The administrative and social status of the organist in the pyramidal organization of an ecclesiastical institution varied greatly, although there were basically two main categories: beneficed and salaried. The politics of annexing a prebend to the main musical posts of the cathedral meant that,

17 When in 1532 the choirboys entered the College of Saint Isidore, Seville, founded by Archbishop Alonso Manrique in 1526, they were required to dress in 'purple rather than red cassocks, so that they can be distinguished from the other six [*seises*], and not in brown so that they can be distinguished from the college students' (Rosa y López 1904: 43). The two groups of boys were thus clearly identifiable. In Toledo, at least from the end of the fifteenth century, the choirboys [*clerizones*] dressed in red until their voices broke, after which they wore black (Reynaud 1996: 142–43). According to the *Consueta* of Granada Cathedral, red was also worn by 'los mozos o clerizontes que se dicen seises'. The teaching and musical training of the singers and choirboys in this period is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 13.

from the last two decades of the fifteenth century, it became relatively usual for a prebend to be attached to the position of organist. This represented a marked improvement, both in terms of income and stability; as a prebendary, the organist would receive many pecuniary benefits, the total amount of which varied from institution to institution, as in the case of Salamanca (1482) (Beltrán de Heredia 1970, 3: 168–70), Toledo (1482) (Reynaud 1996: 166), and Palencia (1495) (López Calo 1970, 1: 452). These economic and social factors, together with other personal considerations such as family ties, clearly played an important part in the circulation of musicians through the cathedral network in Spain. It is equally clear that cathedral chapters vied for the best musicians, offering extra remuneration of different kinds to attract them to their service. The diversity and density of daily liturgical and devotional services meant that, at least in the larger cathedrals, a second or assistant organist was required, with the division of duties being established by statute. The organist had, in effect, a triple role: as soloist; playing in alternation with plainchant, polyphony and minstrels; or as accompanist in votive services or the liturgy of the Mass and Office. Although it is not specified, the cathedral organist's duties would also have included teaching, at both the private and institutional level.

Virtually every cathedral in the Spanish kingdoms had one or more organs—whether large, medium or small—by at least the fourteenth century, many as the result of practices established in the previous century (García Llovera 2006). From the mid-fifteenth century, organ-building followed two trends that corresponded roughly to the administrative demarcation of the Crowns of Castile and Aragon. These traditions developed relatively independently, although Castilian elements are present in the work of some Aragonese organ-builders, suggesting some permeability across the border between the two kingdoms. The Catalan-Valencian school is rooted in the fifteenth century and was strongly influenced by the German organ-builders who frequently worked with local builders in the construction of large cathedral instruments.¹⁸ The size and number of organs in each cathedral varied according to their intrinsic economic power and the patronage of founders of funerary chapels. Each cathedral had a large organ with a principal flute of up to 28 *palmos* (26 *palmos* corresponded to a 16-foot pipe), or a medium-sized organ situated in various places near to the choir to be played during liturgical services and processions inside the cathedral. Often one or more side chapels also had a medium or small organ to be played at the votive services held there, as was the case in

18 For details of instruments built during this period, their technical specifications of tuning, keyboards and registration, see Jambou 1998; Calahorra [Martínez] 2002; Cea Galán 2004, 2014; and Villanueva Serrano 2014.

Burgos, Salamanca and Seville. There was also usually a portative organ (*realejo*) for use in processions held outside the cathedral on major feasts, such as Corpus Christi or the Assumption of the Virgin, or when the chapter attended other ecclesiastical institutions that did not have an organ.

Other instrumentalists did not form an institutionalized part of cathedral music chapels until 1526, when for the first time Seville Cathedral contracted a stable ensemble of wind-players on a permanent basis. This marked the start of a gradual expansion throughout the whole of the Peninsula during the sixteenth century, with major implications for the musical repertory of cathedrals. However, groups of wind-players, whether freelance or in the service of members of the nobility or high-ranking clergy, had for some time previously participated in major processions, and had even entered the cathedral precincts on special festal occasions or to participate in the musical accompaniment of sacred drama (see Chapters 3 and 5). It was precisely because of the increase in participation of instrumental ensembles that the Seville chapter contracted their own wind band, on whose services they could draw more freely and more often without incurring expenditure above what had previously been paid annually to freelance musicians (Ruiz Jiménez 2004: 200–206).

Thus, by the early fifteenth century, groups of salaried singers and organists, together with the succentor, chaplains and choirboys, were actively involved in the musical solemnification of the liturgy as celebrated in cathedrals. Toledo and Seville Cathedrals—among the few examples for which a relatively high degree of documentation is available—offered well-organized musical structures, with highly specialized singers responsible for performing polyphony at least from the 1420s, as well as musicians who undertook the musical education of the choirboys and other members of the clergy. In the second half of the fifteenth century, these structures were consolidated with the annexation of prebends to the main musical posts, a process that resulted in increased stability, and the attraction of the best musicians. Over time this generated a sense of professionalism and rivalry, often deliberately encouraged by cathedral chapters, with a marked impact on musical training, and resulted in the creation of a new generation of highly skilled musicians who actively disseminated their teachers' compositions: these came to form part of the cathedral musical canon of the sixteenth century and beyond.

External and Internal Networks: Decentralizing Cathedral Music

One of the most distinctive elements of the cathedral soundworld and, by extension, of the city, emanated from the bell tower. Cathedral bells marked the liturgical and devotional moments in the year, and organized the collective life of the community, always occupying pride of place in the hierarchy of the bells of other ecclesiastical institutions, and placing them at the centre of the urban soundscape. Detailed regulations survive from the early sixteenth century for the ringing of cathedral bells: for example, Segovia (1501) (Alonso Ponga & Sánchez del Barrio 2002: 312–14); Valencia (1527) (Martí Mestre & Serra Estellés 2009, 2: 7–36); and Seville (1533) (Rubio Merino 1995: 43–86). The degree of codification that developed reached such a level of complexity and specificity that some peals became transformed from *sound signals* into *sound-marks*, peculiar to each particular bell tower.¹⁹ On many occasions, the sound of these elaborate peals merged with the music performed as part of the celebration of liturgical services and processions, resulting in a special aural reception and perception among the cathedral community and public who witnessed these events. Bells thus linked the cathedral to other ecclesiastical institutions and penetrated the urban community as a whole, their sound being both centralized and diffused.

The traditional monolithic approach followed in Spanish music historiography as regards sacred music has tended to regard the cathedral as a self-contained institution with little or no contact with its urban hinterland. More recently, studies of cathedral music have begun to include sections—on some extent analytical or merely descriptive—on the development of the musical resources of the cathedral as an institution. However, for the period of the Catholic Monarchs, networks of circulation have been little studied, although these clearly included the royal chapels and those of the nobility. Examples abound and include several singers and organists in the service of the dukes of Medina Sidonia, the Bishop of Badajoz, Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, or the Archbishop of Seville, Diego de Deza, who also served in the choir of Seville Cathedral as well as the royal chapel (Ruiz Jiménez 2009b, 2010: 231, 227–28).²⁰ In 1517, the chapel master Cristóbal de Soria left Tarazona Cathedral to enter the service of the Archbishop of Saragossa, Alonso de Aragón (d. 1520). The organist Francisco de Soto served the archbishop's son,

19 The website <<http://campaners.com>> (accessed 7 September 2014) includes much textual and audio-visual material on the bell towers of Spanish cathedrals, as well as a list of the surviving bells.

20 Loans and changes of institution among musicians are recorded between 1434 and 1518.

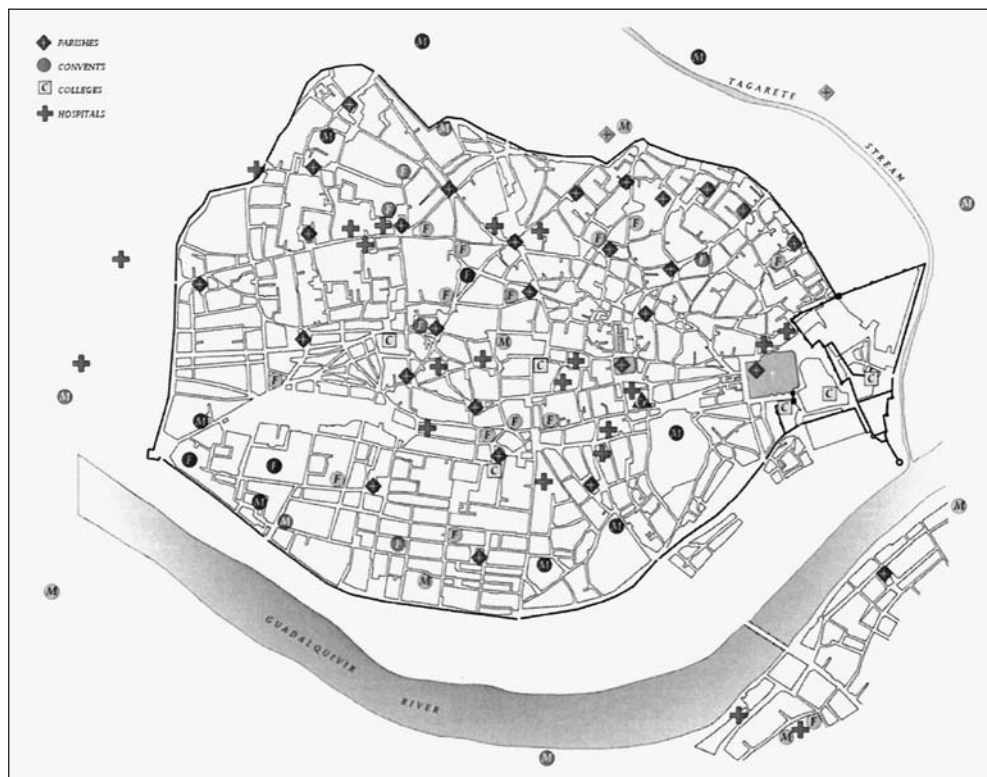


FIGURE 7.2 *Map of Seville in the sixteenth century showing the location of ecclesiastical institutions*

Juan de Aragón, when he succeeded his father, and in 1528 transferred to Charles v's chapel. When Juan de Aragón died in 1530, three of his singers entered the music chapel of the Seo of Saragossa (Calahorra Martínez 1977–78, 1: 166; 2: 76–78).

Studies of urban music history have helped to decentralize the cathedral, and to suggest the permeability of its walls through analysis of other ecclesiastical establishments, both secular and regular, which shared specific urban connections, thus establishing conduits for the circulation of personnel, practices and repertoires (Figure 7.2). This dynamic perspective highlights the key role played by processions, both inside and outside the cathedral itself. In late medieval society, processions were, for religious institutions, an excellent vehicle for the interconnection and hierarchization of the various spaces in the cathedral (including side chapels, altars and the retrochoir), and to project and expand its sphere of influence over citizens outside the strict confines of their churches so that the procession became an act of public worship. Processions

were complementary to the Mass and Office of the main annual festivities of the liturgical cycle. They spread and promoted dogmas, were favoured for devotions and encouraged cohesion and acceptance of a highly stratified society, while marginalizing and isolating minorities who did not share the same faith. The individual endowments made by the nobility and upper echelons of the secular clergy augmented the number of processions and had a decisive influence on the expansion of the related ceremonial apparatus. As with other aspects of the liturgy developed in an ecclesiastical institution, tradition and innovation existed side by side in processions, although it is often impossible to ascertain exactly when material, textual and sensory components became integrated. Whether these processions were inside or outside, commonplace or extraordinary, general in character (with the city bearing part of the overall costs) or specific (organized exclusively by the cathedral), they invariably resulted in the decentralization of cathedral music-making in the urban environment and gave the citizens access to sacred music, whether in the streets or the other churches and monasteries of the town.

As elsewhere in Europe, among the customary processions, that of Corpus Christi was the most important of the annual cycle. It passed through the commercial heart of the city, stopping at the most symbolic institutions, sacred and secular, following an itinerary restricted to the most significant of urban events. Among general processions organized by cathedrals throughout the Iberian world are those of the three days of the litanies. A good example is found in the *Consueta* of Barcelona Cathedral from the early fifteenth century. The first day the procession went from the cathedral (with the banners of the Convent del Carmen) to the hospital of Saint Mary and the monastery of Saint Paul. The second day, after the Elevation at Mass, the procession went from the altar to the choir, with crosses, candelabras and banners, to the church of Santa María del Mar, the Dominican monastery, the chapel Saint Mark, Saint Cucuphatus, the monastery of Saint Peter, where Mass was celebrated, and finally to the hospital of Saint John, from where it returned to the cathedral. On the third day, the procession took in the churches of Saint James and Saint Michael and the chapel of Saint Celedonius before returning to the cathedral (Carrero Santamaría 2014: 40–41).²¹ A specific example of extraordinary processions of thanksgiving are those held in the exceptional circumstances of the campaign in Granada to mark the military successes of Isabel and Ferdinand that culminated in the completion of the Reconquest in 1492, echoes of which were felt

21 Many descriptions of other urban itineraries followed by processions organized by various cathedrals in the Crown of Aragon can be found in Carrero Santamaría 2014a.

well beyond the borders of the Spanish kingdoms.²² Such processions, and the liturgy associated with these events, consecrated the undisputed role of the monarchy in the crusade against Islam, as had been acknowledged by the papacy—with all the legal and spiritual ramifications which that implied—at the same time as they inevitably represented the monarchs' sovereignty.

An important aspect of the circulation of musicians—and consequently of musical repertoires—in the Spanish kingdoms (and one that has generally been overlooked) is the presence of foreign musicians ('extranjeros'). From the time of Alfonso X the Wise, a rigid concept of those who were considered to be indigenous ('naturales') was observed. Those born in Castile of Castilian parents and residing in the Crown of Castile were considered Castilian, while those born in Castile but of non-Castilian parents were considered foreigners, as were those who had taken up permanent residence in another kingdom. The king alone had the power to naturalize (or de-naturalize), although the administrative process was realized by the Chamber of Castile, a situation that pertained throughout the Early Modern period. In the Crown of Aragon, the situation was still more complex: for example, the Aragonese, Catalans and Majorcans were foreigners in the kingdom of Valencia, and Valencians were 'extranjeros' in the other Aragonese kingdoms. This situation had major implications for those who were considered to be foreigners: they could not secure bishoprics, dignities or benefices outside their own kingdom. The Catholic Monarchs ratified the ancient laws in 1476 and 1480, revoking letters of 'naturaleza' granted to foreigners and limiting the concession of such documents to them in specific matters, such as receipt of ecclesiastical income. This factor inhibited—in some places to a considerable extent—the circulation of musicians, creating endogamous circuits and limiting opportunities for advancement, especially in the smaller geographical areas. The situation did not change until the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the *Nueva Planta* decrees abolished the notion of those from the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon being foreigners, as well as those moving within the different Aragonese territories (Álvarez-Valdés y Valdés 1991, especially Part III 'El extranjero en la Edad Moderna'; Heras Santos 2002).

22 A good example is the series of processions that took place in Palma de Mallorca between 1483 and 1492 to mark the conquest of Lucena (1483), receipt of the bull of the Holy crusade 'per la empresa de Granada' (1483), and the taking of Vélez Málaga and Malaga (1487), Baza (1488) and Granada (1492) (Barceló Crespi 2014: 177–86). For the celebrations and events held for the Conquest of Granada in Rome, see Fernández de Córdova Miralles 2005b: 287–99.

This situation directly limited the presence of foreign musicians in cathedral music chapels, although there were some important exceptions. The Bishop of Murcia, Diego Comontes, in his *Fundamentum ecclesiae cartaginen-sis* (c. 1447), describes how the cathedral choir consisted of French singers in order to follow the model of the papal chapel. In 1477, Alonso Gil was appointed to take responsibility for the polyphony performed in the cathedral, 'as the French singers did up till now', and for the choirboys who assisted him, whose salary of 150 Catalan reales was to be paid in four-monthly instalments and financed in equal parts by the bishop, the chapter and the cathedral fabric.²³ No further details are known, but the connection with the model of the papal chapel in terms of style and liturgy is striking and can be explained by the direct dependence of the diocese of Murcia on the Holy See until 1492, when it was transferred to the archbishopric of Valencia created by Alexander VI (García Pérez 2002: 379–92).²⁴ In 1473 in Santiago Cathedral, a French organist (whose name is not mentioned) was contracted for the period of a year, with the duty of playing, tuning and maintaining the organ in good working order. In August 1482, some French singers arrived in Santiago and were rewarded by the chapter with 200 blancas, although it is not clear whether they were there as pilgrims or if they sang in a professional capacity at the cathedral (López Ferreiro 1904, 4: 331–32, 334). Possibly they were the same as the 'franceses maestros de canto' who were paid 24 sueldos by the chapter of Huesca Cathedral on 18 December 1481 (Durán Gudiol 1965: 31). Also in Aragon, the French singer Pedro de Piffant (Maese Piphan) served in the Seo of Saragossa from 1479 until 1487 when he was paid 'for the booklets he had notated for the prophets, the Marys and Jesus to sing from' ('por tantos quinternos que fizo notados para cantar a los profetas, a las Maria y Jesús') for the play held there on Christmas Eve 1487, at which the Catholic Monarchs, Prince Juan and Princess Isabel were present (Fernando González 1867: 48) (see Chapter 4). Previously Maese Piphan had served in the royal chapel of Juan II of Aragon (Calahorra Martínez 1993b: 120), and in 1480 in Saragossa he was given the task of sorting out a benefice belonging to the singer and theorist Guillelmus de Podio (Villanueva Serrano 2010: 14).

In Seville, the figure of Henricus Tik (of either English or Flemish origin, naturalized as Enrique Tich) offers one of the most striking cases of a foreign

23 Consuelo Prats Redondo, 'Murcia', in *DMEH*, 7: 889: 'según lo habían tenido los cantores franceses que hasta ahora en la iglesia facían'. The following year, 1478, an unspecified number of singers received a salary of 180 Catalan reales (García Pérez 2002: 386).

24 On the papal chapel in the mid-fifteenth century, see Starr 1987.

musician working in the cathedral environment in the Spanish kingdoms.²⁵ Tich became a prebendary in 1468, the same year as the composer Juan de Triana, and in 1485 was appointed to a canonry, which he held until his death three years later. It is difficult to establish Tich's precise musical activities at the cathedral, but his works were surely known and performed there. As with other prebendaries who at some point dedicated themselves to being professional musicians, the chapter approved his musical abilities and delegated to him the responsibility of examining the cathedral singers and deciding who should not remain in the choir (Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 216–17). A recent discovery establishes his provenance, which would explain his rapid rise in the hierarchy of Seville Cathedral. In a document of 1468 concerning the debt he owed the cathedral for the cape and silver used when he took his portion, he is referred to as 'singer of the archbishop'.²⁶ The archbishop in question was Alfonso de Fonseca 'El viejo' (1418–1473).²⁷ This would suggest that Tich had resided for some years in Spain, perhaps as chapel master to the archbishop, since it is otherwise difficult to explain how, as a foreigner, he had secured the necessary document of naturalization in order to obtain a prebend in Seville Cathedral. He certainly achieved a degree of fame, being included in the list of celebrated composers found in the anonymous Sevillian treatise of 1480/82 now preserved at El Escorial (*E-E* c-III-23), in which reference is made to a polyphonic Mass by Tich.²⁸ Nicola Brazo de Hierro (fl. 1464–1481), *magister puerorum* and singer at Seville, was probably also a foreigner, of Italian origin (Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 222).²⁹

25 On this composer and his only surviving Mass setting, see Strohm 1985: 123, 193 and Strohm 1993: 406–8. A modern edition of Tich's Mass is included in Strohm 2007: 5–32.

26 Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla (ACS), sección IV, libro 09594, fol. 22v.

27 For the annual Corpus Christi procession in Seville in 1464—as appears to have been established practice—the cathedral singers joined those of Archbishop Fonseca (among whom must have been Tich), and those of Juan Alonso de Guzmán, 1 Duke of Medina Sidonia; see Franco Silva 1999 and Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 207, 239.

28 The anonymous author appears to have been familiar with the similar list in Tinctoris's prologue to his *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (dated 11 October 1477) which he adapted to the Sevillian context three years later (Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 212–26) (see Chapter 12).

29 His name appears in the documentation of Seville Cathedral in various forms, including Misser Nicola, Miçer Nicola and Braço/ Brachyo/ Bracho de Fiero/ Fierro. A large Italian community existed in fifteenth-century Seville, and in the cathedral documentation the title 'miçer' (derived from the Italian 'messer') was used for those of Italian origin ('miçer Parrachi', 'miçer Placentín', 'miçer Antonio, italiano', 'miçer Bono, lombardo'; ACS, sección II, libro 1477, fols 19v, 22v; sección IX, leg. 85, pieza 25, leg. 11258, pieza 1).

The circulation of cathedral musicians was also affected by the peripatetic nature of the royal court as Isabel and Ferdinand travelled the length and breadth of their kingdoms (see Introduction). Many of the singers who entered the royal chapels had been trained in the cathedrals (although some had been choirboys in the royal chapels), and often they maintained residences in their home towns, serving at intervals at court, which had no single fixed residence, but a series of palaces and monasteries where the monarchs stayed during their more or less continuous travels. Indeed, many singers were recruited for the royal chapels while the court resided in a particular city. The monarchs, drawing on their royal right to presentation to ecclesiastical benefices, rewarded the singers of their chapels in this way, usually in the towns where the singer in question had been born or where he resided. Cathedral chapters tended to resent this royal imposition and often reacted quite belligerently, with the result that the royal singer might face years of opposition and negotiation. Their new status as prebendaries—if in fact they achieved it—would not necessarily have favoured their compositional activities, though they quite often became involved in the musical structures and activities of the cathedral where they took up their benefice (Knighton 2001: 78–88, 103–7; Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 236–38). Royal presentation to ecclesiastical benefices of singers in the royal chapels as reward for their services guaranteed them a secure economic position when they retired or withdrew from the constant travel of court life. The large choir of the Aragonese royal chapel was immediately dissolved on the king's death in January 1516, and singers such as Francisco de Peñalosa, Antonio del Corral and Juan de Anchieta dispersed to the cathedrals where they held benefices (Knighton 2014).

A good example of the career trajectory of a cathedral musician who also served in the royal chapels is that of the singer, chapel master and composer Francisco de La Torre. Stevenson affirms that he was born in Seville, though without presenting any documentary evidence (Stevenson 1960: 194–95). It is likely that La Torre trained as a choirboy in the cathedral; he certainly became a member of the cathedral choir in 1464 and remained there until he entered the service of the Aragonese royal chapel in 1483. The court resided in Seville for extended periods in 1484–85 and 1490–91. From 1488 La Torre claimed and sued the chapter for a half-prebend to which he had been presented by the monarchs but which he did not obtain until 1491. During his years of royal service, he resided sporadically in Seville until 1494, after which he stayed there permanently. He held the post of master of the choirboys in the interim period of Alfonso Pérez de Alba's tenure—from 1497 to early 1503—living in the house that the chapter had leased to Pérez de Alba for 5000 maravedís per annum in the parish of Santa María, near the royal forge behind the cathedral. La Torre

continued to hold his half-prebend until his death in late February 1507, possibly as a result of the plague that devastated Seville that year (Knighton 2001: 172–77, 345; Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 236–38).

The decentralization of musical performance in terms of ritual architectonic space is becoming clearer from recent innovatory studies on privately-funded music-making in side chapels and the retrochoir. This contrasts with the received view that has tended to limit musical activity to the choir-presbytery axis, which although central to the liturgy and the community of priests who enacted it, was not the only space in which music was heard in the cathedral. The foundation of chaplaincies and anniversaries by private individuals, as well as other endowments such as votive Masses or Salve services, resulted in more opportunities for the composition and performance of polyphonic music and a significant way in which the cathedral might increase its patrimony. The donor not only provided for his or her salvation, but also assured his or her social position and a memorial for future generations, serving to strengthen familial and dynastic ties in the prestigious hierarchical space of the cathedral. The practice generated the phenomenon of 'divide and sale' of holy ground, in larger or smaller plots, whether enclosed or open, all in accordance with social class. This led to additional liturgical and devotional activity that necessitated an increase in human resources and the material objects essential to meet the stipulations of the foundation documents. This dynamic and fluctuating process had its roots in the twelfth century with the appearance of the concept of purgatory, was consolidated during the fifteenth century, and prevailed throughout the Early Modern era. The cult and ritual associated with death resulted in a significant increase in musical activity and variety of repertory through private patronage, with the creation of new performance spaces, a substantial increase in musical resources and improved economic recompense, as well as the composition of new works (Knighton 2009; Ruiz Jiménez 2014b: 53–87).

Thus hierarchies of various kinds dominated the urban soundscape, affecting the potential for the production of musical repertory, creating certain practices and determining the circulation process. Throughout this period, almost without exception, the cathedral crowned the hierarchical pyramid of urban musical activity, and its importance should not be underestimated. The cathedral colonized and defined sacred urban space through its processions and the ringing of bells, while at the same time its position as head of its ecclesiastical territory resulted in administrative control over the institutional and spiritual matters under its jurisdiction.

Cathedral Music in Its Liturgical Context

In the following analysis of the surviving polyphonic repertory in its liturgical context, I will focus on written sources; improvised or unwritten music traditions—an extremely important aspect of cathedral music-making—are considered by Giuseppe Fiorentino in Chapter 13. As mentioned above, the traditional historiographical approach has too often adhered to the evolutionary view of music history, or has been distorted by ideological or political interests that have eschewed the study of this repertory within its proper context according to its doctrinal value and its function in cathedral ritual. Important composers have fallen into total oblivion because the vicissitudes of history have meant that their works were lost or their names were cropped from the extant manuscripts, thus plunging those works into the unglamorous state of anonymity which rarely awakens the interest of researchers, still less prompts their inclusion in modern editions or recordings (Ruiz Jiménez 2012: 361).

The copying of music manuscripts in cathedrals was an eminently practical activity: to preserve a work, or to include it in the repertory to be performed. The selection of music for copying on expensive, high-quality vellum reflected its frequent use and longevity, though copying on paper might also simply reflect a lack of funds. Such luxury items, together with liturgical ornaments and other paraphernalia, formed part of the material culture of the cathedral and served to symbolize its prestige. The considerable investment made by the cathedral in the copying and acquisition of music books meant that only music that was required for liturgical celebration—and thus formed part of its musical canon—was included. This functional aspect meant that music books were generally different in format, content and presentation from others intended, for example, as repositories for preservation as part of a collection or for study purposes.³⁰

Most studies of cathedral polyphonic repertory to date have focused on the surviving corpus of works, generally overlooking or referring only briefly to the phenomenon of lost works, the scale of which is clear from music book inventories of the period. For example, Kenneth Kreitner's chapter entitled 'Sixty-Seven pieces' in his *The Church Music of Fifteenth-Century Spain* refers to those works he considers 'were written in Spain between 1400 and 1500', though he indicates that 'they are probably not all, and they may be too many' (Kreitner 2004b: 154). It is clear, however, that these works, preserved by chance in the

30 For a detailed analysis of these elements in the second half of the sixteenth century, see Ruiz Jiménez 2013a.

extant manuscripts with polyphonic repertory from around 1500, represent only the tip of the iceberg. Inventories of music books show that the number of polyphonic books increased quite dramatically in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. A good example is that of Toledo Cathedral, where up to thirty volumes of Latin-texted polyphony (without taking into consideration those of musical settings in the vernacular) can be documented for the period 1418–1540 before the spectacular renovation of the polyphonic books begun at the cathedral in the 1540s (Reynaud 1996: 360–62). Another example shows how many works might have been contained in just one of these lost manuscripts. Music book number 3327 of the *Registrum B* of the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville was probably acquired by Ferdinand Columbus in that city in about 1510, and subsequently formed part of the vast collection of books he left to the cathedral (Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 94–95, 207–8).³¹ The date of acquisition, and the presence of both cyclic Masses and separate Mass sections for the Mass Ordinary, as well as the absence of Lamentations and music for the dead, would suggest that it was originally compiled in the second half of the fifteenth century.³² This lost manuscript alone included one hundred and forty-four works (with twenty-two Masses and sixty-nine motets). The inventories of medium-scale cathedrals such as Granada and Avila offer a third example.³³ The Granada Cathedral inventory drawn up in 1517, not long after its foundation in 1492 and with the structure of its music chapel still to be fixed, included four polyphonic books, with Masses, motets, hymns and Magnificats, and two further books were added shortly afterwards, the number increasing significantly over the following decade (López Calo 1963: 123–26). In

31 Note that the correct number of this book is 3327 and not 3227, as found in Ruiz Jiménez 2007. It is possible that Columbus acquired this book from the auction of the possessions of a Sevillian musician. In 1504, the cathedral chapter bought polyphonic books from the auction of the possessions of the chapel master Alfonso Pérez de Alva and another from that of the singer Fernando Sánchez de Guzmán (Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 83–93).

32 This combination of cyclic Masses and separate Mass sections for the Ordinary is found in the earliest polyphonic manuscripts identified as having been used by the papal chapel choir. Richard Sherr places the copying of the manuscripts between the mid-1470s and about 1480, although the music itself may have been up to twenty years older. The manuscripts were not originally copied for the use of the papal chapel, but had become part of the collection by 1487. The hypothesis of their origin at the Neapolitan court of Ferrante I suggested by Adalbert Roth has been disputed by Flynn Warmington and Emilia Talamo on the basis of the artists involved in the illumination of the manuscripts, even though there is no agreement on this aspect; see Sherr 2009: 10–18.

33 In the ranking of bishoprics according to their income in the sixteenth century, Granada is listed at fourteen and Avila at twenty-two; see: Suárez-Pajares 2004: 193–94.

about 1522, the music chapel of Avila Cathedral had eight polyphonic books (Sabe 2013: 395–97). Only one music book which probably circulated in the cathedral sphere in the first decades of the sixteenth century has survived and is preserved at Tarazona Cathedral (*E-TZ* 2–3). This manuscript has been much studied (see Chapter 11), but considerable disagreement over its dating and provenance remains (Hardie 1983: 42–52; Ros-Fábregas 1992, 1: 237–44; Knighton 2001: 117–21; Kreitner 2004b: 140–42). I believe the manuscript can be linked with the cathedral environment, and in particular with Seville Cathedral (Ruiz Jiménez 2005; Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 36–38, 82–88, 139–40, 149–55; Villanueva Serrano 2010: 58). Certainly, the contents of *E-TZ* 2/3 can be taken as representative of the polyphonic genres cultivated in cathedrals, as well as other musical institutions, such as royal or noble chapels, in the Spanish kingdoms; concordances with other manuscripts confirm that this repertory circulated widely in the Iberian Peninsula. Without a secure dating for *E-TZ* 2/3, and without knowing exactly where and for whom it was compiled, any consideration of its contents remains conjectural, but it can nevertheless be taken as a paradigm of the kind of repertory included in the many lost polyphonic books listed in the inventories. Inevitably, the contents of these manuscripts would have reflected local concerns and have been conditioned by the available resources and accessibility of polyphonic repertory. *E-TZ* 2/3 and number 3327 of the *Registrum B* share an important characteristic: both cover the whole range of the polyphonic needs of the early sixteenth-century cathedral. This sets them apart from other books whose contents were apparently less heterogeneous, consisting exclusively of Mass settings, or motets, or music for Vespers. Most books are described in inventories merely as ‘libro de canto de órgano’, making it impossible to assess their typology or the proportion of one kind of repertory to another.

With only the one extant polyphonic book of repertory from the period, it is difficult to evaluate how this music circulated in Spanish cathedrals before about 1540. References in documents and theory books, as well as Francisco de Peñalosa’s borrowings from Franco-Netherlandish composers in his Masses, testify to the circulation of an international repertory.³⁴ It cannot be assumed

34 On the music of Josquin in Spain, see Stevenson 1976 and Kreitner 2003. Kreitner claims that the motet *Ave festiva ferculis*, attributed to Josquin in *E-TZ* 2/3, is stylistically unlikely to be Josquin, and that Josquin’s music only circulated widely in Spain from the 1540s. He also states, incorrectly, that the motet’s text was ‘otherwise unheard of in the Iberian sources of the period’, and suggests ‘the possibility of a royal connection, which would seem to fit in with its origin as an occasional motet’ (Kreitner 2003: 2–3). In fact, the text is found in Sevillian sources as a responsory for Matins of the feast of the Assumption (*Breviarium hispalensis* (copied c. 1462), *F-Pn* Ms. lat. 982, fol. 302v). Its appearance in

that, as traditional historiography might have it, all the lost works were necessarily by Spanish composers, nor that the majority of chapel masters and masters of the choristers in Spanish cathedrals did not compose or that they were not familiar with other repertoires in circulation and so failed to incorporate stylistic or structural elements from them in their own works.³⁵

As regards the circulation of foreign models, the presence of Enrique Tich in the service of Alonso de Fonseca, Archbishop of Seville, probably from the 1450s or early 1460s, and his employment at Seville Cathedral from 1468, and of the French singers in the choir of Murcia Cathedral from 1447–77, has already been mentioned. In Tich's only extant Mass setting, all five movements are unified by a head-motif, mensural scheme, and differently elaborated forms of an unidentified Tenor cantus firmus; the rate of movement in the Tenor is assimilated to that of the upper voices.³⁶ The earliest known source for the Mass (*I-La* 238) was copied for the chapel of the English Merchant Adventurers' Company in Bruges in about 1463, when the composer was probably already in Seville. It is also preserved in three other sources, two of which include only the Sanctus, reflecting the complex process of dissemination of the early cyclic Mass (Kirkman 1994: 189–90).³⁷ The anonymous Sevillian treatise of 1480/82 also

Seville would tie in with a Sevillian provenance for the repertory copied in *E-TZ* 2/3, although this ancient text was used elsewhere in the Spanish kingdoms. The earliest examples date from the twelfth century from Vic Cathedral and Sant Romà de Les Bons (Andorra), also prescribed for Matins and processions on Marian feasts. A musical example dating from the second half of the fifteenth century and preserved in Daroca has the same liturgical function as in Seville (Gros 1983: 82, 100, 117; Altés i Aguiló 2005: 117; and Calahorra Martínez 2011: 253–57). In a more recent publication, Kreitner has elaborated on the presence of Masses by foreign composers in *E-SE* ss and *E-Boc* 5, which 'give a vivid impression of the strength of the Spanish market for northern Masses in the last years of the fifteenth century' (Kreitner 2014a: 273).

35 Among the music theorists and composers cited by Ramos de Pareja in the fifteenth century was Johannes de Monte 'who was the first to instruct me in the rudiments of music' and whom Ramos elevated to the status of such musical composers as Ockeghem, Busnoys and Du Fay. Stevenson and Fose believe Monte to have been Spanish, but Starr and Phelps place him at the courts of Ferrara, Florence and Rome in the later 1430s, and cite papal documents that suggest he was born in Liège. Johannes de Monte served as a singer in the papal chapel of Nicholas V (1447–55) and Calixtinus III (1455–58). It is not known where Ramos might have been taught by Monte. Ramos also refers to other Spanish musicians, such as Luis Sánchez and Tristão de Silva (Stevenson 1960: 59; Fose 1992: 21, 386–87, 394–95; Starr 1987: 99, 101–4, 160–62, 282–86; Phelps 2008: 138–41).

36 Margaret Bent, 'Tik [Thick] Henricus', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 8 October 2014).

37 These differences in the process of transmission, and the lack of heterogeneity in extant Spanish sources, raise questions about the conclusions reached in Kreitner 2014a.

presents examples of two further Masses which must have been in circulation in the 1460s, and the author also refers to Tich ('así lo hallareys en los modos de la misa de Henrrique Thik'), though it is impossible to know whether this was to Tich's surviving Mass or another setting.³⁸ A second Mass is referred to as 'felix puericia', which may have been a cantus-firmus Mass based on the antiphon for St Rupert 'Quia felix puericia', or on the sequence for St Nicholas 'Christo regi cantica' ([verse 3] 'Felix pueritia / senectutis opera / Gessit facti nescia') (*E-Esc* c-III-23, fol. 44v). The anonymous author of the Seville treatise clearly knew these Masses and urged his readers to study them. Another Flemish composer, Juan de Urreda, had just joined the Aragonese royal chapel as chapel master when the royal court resided in Seville in the summer of 1477. He would have stayed there for a year until October 1478, when the heir to the throne Prince Juan was born (Gestoso y Pérez 1891). Tich, by then a cathedral prebendary, must surely have known Urreda, whose Kyrie and Gloria of a Marian Mass are preserved in *I-Rvat* CS 14, and who probably composed at least one other Mass (Stevenson 1960: 225–26; Sherr 2009: 26, 55–68).³⁹ Both Tich and Urreda were included in the list of 'skilled and important' ('doctos y relevantes') composers compiled by the anonymous Sevillian theorist in 1480/82.

Ramos de Pareja also composed a polyphonic Mass before 1464, while he was professor at Salamanca, and he clearly knew the Masses he cited in his *Musica Practica* (Bologna, 1482), including Du Fay's *Missa Se la face ay pale*, one of the first composed on a secular cantus firmus, and Ockeghem's *Missa L'homme armé*. Ockeghem is known to have visited Spain in 1470, and was also cited among the composers of the 1480/82 Seville treatise (Fose 1992: 27, 392–93, 400–42).⁴⁰ It seems unlikely that Juan de Cornago would have composed only one Mass—his *Missa Ayo visto lo mappamundi*—and left all his works in Naples when he returned to Spain some time between 1466 and 1475.⁴¹ Juan de Anchieta's lost *Missa Ea judios a enfardelar*, cited by the theorist Francisco Salinas and probably composed in about 1492, provides a slightly later example

38 It is highly unlikely that the only extant Mass by a composer represented his entire output, which again underlines the danger of basing conclusions on surviving works alone.

39 Ramos de Pareja refers to Urreda as 'carissimus noster' in his *Musica Practica* (Bologna, 1482), and may have transmitted this lost Mass to Giovanni Spataro who cites its Benedictus several times in his *Tractato di Musica* (Venice, 1531) (Knighton 2011a: 17–18).

40 Andrea Lindmayr cites Ockeghem's visit to Spain as evidence for the transmission of his music there, a suggestion accepted in Bernstein 1994: 76.

41 The presence of Cornago's songs in *E-Sc* 7-1-28 (one with a double attribution to Cornago and Triana) attests to the circulation of his music in Spain. This manuscript also reflects the reception of works by Ockeghem, Du Fay, Busnoys and Basiron; see Fallows 1992b and Kreitner 2004b: 54–61.

of a cyclic Mass composed on a secular melody (Salinas 1577: 312).⁴² These isolated examples suggest that the circulation of foreign polyphonic Masses, and the emulation of them by indigenous composers, was more widespread than has hitherto been assumed on the basis of the extant repertory alone.

E-TZ 2/3 contains seventeen Masses (including a Requiem Mass) as well as the antiphons for the pre-Mass aspersion *Asperges me* and *Vidi aquam* (in Paschal time) (Urchueguía 2003: 109–15, 230–48). The nine Alleluias in the manuscript reflect the polyphonic performance of this item of the Proper of the Mass in the cathedral environment (Calahorra [Martínez] 2008). Francisco de Peñalosa is the best represented composer of music for the Mass, with six settings of the Ordinary, five of which are based on secular cantus firmi; the final Agnus dei of the *Missa Ave Maria* combines the melody of the *Salve regina* with the Tenor of Hayne van Ghizeghem's *De tous biens plaine* in retrograde (Imrie 1993a, 1993b, 1994, 2000). In 1510, the Seville Cathedral chapter ordered that a book of polyphony belonging to Peñalosa should be copied, a book that comprised at least 246 folios. It seems likely that this was the book inventoried in 1588 as a 'book of Masses by Peñalosa, Archdeacon of Carmona, notated on parchment of medium size, old' ('libro de misas de Peñalosa, arcediano de Carmona, puntadas en pergamino en marca mediana, viejo') which would mean that he had composed Masses before his sojourn in Rome, where he served as a member of the papal choir between 1517 and 1520 (Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 228–30) (see Chapter 1). The wording of the entry in the 1588 inventory would suggest that this book was dedicated to Mass-settings, with the implication that he composed a considerable number that have since been lost. Another polyphonic book, copied in Seville in c. 1525 (*E-Sc 21*), of which only fragments are preserved, originally contained a *Missa de Beata Virgine* by Peñalosa; it is impossible to establish if the Credo of the composite *Misa de Nuestra Señora* in *E-TZ 2/3* offers a concordance. The two composite Masses in *E-TZ 2/3* reflect the continued circulation of individual Mass movements, grouped together for functional purposes by the copyist.⁴³ A Sanctus, attributed to Pedro Fernández, is included among the surviving fragments of *E-Sc 21*, a manuscript dedicated to Marian Masses which could have been sung on

42 A digital version of the copy of Salinas's treatise preserved at the Biblioteca Nacional de España can be found at <<http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/206457>> (accessed 8 October 2014).

43 The corpus of Alamire manuscripts contains Masses that mix movements by different composers. The *Occo Codex* (*B-Br* iv. 992) is a good example of composite Masses put together by copyists limited by the musical sources they had to hand and so obliged to find a practical solution (Kellman 1999: 76–77).

various occasions, including during the Salve service, as discussed below. Among the five Masses, are settings by Josquin and Brumel; another was unattributed in the inventory made in 1721 and may have been by Escobar, since his Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus Dei are preserved in the two composite *de Beata Virgine* Masses in *E-TZ* 2/3.

As in the Netherlands, performance of polyphonic Masses in ecclesiastical institutions was closely linked to private patronage.⁴⁴ In Seville Cathedral, the monthly votive Mass of the Immaculate Conception, linked to the confraternity of the Virgen del Pilar and founded at the end of the thirteenth century, was sung polyphonically by the mid-fifteenth century, and probably earlier. In 1450, a canon of Seville Cathedral, Ruy González Bolante, founded the chapel of St Francis, one of the first Gothic spaces to be built, for his burial. The foundation document reveals that he endowed four Masses to be celebrated in the morning so as not to interfere with the liturgy of the Hours. Three of these Masses were to be celebrated in the chapel of St Francis; the fourth was to take place at the altar of Santa María de la Antigua. One of the chaplains from St Clement's officiated at these Masses, and the master of the choirboys sang with the six boys and two other singers from the cathedral choir. Polyphonic motets, hymns and antiphons were also sung as part of endowments in private chapels in which the daily ritual of the dead was performed at the same time as the celebration of the liturgy in the choir. The endowment made by Gonzalo Sánchez de Córdoba, archdeacon of Jerez and canon of Seville Cathedral, reflects the way in which such legacies promoted music for the dead. On 25 September 1467, the chapter agreed on the manner in which his anniversary would be celebrated: the Vigil was to be celebrated in the choir with an invitational and two high-ranking clerics wearing copes; the following day, the Requiem Mass was to take place in St James's chapel where the canon was buried, and was to be attended by the chapter and all the beneficed clergy. The foundation makes special reference to the participation of the clerks of the *veintena* in the responsories of both the Vigil and the Mass, and the succentor, with his boys, and the master of the boys, with his, were to take part in the responsories of the Vigil and Mass of this anniversary. The following day, the succentor and the master of the boys were to celebrate the Requiem Mass, with the boys officiating. Polyphonic performance of the responsories of the dead, *Libera me domine* and *Ne recorderis*, which opened and closed these ceremonies, is probably indicated, together with some sections of the Requiem

44 The earliest known data relates to parish churches and convents in Seville where Masses were sung by five singers with organ accompaniment in the 1420s: see Ruiz Jiménez 2014: 68.

Mass—at about the date that Du Fay's lost Requiem (the earliest known example of the genre) is thought to have been composed.⁴⁵ The endowment by canon Hernán Gómez de Solís (recorded in his will dated 29 August 1526) leaves no room for doubt: it stipulates that Vespers for the Dead should be sung at his tomb with 'a polyphonic responsory and on the next day a polyphonic Mass with its responsory' ('un responso de canto de órgano y otro día una misa de canto de órgano con su responso'). At this Mass, the succentor was to officiate and the choirmaster to sing with his choirboys and other cathedral singers chosen by him and receive the payment stipulated by the foundation (Ruiz Jiménez 2008: 95–99; Ruiz Jiménez 2014b: 53–87). Other examples of votive endowments for anniversaries in about 1500 that included polyphonic responsories and Requiem Mass—in addition to those performed for royal anniversaries in various cathedrals⁴⁶—were those of Archbishop Pedro González de Mendoza in Toledo (1495), and Bishop Juan Arias de Villalar in Segovia (1501) (Knighton 2011c: 280–86).

The polyphonic settings of the responsories *Ne recorderis* by Francisco de La Torre and *Libera me domine* by Juan de Anchieta are the oldest to have survived in Europe. They were performed in different ceremonies relating to the liturgy of the dead in various Spanish cathedrals (for example, Seville, Toledo or Valladolid), and both are included in *E-TZ* 2/3 under the heading 'Responso pro defunctis' (Wagstaff 1995: 120–75). As regards the Requiem Mass, the centrepiece of private endowments, variants are found in different dioceses of the Spanish kingdoms, especially in the Tract and Communion (Wagstaff 1995: 53–57; Wagstaff 2013). Two of the texts set by Escobar for his Requiem Mass in *E-TZ* 2/3—the tract *Sicut cervus* and the communion antiphon *Absolve Domine*—conform to the Sevillian missal for a Mass of the Dead as celebrated at the cathedral's anniversaries in Paschal time, and the Requiem may have been composed while Escobar was chapel master at the cathedral (Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 232–34). The dating and provenance of other early polyphonic Requiem Masses preserved in Spanish manuscripts—an anonymous setting preserved at El Pilar in Saragossa (*E-Zac* 17) and the composite setting in Tarazona Cathedral (*E-TZ* 5) attributed to Juan García de Basurto and others—are difficult to establish (Wagstaff 1995: 190–250; Knighton 2011c: 262–88).

Polyphonic settings of music for Vespers increased during the period in question, though it continued to be performed alongside improvised polyphony according to geographical location and the ranking of the particular feast.

45 Ramos de Pareja apparently composed a Requiem Mass (*Musica Práctica*, 72), although it is not known whether this would have dated from before or after his Italian sojourn.

46 On these royal endowments, see Nogales Rincón 2009.

Psalm- and hymn-settings strongly reflected local traditions and are more distant from Roman models, although this does not exclude the presence of chant melodies which enjoyed international dissemination and which often reflect networks of circulation and reception that remain largely unstudied (Gutiérrez 2004; Zauner 2013; Asensio Palacios 2014b). Settings of Vespers psalms were not included in either *E-TZ* 2/3 or book number 3327 of *Registrum B*, suggesting that in the early sixteenth century psalmody continued to draw on improvised polyphonic techniques (Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 327; Zauner 2014: 224–30).⁴⁷ Other manuscripts from around 1500 include polyphonic formulae for a single verse (Zauner 2014: 58–102). However, the Tarazona manuscript does include a complete hymn cycle that would appear to conform to the use of Seville Cathedral (Ruiz Jiménez 2005). Composed settings of the Magnificat co-existed with semi-improvised polyphonic performance;⁴⁸ the fifteen settings in *E-TZ* 2/3—by Peñalosa, Anchieta, Tordesillas and others—and the ten in the lost manuscript of the Biblioteca Colombina (*Registrum B*, number 3327) confirm that the Magnificat was sung polyphonically in cathedrals around 1500. Further polyphonic settings are inventoried in now lost volumes from Toledo Cathedral (1518), Granada (1517) and Avila (c. 1522).⁴⁹ The polyphonic Magnificats copied in a lost manuscript from Seville Cathedral demonstrate that it was a genre capable of wider circulation than psalms and hymns that generally conformed more to local usage.⁵⁰

47 It is not clear whether the seven psalms bound in Toledo Cathedral in 1428, at the same time as a book of polyphony, a gospeler and a missal, were polyphonic. These psalms were intended for training the choirboys and may well have consisted of polyphonic formulae; see Asenjo Barbieri 1986, 1: 47.

48 The earliest reference to the polyphonic Magnificat in Spain is dated 1459 in Barcelona: 'Item, un cansoner de cant de orga en paper. E comensa: *Magnificat*, notat. E fenex *atrament*'; see Madurell Marimón 1956: 226. Ramos de Pareja (*Musica practica* (1482), Bk. 3, Ch. 4: 71) makes reference to a Magnificat verse in canonic form: *Fuga duorum unisona numero salvato perfecto*. The polyphonic Magnificat was already established in the papal chapel of Eugenius IV (1431–47); see Phelps 2008.

49 The analysis of the polyphonic Magnificat in Esteve 2013 barely touches on the lost Magnificat repertory, and its conclusions are thus distorted. Nor does it take into account the diffusion of printed sources in this period; the Biblioteca Colombina holds the *Magnificat liber primus* (Venice: Petrucci, 1507); *Magnificat sur les huit tons ... en la tabulature des orges, espinettes & manicordios* (Paris: Attaignant, 1530); *Liber sextus XIII. Quinque ultimorum tonorum Magnificat continet* (Paris: Attaignant, 1534); and *Liber cantici magnificat omnium tonorum* (Avignon: Channay, s.f.); see Chapman 1968: 63, 76–77, 81.

50 This volume contained fourteen Magnificats, by Josquin, Carpentras, [¿Rodrigo?] Morales, Acuña, de Porto, Peñalosa and Pedro Fernández; see Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 87, 140, 218–219,

Polyphonic motets are represented in relatively large numbers in both *E-TZ* 2/3 (44) and the lost manuscript *Registrum B* number 3327 (69); the motet was by nature a polyfunctional genre that could be performed during Mass, processions and devotional services. Given its flexibility in the liturgy, function and structure, the motet was the polyphonic genre most apt for experimentation and reflected most clearly the stylistic changes of the first half of the sixteenth century (Freis 1992). Peñalosa has most motet attributions in *E-TZ* 2/3—the main source for his works—including a high proportion of unica. Some of his motets, however, circulated widely and formed part of the polyphonic canon of the sixteenth century, notably *Precor te, Domine Jesu Christe* and *Sancta mater, istud agas* (Hardie 1994; Kreitner 2011). *E-TZ* 2/3 also contains polyphony for performance in Holy Week, including a setting of the multi-functional Passiontide hymn *Vexilla regis* by Alva. Performed in a number of different contexts, this hymn was commonly sung in cathedral ceremonies relating to the flag or 'seña', which was displayed in processions.⁵¹ Polyphonic settings of the Passion and Lamentations are also included, with significant local melodic variants from the Roman tradition (Asensio Palacios 2014b: 30–40). The custom of singing certain sections of the Passion in three-voice polyphony in this period was characteristic of Spanish tradition, as is clear from the reference to this practice by the Spanish 'nation' in the papal chapel on Palm Sunday in 1499 (see Chapter 10) (Sherr 1982b: 263). Further Roman references allude to the solo performance of the *Exultet*, also in 1499, and, in 1518, the singing of the Passion by Peñalosa, in both cases 'more hispano' (Robb 2011: 146). No polyphonic Passion settings were copied in *E-TZ* 2/3, and anonymous versions are problematic as regards dating (González Valle 1992). Probably the earliest extant example is found notated in the margins of three passionaries preserved at Malaga Cathedral, copied around 1500 (Snow 1996: 41–43).

Similarly, Lamentations were performed 'more hispano' in the papal chapel from at least 1493 (see Chapter 10). The earliest polyphonic Lamentations in Europe date from the late fifteenth century; some early liturgical or paraliturgical settings survive in Spanish-related sources, but are difficult to date with any accuracy (Kreitner 2004b: 32–34; Sol 2010). *E-TZ* 2/3 includes four complete

344. Further settings are found in *E-Sc* 7–1–28 and *E-SE* ss, although these manuscripts are almost certainly less closely related to the cathedral environment.

51 This ceremony was exported to the New World, and usually involved the fourth verse of the hymn, 'O crux ave spes unica'. In Seville, a setting of this verse for four voices was copied by Cristóbal de Torquemada on a vellum sheet in 1498 (Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 78, 246–47). A four-voice setting of *Vexilla regis*, from c. 1500 and preserved in La Seo in Saragossa, was copied on vellum and stuck to a board; see Calahorra [Martínez] 1985 and Carrero Santamaría 2014a: ('La Seo de Zaragoza y la liturgia', 409–26): 423–24.

Lamentations, three by Peñalosa and one by Tordesillas (Sol 2016: 87–111). Further Holy Week items are found in other manuscripts, including the hymn *Gloria laus*, performed on Palm Sunday during the procession before Mass, and the *Kyries tenebrarum*. The earliest known setting of the *Gloria laus*, anonymous and for three voices, is preserved in a Sevillian manuscript of around 1400, in non-mensural notation (Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 76). Peñalosa's setting in *E-TZ* 5, consolidates a polyphonic tradition that continued well into the sixteenth century, with a version by Cristóbal de Morales found in two Toledan manuscripts (*E-Tc* 21 and *E-Tc* 22). The *Kyries tenebrarum* ended the celebration of Lauds during the *triduum sacrum* (with marked variation in structure in France, England and Spain) until it was eliminated by the Council of Trent. Thus few polyphonic examples survive, but local use was prevalent in the choice and order of verses, chant melodies and performance rubrics.⁵²

From the fifteenth century onwards, one of the most striking examples of private patronage in Spanish cathedrals was the Salve service, a ceremony that was also widespread in the Netherlands and much of the rest of Europe (Haggh 1988: 397–402). The Salve service was often solemnified by polyphonic settings that were copied into volumes expressly for the use of the ecclesiastical institution concerned. The earliest endowment of a Salve service in Seville Cathedral dates back to the fourteenth century when the cathedral treasurer, Ruy González de Villapadierna, declared the Salve regina his 'legitimate heir' in his will, first in 1362 and again shortly before his death in 1381. By the fifteenth century, the format of the service, which was celebrated in the chapel of the Virgen de la Antigua, had been established; in the seventeenth century it spread to other feast days and devotional spaces such as the chapel of the Virgen de la Estrella. From the 1480s, the focus of this Saturday service was the antiphon Salve regina, with the verses performed alternately in chant and polyphony, by the master of the boys, six boy trebles, three adult singers (Contraltus, Tenor and Bass) and organist (Borgerding 1997: 90–97, 290–92; Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 14–16, 228). Given its long-established roots in private patronage at the cathedral, it is possible that polyphonic performance was first established in Seville and that the model subsequently spread, still linked to private endowments, through many of the churches of Castile and, by extension, to the New World (Snow 1996: 65–74; Knighton 2009).

The Catholic Monarchs, who would have been familiar with the ceremony from their extended sojourns in the city, and figures such as the dean of Seville Cathedral, Pedro de Toledo, later Bishop of Malaga, and Juan Rodríguez de

52 Isolated examples, all anonymous, are found in *E-SE* ss, *E-Bbc* M454 and *E-TZ* 5; see Hardie 1988.

Fonseca, archdeacon and dean at Seville and subsequently Bishop of Badajoz, Cordoba, Palencia and Burgos, were all directly involved in its dissemination (Knighton 2009; Knighton 2012b). Following the Sevillian model, the endowment of the Salve service at Granada Cathedral towards the end of the fifteenth century by the scribes' guild specified performance before an image of the Virgen de la Antigua donated to the church by the Catholic Monarchs. In the more detailed foundation document of 1534, the participation of the chapel master, choirboys, succentor, organist and five adult singers is specified.⁵³ In Seville Cathedral several music manuscripts (some extant, others lost) can be associated with the Salve service, the earliest reference being found in the inventory of the Antigua chapel dated 1 January 1517, and these books may well have formed part of Pedro de Toledo's endowment. In addition to the missals and other chant books, two polyphonic books are listed: 'un libro mediano, de pergamino, de canto de órgano, en que estan salves e misas e otras cosas, encuadernado en cuero colorado con nueve bollones', and 'otro libro pequeño, cancionero, de canto de órgano, de motetes, con el Oficio de transfixione virginis que sirve en la capilla, encuadernado en pergamino' (Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 353–54). One of the few Spanish polyphonic sources of the early sixteenth century, which Columbus acquired probably in Seville in about 1532, can also be directly linked with the Sevillian ritual; it would have reached the cathedral, along with the rest of his library, in 1552 (Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 209–14). The manuscript contains settings of the Salve regina and motets by Escobar, Martín de Rivaflacha, Medina, Juan Ponce, Juan de Anchieta, Francisco de Peñalosa and Antoine Brumel, as well as an anonymous motet, *Ecce Maria venit* (Knighton 2009, 2012b).

Although no keyboard sources survive from the fifteenth century, the kinds of musical genres performed on the organ can be identified through other types of documentation; these references reveal a shared practice with other European countries. The *Libro de la Regla de Coro* or *Libro de la Regla Vieja* of Seville Cathedral outlines musical practices there in the second half of the fourteenth century; some of these remained unchanged until the reforms of the Council of Trent. The development and elaboration of music as part of the liturgy was directly correlated to the solemnity of the feast to be celebrated, this being determined by the liturgical calendar of each individual cathedral. On high-ranking feast days, the organ played the troped verses of the Kyrie and

53 As part of this process of expansion, the same musical resources were to celebrate a Saturday Lady Mass, in the morning throughout the year, at the same altar; on the feast of the Assumption (15 August), they were to participate in first and second Vespers, the Mass, and the following day a sung Requiem Mass (López Calo 1963, 1: 235–38).

alternated with plainchant in the sequence of the Mass. At Vespers, the organ was involved in the hymn appropriate to the feast, playing in alternatim with the choir who sang plainchant, and in the dismissal of the troped *Benedicamus Domino*. At Matins on the most solemn feast-days, the organ also played during the *Benedicamus Domino*, the organist receiving an extra payment. These genres are included in the earliest surviving keyboard sources, such as the Faenza Codex (*I-Fzc* 117) or the Buxheim Organ Book (*D-Mbs* 3725) (Ruiz Jiménez 2011: 257–66).⁵⁴ At Seville Cathedral in 1465, Francisco Sánchez, cathedral copyist and singer in the service of the First Duke of Medina Sidonia, Juan Alonso de Guzmán, was paid 50 maravedís for ‘an organ book in which the Gloria and solemn Credo are notated.’⁵⁵ In 1497 the Seville chapter commissioned the copying of ‘un libro de tonos’ for the organist to replace another book that had been stolen. The ‘tonos’ were copied on vellum, illuminated and bound, and presented to the chapter by the prebendary organist Bernal de Cuenca. This was probably a tonary destined to serve as a guide to the organist in accompanying or alternating with the choir and instrumentalists (Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 77–78).

The increased use of the organ to solemnify cathedral ceremonial mirrored the growing presence of polyphony. The regulations of Granada Cathedral of about 1520 provide details of the organist’s duties and his participation in both the Hours of the Office and the Mass, according to the rank of the feast day, in processions inside and outside the cathedral (notably the Corpus Christi procession), and whenever the cathedral chapter instructed him to play (López Calo 1963, 1: 193–94). Most of the works contained in Gonzalo de Baena’s *Arte novamente inventada pera aprender a tanger*, printed in Lisbon in 1540 but mostly containing repertory from around 1500, relate to liturgical or paraliturgical ceremonies as performed in cathedrals in the first half of the sixteenth century: Mass sections, including four anonymous Kyries for Lady Masses to be performed in alternation with plainchant, motets, hymns and Magnificat

54 Juan Gil de Zamora, in his thirteenth-century treatise *Ars Musica*, refers to the organ as the only instrument to accompany the singing of proses, sequences and hymns; see Gómez Muntané 2001: 145–47.

55 ‘Para un cuadernillo de los órganos donde están puntados la Gloria y el Credo solemne’. It is not clear if this was a book of plainchant that might have served as a guide for the organist to improvise or of polyphonic works. The *Regla de Coro* indicates that the Gloria and Credo should on occasion be performed in ‘canto organicum’, specifically at the Mass at Terce on Christmas Day for the performance of the ‘solemn’ Gloria, referring indirectly to the trope ‘Spiritus et alme’: ‘Dicatur Gloria i(n) excelsis deo de Sancta maria et cantetur et descantetur’; see Ruiz Jiménez 2011: 265–66.

verses (Knighton 1996, 2012a; Cea Galán 2014: 235–51).⁵⁶ The impact of notating organ music in keyboard tablature by at least the middle of the sixteenth century falls outside the scope of this essay.

In at least Seville and Toledo Cathedrals, the performance of polyphony in the vernacular is documented from the second decade of the fifteenth century in the ‘chanzonetas’ sung at Christmas Matins (Reynaud 1996: 2–3, 348; Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 202–3). Another important facet of ritual inside and outside the cathedral was the use of drama and/or dance with musical accompaniment. Inside, the representation of the Sibyl and the *Officium pastorum* (both linked to Christmas), the Eastertide *Visitatio Sepulchri*, and, for example, the plays held on Whitsun, the Assumption and Holy Innocents (*obispillo*), were rooted in medieval tradition, and have been studied in several cathedrals (see Chapter 4).⁵⁷ Over the course of the fifteenth century, these dramatic works became increasingly ambitious and included polyphony and instrumental items. Several polyphonic works intended for performance as part of plays survive from the fifteenth century. Three works in the Sevillian manuscript *E-Sc 7-1-28* can be associated with liturgical plays. The two settings of the Song of the Sibyl (*Juyzio fuerte sea dado*)—one attributed to Juan de Triana (fols 104v–105r), and one anonymous (fol. 88r)—were almost certainly performed as part of the Sevillian liturgy, since Triana worked at the cathedral from 1467 until his death in 1494. The third piece in *E-Sc 7-1-28*, *Dic nobis, Maria*, belongs to an Easter play, being the earliest known polyphonic setting of part of the sequence *Victimae paschali laudes*, associated with representations of the *Visitatio sepulchri* performed in various parts of the Iberian Peninsula (Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 224–25). Another three-voice setting of *Juicio fuerte será dado* is attributed to Alfonso de Córdoba in *E-Mp II-1335*.⁵⁸ The *cancioneros* include further works that can be associated with the Christmas cycle (Knighton 2015b, forthcoming a). The earliest polyphonic settings of the hymn *Veni creator spiritus* may well

56 Gonzalo de Baena was probably born in Seville, where his father lived, in about 1470; he served Queen Isabel as singer and vihuelist from 1493. Cea Galán 2014 discusses the circulation of printed sources of keyboard music in the Iberian Peninsula, the origins and lost early sources of Spanish keyboard tablature.

57 The related bibliography is extensive: see Donovan 1958; the chapter ‘Las manifestaciones dramáticas’ in Gómez Muntané 2001: 61–110; Massip 1993, 3: 33–37; and Carrero Santamaría 2014a.

58 Alfonso de Córdoba became Professor of Music at Salamanca University in 1480, in competition with, among others, Juan de Urreda. He might possibly be identified with one of two singers in the Aragonese royal chapel: Alfonso Martínez de Córdoba (1482–1495); and Alfonso Ruiz de Córdoba (1502–1504) (Knighton 2001: 327; Knighton 2011a: 14, 16).

have been performed as part of Whitsun plays (Gómez Muntané 2006; Rey [Marcos] 2007b) (see Chapter 4).

Limitations of space make it impossible to enter into detail here as regards the biographies of cathedral musicians (Ruiz Jiménez 2009a: 337–50; Ruiz Jiménez 2012: 361–77). Details of their lives are generally fragmentary and full of lacunae, especially as regards their early training. It is thus difficult to establish how certain compositional techniques came to flourish on an unprecedented scale in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, although they were surely built upon the largely unstudied musical structures in widespread use earlier in the Iberian Peninsula. So little is known about some composers with works attributed to them that it is difficult even to establish a rough chronology. For example, virtually nothing is known about ‘Quesada’, with a three-voice Mass attributed to him in *E-TZ* 2/3 (Quixada), and a four-voice Magnificat in *E-Bbc* M454 (Quesada), or Illario, composer of the widely disseminated motet *O admirabile commercium*.⁵⁹ With such fragmentary information, even for the best-known composers, it is difficult to distinguish between the two or three generations of composers for the period c. 1450–c. 1525.⁶⁰ At the same time, documentation exists for a group of singer-chapel masters whose works have been lost or are shrouded in anonymity. It seems highly unlikely that these musicians, charged with major cathedral posts and skilled in the counterpoint and polyphony that they taught, did not also compose. It is true that compositional duties are not generally specified among their obligations, but that is also the case with chapel masters to whom surviving works are attributed. For example, it is difficult to understand how, on the basis of extant attributed works, none of the chapel masters of Toledo Cathedral appear to have written a note for that august institution until the appointment of Andrés de Torrentes in December 1539, or that no works by them were included in the many polyphonic books (now lost) copied for the cathedral between 1496 and 1540. Among the Toledan chapel masters of the period were, for example, Pedro Lagarto and Alfonso de Troya, both composers of secular works, although no extant Latin-texted piece is attributed to them.

59 A singer by the name of Martín de Quesada was active at Seville Cathedral in 1503 and he may have been the composer of those two works (Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 227).

60 Juan Cornago (fl. 1420–c. 1475), Enrique Tich (fl. 1450–d. 1488), Juan de Triana (fl. 1467–d. 1494), Alfonso Pérez de Alva (fl. 1482–d. 1504), Francisco de La Torre (fl. 1464–d. 1507), Juan de Anchieta (fl. 1489–d. 1523), Francisco de Peñalosa (fl. 1498–d. 1528), Pedro de Escobar (fl. 1507–fl. 1514). For updated biographies of Enrique Tich [Henricus Tik], Juan de Triana, Alfonso Pérez de Alva and Francisco de La Torre, see Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 217–22. On the separation of the biographies of Pedro de Escobar and Pedro de Porto, see Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 84–88; and Villanueva Serrano 2011a.

The multi-faceted analysis of musical activity in Spanish cathedrals c. 1450–c. 1520 presented here leads to the conclusion that throughout the fifteenth century there was a significant increase in the inclusion of polyphony in the liturgical ceremonial and processions that took place in the cathedral environment. This increase emanated both from the cathedral chapters as well as from private patronage, as occurred in the rest of Europe. It went hand in hand with the need to build on existing musical structures, consolidating them and granting them greater stability and prestige. Prestige accrued from the provision of enlarged musical resources and repertory, including large folio-format choir-books whose sumptuous qualities were external signs of the institutional hierarchy similarly signalled by other liturgical objects and ornaments. The historiography of music in Spanish cathedrals has hitherto been dominated by nationalist, isolationist or centre-periphery discourses whose rigidity has generally failed to take into account historical context and urban geography at both local and pan-European levels. In this essay, I have aimed to view the cathedral in a more flexible historical context, dispelling the image of isolation within the urban milieu, and seeking to convey the existence of a complex and dynamic network of hierarchies and local practices. International connections were forged through bishops and archbishops, some of whom were cardinals in the Roman curia or resident at court, and through the dignitaries and other members of the chapter who were ambassadors, proto-notaries or agents in Rome, or who studied in universities such as Paris, Avignon and Bologna. This last city was particularly important for the College of St Clement, founded in 1365 by the cardinal archbishop of Toledo Gil de Albornoz. Substantial numbers of Spanish singers served in the papal chapel, especially high during the pontificates of Calixtinus III, Alexander VI, Julius II and Leo X (see Chapter 10).

Throughout the sixteenth century, cathedral musical structures would be standardized and the responsibilities attached to the principal musical positions expanded and increasingly regulated. Cathedral musical repertory underwent a period of renewal around 1550, becoming still more diverse and more international; this renovation occurred in part because of the loss of or wear and tear on the older polyphonic books. Works by Anchieta, Escobar and Peñalosa continued to be copied into the new books, and formed part of the musical canon in major cathedrals such as Toledo and Seville, and also those of more modest standing such as Tarazona and Zamora. The works of local chapel masters were copied alongside this canonic repertory, with composition gradually becoming an integral part of their professional activities until it became a formally regulated duty.

By way of a coda, I would like to stress the importance of problematizing the received views on music style at this period still to be found in the

historiography. These views tend to be based on the surviving works by composers for whom there is very limited or no biographical information, nor evidence for dating, and do not usually bear in mind that these extant works may not be representative of their output as a whole or that these compositions were determined by strict liturgical requirements. Studies based on cathedral musical activity in the second half of the fifteenth century need to be developed through the exploration of new documentary sources filtered through a more open and holistic methodology. Only with a much more detailed and integrated approach can the implications of the musical structures in which these composers were trained, their biographies and the high proportion of musical sources that have been lost be understood and the flourishing of polyphony in the reign of the Catholic Monarchs be explained. This phenomenon did not suddenly appear out of nowhere: it had its roots in the past as a continuity of tradition, as elsewhere in Europe; complex social and political circumstances cannot always explain what appear to be gaps. Recently published studies, focused on individual institutions, show that this approach will, in the near future, allow a much broader appreciation of these and other aspects that in some cases have been neglected for over half a century.

Chant, Liturgy and Reform

Mercedes Castillo-Ferreira

At the end of the fifteenth century, the Spanish Church experienced a major period of change and expansion with the incorporation of the ‘reconquered’ territories in the Kingdom of Granada. The Catholic Monarchs, who obtained many papal bulls in the course of their reign, strengthened their authority and control over the Church through the appointment of ecclesiastical posts and as patrons of various ecclesiastical foundations (Azcona 1960). The new archbishops and bishops appointed by the monarchs were generally of a more highly developed intellectual background than their predecessors, and embarked on a programme of reform in their dioceses that in many instances entailed the amendment of liturgical calendars, the founding of new feasts, the printing of breviaries and missals, and the copying of substantial sets of chant books.

From early in their reign, the Catholic Monarchs were aware of the potential of identifying their power with that of the Church. As Ladero Quesada has pointed out: ‘There is a very important connection between religion, high-ranking clergy and royal power in all European countries, and even more so in the case of the Spanish kingdoms, since the monarchs’ identity included an element of the crusade in their age-old fight against Islam, to which must be added their image as protectors and restorers of the Church’.¹ Many of the members of the high-ranking clergy were supportive of the monarchy, not only through their protagonism in the wave of ecclesiastical reform that swept the kingdoms, but also in their contribution to the profile of the monarchy within a distinctive programme of image-making. A good example is provided by the members of the Fonseca family, especially Alonso II de Fonseca (d. 1512), and Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca (1451–1524), who belonged to the Royal Council (*Consejo Real*). Alonso de Fonseca was patron of the printing of the Santiago de Compostela breviary of 1497, which includes an Office written to commemo-

* Translated by Tess Knighton.

1 ‘Hay una relación muy especial entre religión, alto clero y poder real en todos los países europeos, y más incluso en los españoles, pues su identidad incluía un componente de cruzada, debido a la secular lucha con el Islam, al que se añadía la imagen de sus monarcas como protectores y restauradores de la Iglesia’ (Ladero Quesada 2014: 306).

rate the Taking of Granada and to extol the Catholic Monarchs' achievement.² Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, as one of the first overseers of colonial politics in the Americas (Vázquez Bertomeu 2000), was especially close to the monarchs, and appears to have commissioned another Office on the same theme for the Burgos breviary, although this has not survived (Arévalo 1783: 368). As Bishop of Badajoz, he commissioned a series of chantbooks which featured the royal coat of arms (see below).

Two other figures from among the high-ranking clergy, both of whom were royal confessors, are key to understanding how the monarchs managed to exert their influence through religion: the Jeronymite fray Hernando de Talavera, and the Franciscan Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. Both used plainchant to reinforce the image of the Catholic Monarchs as Christian rulers. Talavera presented them as victors over Islam and responsible for continuing a royal line that since the Middle Ages had fought against the Arabs, while Cisneros sought to legitimize the process of 'reconquest' through the revival of the ancient Mozarabic liturgy.

This essay offers a preliminary investigation of the close ties between liturgy, plainchant and royal power in the time of the Catholic Monarchs. First, I will analyse the monarchs' private patronage of the Church and of plainchant through the creation of new foundations and the donation of chant books; second, I will consider the role of Talavera and Cisneros (as well as other prelates) as close collaborators with Ferdinand and Isabel in the creation of their royal image in the composition, revival and use of plainchant.

Ecclesiastical Reform in the Time of the Catholic Monarchs and Its Impact on Choirbooks and Printed Liturgical Books

The reforms undertaken by the Catholic Monarchs not only aimed to restore the Church, but also to exercise political control throughout their kingdoms. Certain prelates had held a degree of power and economic strength sufficient to enable them to challenge royal power, as was the case with the Archbishop of Toledo; thus control over the ecclesiastical estate was a priority for the monarchs' rule.³ To achieve this end, they sought to obtain various bulls from the

² On the printing of this breviary, see Rial Costas 2007: 35–41; Rial Costas includes previously unpublished documentation from the chapter acts of Santiago Cathedral.

³ Azcona points out that in 1495 the monarchs considered dividing the archbishopric of Toledo in two 'to mitigate concern over its power' ('por alejar así la inquietud de su poderío'); Azcona 1960: 30.

papacy to grant them direct appointment of ecclesiastical posts and, moreover, to strengthen their position of authority as patrons of certain religious foundations (Azcona 1960). Thus from Sixtus IV until Leo X, through the papacies of Innocent VIII, Alexander VI and Julius II, they obtained, among many others, the papal bull *Orthodoxae fidei* (1486) which gave the war in Granada the status of a crusade. This bull also stipulated the right of royal patronage (*Patronato Real*) which granted the monarchs the power to erect and endow churches in newly reconquered lands and to appoint the dignitaries (archbishops, bishops, abbots, canons, prebendaries and other benefice-holders) of those churches, as a result of which ecclesiastical authority was severely weakened and subordinated to royal power (Aldea Vaquero 1975a; Garrido Aranda 1979: 26–31) (see Chapter 7).

The foundation of religious institutions by the Catholic Monarchs not only met their pious needs, but also formed an important part of their project of ecclesiastical reform as well as political and territorial control, above all in the lands they gained in the kingdom of Granada. Indeed, Granada affords a good example of the ways in which they organized ecclesiastical territory; in addition to the founding of cathedrals such as Granada, Malaga, Guadix and Almeria, they also built a number of important collegiate churches, including San Salvador in Granada (1501) and those of Santa Fe (1492), Ugíjar (1501), Baza (1492) and Antequera (1503). The collegiate church of Antequera was supported by Archbishop Diego Ramírez de Villaescusa, another member of the monarchs' inner circle. In the city of Granada alone, they established about twenty parish churches, in addition to numerous monasteries and convents (Garrido Aranda 1979: 26–31, 277ff.).

At the same time, Isabel and Ferdinand undertook reform of the monastic orders, for which from 1479 onwards they urged the pope to grant them a bull in order to enable them to carry out this work; the bull was granted in 1484 (Columbás 1955: 73–74; Suárez Fernández 1990: 177). The reforms began immediately and were commented on by the German traveller Jerónimo Münzer, who compared Ferdinand to Charlemagne; the king is so concerned with religion, Münzer wrote, 'that you would think he was another Charlemagne; it is almost impossible to describe or believe how he is reforming all the monasteries. And the queen is of the same mind...' ('[...]ut alterum Karolum Magnum crederes. Similiter et regina[...] Reformat etiam tot monasteria, tu non bene sit narrandum nec credendum') (Pfandl 1920: 120; Columbás 1955: 76). The orders that benefited most from royal foundations were the Franciscans and Dominicans, as well as the Jeronimites. Franciscan foundations included the convent of San Luis el Real (1489) in Malaga, the convent of Santiago in Ronda (1499), and the royal monastery of San Zoilo in Antequera (1500). In Granada,

the focus of the monarchs' architectonic programme, they built not only the Royal Chapel as their mausoleum, but also the Dominican convent of Santa Cruz la Real, the Real Monasterio de San Jerónimo, the Clarissan monastery of Santa Isabel la Real, and the convent of San Francisco in the Alhambra (Atienza López 2008: 98–100). Beyond Granada, perhaps the pinnacle of their programme of monastic foundations built to enhance royal prestige was the completion of the Cartuja de Miraflores near Burgos, and the new Franciscan foundation in Toledo, San Juan de los Reyes.

The endowment of all these foundations, by which the monarchs reinforced and enhanced their image, using their emblems and coats of arms to embellish buildings as well as the liturgical books, tapestries and other objects they donated, drew heavily on the royal coffers.⁴ Of particular interest for the focus of this essay is the production of large choirbooks for use both in the newly founded cathedrals and churches built in 'reconquered' lands, and in other already established ecclesiastical centres.⁵ The establishing of their mark in this way combined with the patronage of the higher-ranking clergy who, inspired by the monarchs' reforming zeal, determined to print the liturgical books of their dioceses (see Table 8.1).

In recent years, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscript choirbooks have attracted a good deal of attention as regards their illuminations and mise-en-page, but much remains to be studied about their musical repertory and structure. For Castile, Villaseñor has commented that the development of the Castilian miniature in the second half of the fifteenth century was made possible in part by 'the process of renewal and creation of chant books carried out in cathedrals and major monasteries, [that became] a contagious obsession transmitted between all these centres' ('el proceso de renovación y creación de cantorales que se efectuará en catedrales y grandes monasterios, como obsesión contagiosa transmitida entre todos estos centros') (Villaseñor [Sebastián] 2009a: 139–40). This emergence of highly illuminated chant books

4 The monarchs' control over these foundations enabled them to create funerary spaces—highly valued by members of the nobility and thus securing them a network of noble support—to which they also appointed the appropriate ecclesiastic dignitaries; see Atienza López 2008: 113. On the ecclesiastical patronage of the Catholic Monarchs, see Yarza Luaces 1993; and for an analysis of the political control that stemmed from ecclesiastical foundations, see Pérez Monzón et al. 1999.

5 An introductory survey of the role of the Catholic Monarchs in the production of chant books is found in Tess Knighton's paper on 'Liturgy, Politics and Music Patronage: The Commissioning of Chant Books by the Catholic Monarchs', given at the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference in Certaldo in July 2013 (Knighton unpublished). I am grateful to the author for allowing me to read this paper in advance of publication.

TABLE 8.1 *Liturgical books commissioned for the main archdioceses and dioceses in the time of the Catholic Monarchs*

Dioceses and archdioceses	Dates	Bishops and archbishops	Printed liturgical books	Manuscripts
TOLEDO	1485–95	Pedro González de Mendoza	<i>Missale Toletanum</i> (Venice, 1488); a Toledan Missal (Toledo, 1489)	Start of the Mozarabic reform; chant books of the 'Aguiluchos'
	1495–1517	Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros	<i>Missale Toletanum</i> (Toledo, 1499); <i>Missale mozárabe</i> (Toledo, 1500) (see Sierra López 2005); <i>Breviarium mozárabe</i> (Toledo, 1502); <i>Manuale</i> (Toledo, 1503); <i>Breviarium toletanum</i> (Venice, 1506); <i>Missale toletanum</i> (Burgos, 1512); <i>Intonarium Toletanum</i> (Alcalá de Henares, 1515) (see Turner 2011); <i>Psalterium</i> (Alcalá de Henares, 1515); <i>Passionarium Toletanum</i> (Alcalá de Henares, 1516); <i>Commune Sanctorum</i> (Alcalá de Henares, 1516); <i>Officiarium Toletanum</i> (Alcalá de Henares, 1517); <i>Missale</i> (1517); <i>Diurnum dominicales</i> (1519); <i>Manuale sacramentorum</i> (1519); <i>Diurnum Sancto-rale</i> (1520)	4 Mozarabic chant books (see Noone 2006)
SEVILLE	after 1486–1502	Diego Hurtado de Mendoza y Quiñones	<i>Manuale Toletanum</i> (Seville, 1494); <i>Missale Hispalense</i> (Seville, 1507)	Chant books continued to be copied for the cathedral by, for example, Lucían Rodríguez and Alejo Fernández (see Marchena Hidalgo 1998)

Dioceses and archdioceses	Dates	Bishops and archbishops	Printed liturgical books	Manuscripts
Jaen	1483–96	Luis Osorio de Acuña		Chant books copied for the cathedral (see Hidalgo Ogáyar 1972)
	1498–1500	Fray Diego de Deza	<i>Missale Giennense</i> (Seville, 1499); see Lara Polaina 2010.	
	1500–20	Alonso Suárez de la Fuente del Sauce		Chant books copied for the cathedral
Cordoba	1494–1504	Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca		Chant books copied for the cathedral; see Nieto Cumplido 1976 and Lara Lara 2004
Segovia	1461–97	Juan Arias Dávila	<i>Manuale sacramentorum</i> (Salamanca, 1499)	Chant books copied for the cathedral (see Ruiz Torres 2013)
	1498–1501	Juan Arias del Villar	<i>Missale Segoviensis</i> (Venice, 1500)	
VALENCIA (archdiocese from 1492)	1455–92	Rodrigo de Borja, cardinal (Alexander VI)		
	1492–98	Cesare Borja, cardinal	<i>Missale Valentine</i> (1492)	
	1499–1500	Juan de Borja Llançol de Romaní el menor, cardinal		
	1500–11	Pedro Luis de Borja Llançol de Romaní, cardinal	<i>Intonario</i> (1505) <i>Missale</i> (1509)	
	1512–20	Alonso de Aragón (Archbishop of Saragossa)		

TABLE 8.1 *Liturgical books commissioned for the main archdioceses and dioceses (cont.)*

Dioceses and archdioceses	Dates	Bishops and archbishops	Printed liturgical books	Manuscripts
SARAGOSSA	1478–1520	Alonso de Aragón (illegitimate son of Ferdinand)	<i>Missale Caesaraugustanum</i> (Saragossa, 1485); <i>Missale Caesaraugustanum</i> (1498); <i>Processionarium</i> (1502); <i>Passionarium</i> (1504 and 1510)	
Huesca	1484–1526	Juan de Aragón y Navarra	<i>Missale Oscense</i> (1488); <i>Missale Oscense</i> (Saragossa, 1504)	
Pamplona	1492–1507	Antonio Pallavicini Gentili (administrator)	<i>Missale Pampilonense</i> (Pamplona, 1501)	
Tarazona	1496–1521	Guillén Ramón de Moncada	<i>Missale Tirasonense</i> (Pamplona, 1500–1501)	
SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA	1469–1507	Alonso de Fonseca y Acevedo (second period)	<i>Breviarium compostelanum</i> (1483); <i>Missale compostelanum</i> (1495) (separate leaves); <i>Breviarium</i> (1497)	No chant books preserved in the cathedral archive from this early date
Avila	1496–1514	Alonso Carrillo de Albornoz	<i>Missale Abulense</i> (Salamanca, 1500)	Chant books copied for the cathedral
TARRAGONA	1490–1511	Gonzalo Fernández de Heredia y Bardají	<i>Missale Tarraconense</i> (Tarragona, 1499)	
Barcelona	1502–12	Enrique de Cardona y Enríquez	<i>Missale Barcinonense</i> (1498); <i>Missale Barcinonense</i> (1509)	
Gerona	1486–1506	Berenguer de Pau	<i>Missale gerundense</i> (Barcelona, 1493)	
Vic	1493–1505	Joan de Peralta	<i>Missale</i> (Barcelona, 1496)	
GRANADA	1492–1507	Fray Hernando de Talavera	<i>Officerium sanctorale</i> (1506); <i>Graduale Granatense</i> (Granada, c. 1507); <i>Antiphonario Granatense</i> (Granada, 1508)	Chant books from the time of Talavera do not survive (see Álvarez del Castillo 1981)

Dioceses and archdioceses	Dates	Bishops and archbishops	Printed liturgical books	Manuscripts
Malaga	1487–94	Pedro Díaz de Toledo		Chant books copied for the cathedral
	1500–18	Diego Ramírez de Villaescusa de Haro		Chant books copied for the cathedral
Orense (Suffragan diocese of the archdiocese of Braga)	1486–1507	Antonio Pallavicini Gentili	<i>Missale Auriense</i> (Monterrey, 1494)	
Burgos (Suffragan diocese of the papacy)	1456–95	Luis de Acuña y Osorio		
	?1495–1512	Fray Pascual de Ampudia	<i>Manuale Burgense</i> (1501); <i>Missale Burgense</i> (1507); <i>Manuale Burgense</i> (1508); <i>Passionarum Burgense</i> (c. 1505 / before 1508) (two versions)	
	1514–24	Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca		

was connected with the need for royal image-making, and represented a response to the ecclesiastical reforms undertaken by the monarchs. The synods that were celebrated during this period insisted on the need for the clergy ‘to sing plainchant competently’ (‘cantar competentemente canto llano’), and this insistence on the level of singing resulted in a wave of activity among copyists and illuminators to meet the requirements for the new books they had to copy. A good example is that of Alfonso de Fonseca, Bishop of Avila (1469–85) who promulgated the decree regarding competent singing in the Synod of Avila (1481) (Calvo Gómez 2004: 211). In 1470 the cathedral chapter had commissioned the celebrated illuminator Juan de Carrión and his brother Pedro de Guemeses to copy a series of choirbooks, of which at least six survive. According to Yarza Luaces, the quantity and quality of the series of choirbooks produced

in the Spanish kingdoms in this period is unrivalled—except possibly in Italy—and while earlier richly illuminated books survive in Seville and Toledo, the boom in production occurred during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs (Yarza Luaces 1993: 166). In the case of the copying of liturgical books for the Jeronymite monastery of Santa Engracia in Saragossa, founded by Ferdinand, the king personally intervened with financial support and instructions (Morte García 2012).⁶ In a letter dated 13 June 1493 Ferdinand wrote to the prior general of the Jeronymite order, fray Gonzalo de Toro:

The King. Devoted prior general, since the main house should provide for the good and growth of the house and monastery of Santa Engracia in Saragossa, it should send monks from it [...] the best people of your order, [and] at the same time you send the monks, the king asks that you then send two copyists to copy the books that will be necessary for the choir in the said church so that nothing is lacking [...] Barcelona 1493. Postdatum: you will lend the originals needed to copy the said books, which will be returned after the copying is complete. I, the King.⁷

The Santa Engracia chant books are now preserved at Huesca Cathedral and the Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid. Carmen Morte García indicates that of the twenty-three books preserved at Huesca, fifteen would seem to correspond to the period of Ferdinand the Catholic, and of these, five display the royal coat of arms (including the pomegranate of Granada, and on occasion the eagle of St John), as well as the royal emblems of the yoke and arrows and the monarchs' motto 'Tanto Monta'. The illuminations are highly elaborate and of great beauty; according to Morte García they were added in several different hands that correspond to three main styles: the Flemish style which predomi-

6 To date, there is no musical analysis of these chant books; they are catalogued in Lacarra Ducay & Morte García 1984: 151–85, and, for the copies held in Madrid, see Domínguez Bordona 1933: 490–91.

7 'El Rey. Devoto prior general, porque la principal casa en que se debe proveer para el bien y acrecentamiento de la casa y monasterio de Santa Engracia de Çaragoca es que luego vengan religiosos en ella ... personas de la mejor vida de vuestra religión a la vez que mandáis religiosos, el rey ruega y así mesmo enviareys luego dos maestros que escrivan todos los libros que fueren necesarios para el coro de la dicha yglesia porque no falezca nada ... Barcelona, 13 de junio 1493. Postdatam: prestareys los originales necesarios para trasladar los dichos libros, los cuales se os volverán después de trasladados. Yo el Rey,' cited in Morte García 2010: 50. Morte García suggests that the chant books that were to serve as models might have come from the convent of San Bartolomé de Lupiana, where fray Gonzalo de Toro was prior, but these books do not survive (Morte García 2010: 56).

nated in Aragon (in some instances following the engravings of Martin Schongauer (1450–91)); the late Gothic style probably used by local artists; and the Italian style, in which human figures such as *putti* feature in the decorative borders. The unknown fray Gilaberto de Flandes is named as the copyist in later chronicles of the Jeronymite order (Morte García 2012: 301). Knighton has suggested that the appearance of the royal coats of arms in these books has a symbolic significance as regards their position next to certain antiphons. For example, in the antiphonary denominated number four at fol. 65: ‘they are painted in the illuminated letter ‘D’ of the antiphon for Matins on the Saturday before the fifth Sunday of September, which also contains a regal message: ‘Domine Rex omnipotens in ditioe tua cuncta sunt posita, et non est que possit tuae resistere voluntati’. The notion of a monarch who was all powerful, for whom everything was possible and against whose might no one could resist was easily transferrable to Ferdinand after the successful conclusion of the Granadine and subsequent campaigns and the expulsion of the Jews (Knighton forthcoming c).

Two chant books preserved at the Biblioteca Nacional de España also bear the royal coat of arms, and probably formed part of the collection that Isabel and Ferdinand donated for the foundation of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo (Ruiz Jiménez 2015) (see Figure 8.1). Various fragments from chant books preserved in different national and foreign collections that were previously thought to belong to the royal monastery of Santo Tomás in Avila can now be added to the books from San Juan de los Reyes (Villaseñor Sebastián 2009b).⁸

On other occasions, a prelate might include the royal coat of arms in illuminated chant books as a sign of loyalty and servitude, as was the case with the choirbooks of Badajoz Cathedral. Although a seventeenth-century inventory indicates that the queen donated seven books to the cathedral in 1498, they were, in fact, commissioned by Bishop Fonseca; Fonseca included his own coat of arms as well as that of his patrons, the Catholic Monarchs (Solís Rodríguez & Tejada Vizueta 1998: 330–31). On his appointment as Bishop of Cordoba in 1499, Fonseca followed the same protocol: at least thirty-one chant books dating from 1502 onwards are preserved in Cordoba Cathedral and bear Fonseca’s arms alongside those of the monarchs (Nieto Cumplido 1973: 32–34, 51–65). This very specific kind of act of homage to the monarchs became a lasting legacy after their deaths, as is clear from one of the miniatures in the series of chant books commissioned by Fonseca’s successor at Cordoba, Juan Daza y Osorio: Isabel and Ferdinand are depicted, kneeling, alongside Maximilian of

8 On the question of the fragments belonging to chant books of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, see Ruiz Jiménez 2015, and Silva Fonseca & Nieto Castellano 2014; accessed 10 December 2014.



FIGURE 8.1 *Chant book copied for the Franciscan monastery of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo with the royal coat of arms of Ferdinand and Isabel before the Conquest of Granada and Nativity scene (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MPCANT/23, f. [o]v–rr)*

Austria, a prince (possibly Philip the Fair or Prince Juan), Pope Alexander VI, Bishop Daza y Osorio and others who are as yet to be identified.⁹

Another instance where prelates included the royal coat of arms is found in the celebrated chant books of Toledo Cathedral known as the 'Águiluchos'; the royal arms are illuminated before the feast of the Taking of Granada together with those of Archbishops Mendoza and Acuña who commissioned the books.¹⁰ Among other Castilian collections of chant books, those produced for

9 Cordoba Cathedral, Libro Coral O-59 (MS 46 CORAL, fol. 2r); the miniature is found on the first opening of the feast of All Saints; see Nieto Cumplido 1973; plates 48–50.

10 Some scholars refer to these chant books as the 'Águilas', since they were placed on eagle-shaped lecterns in the choir, but Michael Noone has confirmed that they were denominated the 'Águiluchos' since they appear referred to in this manner in eighteenth-century Toledo Cathedral inventories; see Noone 2006; Villaseñor [Sebastián] 2009: 232–35.

Jeronymite monasteries are particularly important, such as those for La Espeja (Soria) or the magnificent series at Guadalupe (García 1998), as well as the series for the cathedrals of Avila, Segovia (Ruiz Torres 2013), and Toledo (Noone 2006), each with their own scriptorium, and, later in the sixteenth century, those of Palencia (Taranilla Antón 2008, 2: 187–95), Seville (Marchena Hidalgo 1998), Jaen (Hidalgo Ogáyar 1972), and Granada (Álvarez del Castillo 1981). Of particular note are the chant books of the Royal Chapel in Granada—mausoleum of the Catholic Monarchs—which were copied before and after Isabel's death and which include the royal coat of arms as a *memento post mortem* to preserve her memory in this royal foundation (Álvarez del Castillo 1973).

Plainchant in Print

If the copying of chant books decorated with the royal arms and those of prelates was a widespread method of enhancing the prestige of their royal patrons, the printing of such books under their auspices was no less significant. Both the Church and the monarchy saw printing as a good way to make manifest their aspirations to political power as well as religious proselytism, since, in the words of the book historian Elisa Ruiz 'the art of printing was a very useful tool for standardizing and disseminating messages' ('el arte de la xilografía era un instrumento muy apropiado para homogeneizar los mensajes y difundirlos') (Ruiz García 2004b: 217). Ferdinand and Isabel promoted the establishment of North European printers in Castile, granting them various privileges and exempting them from certain taxes (Knighton 2012c: 522). The main documents printed on royal command were generally legislative in nature, such as mandates and laws, but they also included royal privileges and concessions, while the Church contributed to constructing the foundations for ecclesiastical reform through the promulgation of synodal constitutions (resulting from the many synods held during the period), papal bulls (especially those related to the Crusade) and liturgical books.¹¹

It is important to bear in mind that until the partial unification of the liturgical calendar and books produced after the Council of Trent, each bishop was responsible for determining and administering the local calendar of feasts and for providing whatever was needed for the celebration of the liturgy in his diocese. Thus the printing of breviaries and missals (which usually included music) became a constant from the time the printing press arrived in the Spanish kingdoms in 1472. On occasion, important dioceses such as Toledo

11 On the importance of liturgical books, see Bernadó 2002; see also Stevenson 1960: 102–15.

sent their liturgical books to be printed in other European cities, notably Venice, as is clear from Table 8.1. The earliest known printed liturgical book is the Toledan missal, which was printed in Venice in 1488, but it was only at the beginning of the sixteenth century that a completely musical book was produced in Spain.¹² Odriozola lists these first fully musical printed books as: a processionalary (printed in Saragossa in 1502) and a tonary (Valencia, 1505); further passionaries (Saragossa, 1504 and 1510, and Burgos before 1508); the books for the Office commissioned by the Archbishop of Granada, Hernando de Talavera, from Juan Varela de Salamanca (Granada, 1506–7); and the psalter from Palencia (Logroño, 1512) printed by Arnao Guillén de Brocar (Odriozola 1986: 84).

As with the large manuscript chant books, printed volumes reflected the prestige of the cathedral chapter, and the prelate's coat of arms featured prominently; a good example is the missal printed in Saragossa in 1498 which bears the coat of arms of the archbishop, Alonso de Aragón, Ferdinand's illegitimate son (Figure 8.2).¹³ These printed liturgical books were usually financed by the cathedral chapter, the prelates themselves or, on occasion, the printer; this was the case with the Saragossa missal which was underwritten by the printer Pablo Hurus who expected to make a profit on the printing of the volume. The prefaces to these printed books are generally quite informative—allowing for the conventional rhetoric of the period—as to the motivation behind the printing, as the preface to the Saragossa missal exemplifies:

Although in the past some volumes [missals], complete in every section and according to the relevant use, and in all sizes, have been printed, experience shows that what is humanly possible can always be improved on, as in the present case, since many normatives had been omitted in those other [books] and Offices have since been added; so that they should not be omitted for a second time, it is necessary to reprint this text, on the orders of Alonso de Aragón, to serve the common good (*Missale* 1488: [32]).¹⁴

12 For a list of the earliest printers of books with music in Spain, see Odriozola 1960: 156, and Odriozola 1961.

13 Stevenson highlights the care with which the music was printed in this missal (Stevenson 1960: 107).

14 I am very grateful to Professor Raúl Manchón for his help with the translation of the Latin original.



Quamvis superioribus annis multorum volumina: iuxta huiusmodi urbium: et diocesis consuetudinē: impressa fuerint: satis emendata quidem: ac cōpleta regulis: et novis sanctorum officijs: tamen quia nunquam in humanis quicquam adeo perfectum excogitari potest: quin experientia: et ipso tempore (quod prudentie parentē maiores nostri esse tradiderunt) aliquid additamenti fieri possit. Ita in re nostra: de qua nunc agimus: evenit. Siquidē multe regule que in ceteris pretermisse: multaque officia: que post aliorum: que diximus impressionē: dictata fuere: his novissime impressis: sic supradicta sunt: ut nihil modo his deesse: quod amplius addi: aut quicquam additum: quod ut superfluum: ac redundans refecari oporteat: ausum affirmare. Quod eo magis debet omnibus esse persuasum. quia illustrissimi: ac reverendissimi domini domini Alfonsi de aragonia CesarAugusti presulis dignissimi iussu. Reuerendus Dominus et fidei doctor et eruditissimus: eius percellētis dignationis officialis: adiutus nonnullorum literatorum consilio: hec eadem volumina diligenter relegit: et castigavit. Quare tu presbiter dum deo summum sacrificium optuleris: ne ingratus videare: deprecari illum non cesses: ut tantum tanquam excellentē presulem summo beneficio patrie: diuinitus nobis datum: diu sospitet: atque secundet: qui ad comunē utilitatem: opus hoc accuratissime castigari: et imprimi iussit: opera et impendio Pauli Durus de Constantia: viri quidem magna probitate: et industria. CesarAuguste. ij. Idus Septembris. Anni salutis nostre. m. ccc. lxxviii. sup. M. m. cccc.



FIGURE 8.2 Missale secundum consuetudinem ecclesiae CaesarAugustensis (Saragossa: Juan Hurus, 1498), [fol. 32] (Toledo, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha)

In other cases, such as the Segovia missal of 1500, the homage made to the Catholic Monarchs is also apparent, since the preface is headed with the name of the bishop, Juan Arias del Villar, who commissioned the book from Diego García de Castro, together with that of the monarchs (*Missale* 1500). This missal was begun by the previous bishop, Juan Arias Dávila (Cantalapiedra & Moreno 2011: 25, 27, 30).

As Table 8.1 shows, it is clear that by the end of the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, all the archdioceses of the Spanish kingdoms had their own printed missal and that, with the exception of the liturgical books for the archdiocese of Granada, most were printed in the last years of the fifteenth century. Moreover, many dioceses, although they could have depended on their archdiocese and used the liturgical books produced for them, decided to have their own missals and breviaries printed as well, as was the case in the suffragan dioceses of Jaen, Burgos, Segovia, Huesca, Barcelona, Orense, Avila, Gerona, Leon, Palencia, Pamplona, Tarazona and Vic, among others.

A detailed analysis of all the work invested by these prelates in the production of chant books in their dioceses in the time of the Catholic Monarchs falls beyond the scope of this essay, but it is worth highlighting here the input of a few of them, such as the Bishop of Burgos, fray Pascual de Ampudia, who commissioned the printing of two editions of the manual, a missal and a passionary for the see of Burgos. In addition, Gonzalo Martínez de Bizcargui dedicated his 1509 *Arte de canto llano* to fray Pascual de Ampudia (Fernández Valladares 2005: 405), and the edition of 1515 to Ampudia's successor, Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca (Fernández Valladares 2005: 453). The royal confessors Talavera and Cisneros also stand out as patrons of the printing of chant books; given their proximity to the monarchs, and the political implications of their patronage of plainchant, these figures will be considered in more detail in the second part of this essay. On being appointed the first Archbishop of Granada, Talavera ordered that the German printers then established in Seville should be called to Granada to print several of his own works and translations for the diocese. This programme of printing was completed by Juan Varela de Salamanca, who published at least three liturgical books commissioned by Talavera: the *Breviarium da camera* (1506); the *Officerium sanctorale* [Gradual] (1507); and the antiphonary (1508). Few copies survive today, but they have been briefly described by Norton and Odriozola (Norton 1978; Odriozola 1960).¹⁵

15 Odriozola clarifies the confusion over the volumes preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, one of which is catalogued as an incunable and misidentified, and their correspondence with those in the Abbey of Sacromonte in Granada (Odriozola 1960).

The only extant copy of the *Breviarium de cámara* (which does not contain music) of 1506 is in the library of the Real Monasterio de El Escorial. The full title makes reference to the new feasts celebrated in Granada Cathedral: *Breviarium de camera secundum consuetudinem sancte romae ecclesie cum historiis novarum festivitatum ecclesie granatensis*. The calendar of feasts shows that the breviary includes the texts for the feasts for which Talavera composed new Offices, except that of the Guardian Angel. The *Officerium sanctorale*—actually a gradual as Odriozola points out—dates from 1507 and contains the music for the Proper of the Mass, beginning with the Proper of the Saints, continuing with the Common of the Saints, and including votive Masses, the Office of the Virgin, the Mass of the Passion, the Office of the Dead and a tonary. The calendar follows that of Toledo, since it includes the feast of the Descent of the Virgin (or the Descent of Our Lady) in commemoration of the appearance of the Virgin Mary to Saint Ildephonsus, one of the first archbishops of Toledo. The antiphonary (1508) is the second printed liturgical book with music that Talavera commissioned from the printer Juan Varela de Salamanca, as is clear from the colophon reproduced by Norton. It begins with the Common of the Saints, and inserts Offices for the Proper of certain saints—in particular, Jerome, Augustine and James the Apostle—before continuing with the Common of the Saints. In contrast to the breviary, neither of these two other printed books contains the Offices attributed to Talavera.

Cisneros, on being appointed Archbishop of Toledo, continued the work of his predecessors. In addition to commissioning the printing—at his own expense—of the liturgical books for the diocese of Toledo (see Table 8.1), he also dedicated much of his effort to the gathering together and printing of the books required to preserve the Mozarabic rite.

‘Renovare’ and ‘Restaurare’: Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros and the Mozarabic Rite

Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros was confessor to the queen, Archbishop of Toledo, Inquisitor General, and regent of the Spanish kingdoms (in 1504 and 1516–17), and, above all, a statesman (García Oro 1992a; Pérez 2014). Little is known about him until he was called to court to become royal confessor in 1492, not even the year of his birth, which took place in Torrelaguna, a small settlement north of Madrid, to a family of minor traders. It is not clear where he took his degree in law; early biographers suggest Salamanca or Alcalá de Henares (Gómez de Castro 1569; Quintanilla y Mendoza 1653: 5). On the advice of his uncle—a clergyman in Roa—Cisneros travelled to Rome where it is

estimated that he spent ten years in the service of several popes, and, largely thanks to his Roman contacts, he returned to Spain to take up an ecclesiastical position: it would appear that papal string-pulling resulted in his appointment as Archpriest of Uceda in 1471. Alonso de Carrillo, then Archbishop of Toledo, contested the appointment (which he considered an infringement of his jurisdiction since the position was not vacant at the time of the appointment), and sent Cisneros to prison for an unknown period of time, although it is thought to have been between six and eight years (Pérez 2014).

In 1480, Cisneros exchanged the archpriestship for the head chaplaincy at Sigüenza Cathedral, where the bishop was Pedro González de Mendoza, cardinal, adviser and member of the inner circle of the Catholic Monarchs. After Mendoza succeeded Carrillo as Archbishop of Toledo, and in recognition of Cisneros's abilities, he appointed him Vicar General of the bishopric of Palencia in 1482, but two years later Cisneros renounced his benefices and entered the order of Observant Franciscans—the most strict and austere branch of the Order, adopting the name Francisco (he had been baptized Gonzalo). Through Mendoza's recommendation he was appointed confessor to the queen when Talavera became Archbishop of Granada in 1492. The position of royal confessor was one of the most influential at court, given the proximity to and confidence of the queen, who allowed him to advise not only on spiritual matters but also on matters of state (Martínez Peñas 2007: 28–29). For example, when in 1494 Cisneros accompanied the monarchs to Granada, he was responsible for the burning of the Koran and the mandatory baptism of the city's moriscos in protest at the slow speed at which Talavera was carrying out the process of conversion (Eisenberg 1992; Ladero Quesada 1993). On the death of Mendoza in 1495, Cisneros was promoted to the archbishopric of Toledo, and in 1507 he was made a cardinal and appointed Inquisitor General. In 1516, following Ferdinand's death, he became regent of the Spanish kingdoms until his own death the following year as he travelled to meet Charles v.

A substantial income from Toledo allowed Cisneros to become a powerful patron, both in terms of the works he carried out in the cathedral—for example, the main retablo and the Capilla Mozárabe of Corpus Christi—and the foundation of the university at Alcalá de Henares, as well as in the printing of several books, including those necessary for the celebration of the liturgy in the archdiocese of Toledo, and those of the Hispano-mozarabic rite. He thus became a key figure in political and cultural spheres during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs (Yarza Luaces 1993: 181–83; Dolphin 2008; Martín Abad 1991). The income from Toledo also supported Cisneros in his quest to conquer Mazalquivir (1505) and Orán (1509), fulfilling both the wishes expressed by Isabel in her will and his own crusading ambitions (Pérez 2014: 152). Following

his victory in Orán, he used the same silver cross that Cardinal Mendoza had raised on the tower of the Alhambra, and sang Psalm 115, 'Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam', while the numerous clergy responded by singing the hymn *Vexilla regis* (Pérez 2014: 156). This crusading context, which at the time was imbued with a messianic belief in the recuperation of the Holy Land and the spread of Christianity, provided the backdrop to Cisneros's interest in restoring the early Hispanic liturgy from before the Muslim presence in Spain from 711.

The ancient Hispanic liturgy, known in the time of the Catholic Monarchs as Mozarabic, Toledan or Gothic, was then in an inexorable process of decline.¹⁶ The rite, which had been preserved by the Mozarabic community in Toledo during the period of Muslim domination and which was subsequently allowed to continue by Alfonso VI when he took Toledo in 1085, was already under threat in the twelfth century when the first archbishop of Mozarabic origin in Toledo, Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel, with the aid of Jofré de Loaysa, attempted to revive the tradition by copying new manuscripts (González Ruiz 2004: 173). It is difficult to define the role that the Catholic Monarchs played in the 'restoration' of the Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy,¹⁷ but it is likely, given the close relationship between the queen and her confessor, that Cisneros would have counted on their approval and, on occasion, their direct involvement. Even before Cisneros became Archbishop of Toledo and began the 'restoration' of the chant, there existed an awareness of the need to prevent the Hispano-Mozarabic rite from disappearing altogether. In 1480, while the Catholic Monarchs were in Toledo for the celebration of parliament, the Mozarabic clergy asked for a royal command to increase the tithes collected from their parishes since the number of parishioners had diminished and it was almost impossible for them to survive (González Ruiz 2004: 175). Archbishop Carrillo also referred to the situation in the Synod of Alcalá de Henares that same year. In addition, before Cisneros's arrival, Cardinal Mendoza had successfully secured a bull from Innocent VIII that allowed parishioners from other parishes to register in those of the Mozarabs in order to increase their income (González Ruiz 2004: 175).

16 In this essay, I will adopt the current denomination of Hispano-Mozarabic, but the rite has also been referred to as 'Isidorian', 'Visigothic' and 'Hispanic'; see González Ruiz 2004.

17 I use the term 'restoration' because Alonso Ortiz himself used it in the foreword to the Mozarabic missal with reference to his work, although it cannot be understood as a restoration in the sense of 'historical recuperation'. It is clear that the work of Cisneros's collaborators on the rite was more closely concerned with putting ancient material in order, and inventing where necessary in order to create a new tradition; see Boynton 2015.

Nevertheless, Cisneros was the lynchpin for the reform, restoration and renewal of the liturgy. During his first period of residence as Archbishop of Toledo in 1497, he was impressed by the Mozarabic manuscripts held in the chapter library, and determined to print a Mozarabic breviary and missal with the printer Melchor Gorrício (González Ruiz 2004: 178–79).¹⁸ He appointed the cathedral canon Alonso Ortiz (himself the author of some liturgical items) to work on the project, and, with the help of the parish priests of the three Mozarabic churches of Santa Justa, Santa Eulalia and San Lucas, he embarked on the compilation and restructuring of the texts for the rite.

Ortiz outlines in the missal's preface and the *prefatiuncula* of the breviary the instructions Cisneros had given him: to 'renew' and 'restore', and to publish, at the same time as he was to make a survey of the Masses of the rite, with permission to revise and amend, to polish the new and retain the ancient, to make a critical edition, put in order, choose between variants and adopt Latin script rather than keep the Visigothic letters that were hardly ever used and unfamiliar to most priests (González Ruiz 2004: 194). One of the main decisions Ortiz had to make was the choice between the two existing traditions of the Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy as derived from the geographical location of the communities who practised them: the Toledan (tradition A) and the Andalusian (or Isidorian) (tradition B) (González Ruiz 1978). The preface to the missal is silent on the matter, and in the end it is not known whether tradition B was chosen with Cisneros's support; the choice is clear from the colophons of the missal and breviary which specify 'secundum regulam beati Ysidori' (González Ruiz 2004: 195).

The result of this reform of the Hispano-Mozarabic rite were the books produced by Melchor Gorrício in Toledo: the *Missale mixtum secundum regulam Beati Isidori, dictum Mozarabes* (the completion of the typesetting of which is dated 9 January 1501); and the *Breviarium secundum regulam Beati Isidori* of 1502. The music for the missal was copied by hand onto the printed staves, and, as in the case of the manuscript volumes copied for use in the Capilla Mozárabe, the notation is distinguished by its presentation of proportional rhythmic values.¹⁹ According to Asensio, 'this may reflect what was a living practice at the beginning of the sixteenth century, drawn from oral tradition of the time in the

18 González Ruiz draws on a note in the memorial by Juan de Vallejo, Cisneros's personal secretary; see Torre 1913: 57. However, other scholars date Cisneros's first visit to the library to 1502; see Mateo Gómez 2003: 301.

19 It is not unusual in the Spanish kingdoms to find plainchant in mensural notation: mixed or figured chant (*canto fratto*). As Juan Carlos Asensio has explained, the rhythmic patterns of Cisneros's chant books are more varied; see Asensio [Palacios] 2014a: 213, 216.

community of Mozarabic clergy' ('un reflejo claro de lo que podría ser una práctica viva a comienzos del siglo XVI, tomada de la propia tradición oral existente entonces en la comunidad de clérigos mozárabes') (Asensio [Palacios] 2014a: 224). Following publication of the missal and breviary, four manuscript chant books were copied for use in the Capilla Mozárabe, the first two containing Mass chants for the Proper of the Time and the Proper of the Saints, the third the Ordinary of the Mass, and the last, the Office of the Dead.²⁰ The most recent research has revealed that these four chant books, designated the Cisneros Cantorales, were prepared in about 1500 and the copying of them was begun in 1508 from now lost exemplars (Gutiérrez 2012: 27–28).

It is not known who produced these chant books, but Alonso Ortiz was almost certainly not involved, since he died in 1503 and would surely not have had time to prepare the books whose copying began only in 1508 according to the *Libro de Obra y Fábrica* of Toledo Cathedral. Moreover, although for the most part they follow the printed texts, on occasion they differ, which would be surprising if Ortiz had been involved (Gutiérrez 2012: 27–28). It seems likely, however, that the priests of the Mozarabic parishes who participated in the compilation of the printed books might have been involved, since they were most familiar with the repertory and probably the only people capable of reading the Mozarabic script. In addition to the printed volumes, they would have had access to the medieval manuscripts from the Toledan parishes that Cisneros ordered should be taken to the cathedral, and which are still held there. However, according to Imbasciani, they did not make use of them all, but only some of Tradition B (and at least one of Tradition A that was similar in some ways to Tradition B) (Imbasciani 1979, cited in Gutiérrez 2012: 29).

Imbasciani believes that the process of copying and compilation would appear to have been undertaken with some haste, reflected in signs of carelessness in the manuscripts (lacunae, blank leaves, unfinished initials), and the large number of pieces based on a few melodic formulae. Imbasciani also confirms Germán Prado's earlier hypothesis as regards the varied origins of the chant melodies: seven Gregorian; eleven Mozarabic texts with Gregorian concordances; and three hundred and fifty Mozarabic (Prado & Rojo 1929: 96–101). Asensio points out that many of the melodies in Cisneros's chant books are

20 The chant books are available in facsimile editions: see Castañeda Tordera et al. 2011. I adopt the denomination of the books presented in the facsimile, but their previous names are given here in brackets: Cantoral Mozárabe Cisneros I (*olim* Cantoral A); Cantoral Mozárabe Cisneros II (*olim* Cantoral B); Cantoral Mozárabe Cisneros IV 'Agenda Mortuorum' (*olim* Cantoral C), and Cantoral Mozárabe Cisneros III 'Liber Offerentium' (*olim* Cantoral D).

'variations of a single melodic scheme, others are Roman melodies with texts drawn from the Mozarabic missal, while still others are original melodies that probably belong more to the Toledan chant repertory of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries than to that of the ancient rite' ('adaptaciones de un único esquema melódico, otras son melodías romanas con los textos propios del misal mozárabe. Y, por último, otras son melodías originales que probablemente pertenecen más al fondo cantollanístico de Toledo de los siglos xv y xvi que al del antiguo rito') (Asensio [Palacios] 2014a: 221).²¹ Although much research remains to be done on the repertory of these chant books—in particular on their origin—Carmen Julia Gutiérrez has indicated that the melodies of some of the hymns that appear in Cisneros's volumes are of medieval Hispanic origin, somewhat modified (Gutiérrez 2013). The most commonly sung prayers (as, for example, in the Office of the Dead) were taken from oral tradition, while the rest of the repertory underwent a process of adaptation and simplification, constantly reusing the melodic formulae of medieval models (Gutiérrez 2012).

This 'reform', which had no equivalent in the Catholic world of the period, took place in a markedly humanistic environment inspired by the recuperation of 'vetera vestigia' in the true sense of the Renaissance. As González has pointed out, Cisneros was rescuing what he considered to be a 'monumenta', the national heritage he believed lay in the ancient liturgy (González Ruiz 2004: 203). Among other reasons why Cisneros was interested in the recuperation of the Mozarabic tradition was the desire to make plain the importance of the Christian faith standing firm in the face of Muslim domination and to pay homage to the communities that continued to practise their ancient rites. This ambition is reflected in the decorative programme of the Capilla Mozárabe with its frescoes depicting the Battle of Orán. Both the restoration of the ancient rite and the decor of the Capilla Mozárabe are tools of self-representation and a demonstration of power by comparison with the persistence of the Hispano-Mozarabic rite in Arabic-dominated Castile and with Cisneros's own victory at the Battle of Orán in 1509, a campaign supported by King Ferdinand (Dolphin 2008). Cisneros's almost fanatical admiration for the leaders and culture of Hispania who fought against the Muslims—epitomized by his paying

21 Asensio notes too that there are also 'some *contrafacta* of melodies of Hispanic tradition that appear copied in the chant books as original melodies, as in the case of the hymn *En evangeliste* and its adaptation from the *Pange lingua* melody' ('algunos *contrafacta* de melodías de tradición hispánica que aparecen copiados en los cantorales como melodías originales, como el caso del himno *En evangeliste* y su adaptación a partir de la melodía del *Pange lingua*').

homage to the tomb of the Cid in Burgos—is reflected not only in his political deeds but also in his evangelical spirit, which was much more extreme than Talavera's (Hitchcock 2008: 110). With the 'restoration' of the Mozarabic rite, Cisneros began to forge part of a new national identity in which the Mozarabs offered a Christian model that tallied well with the Catholic Monarchs' aspirations to legitimacy (Boynton 2011).

Liturgy had a significant role in the formation of this new national identity that stemmed from the unification of the two most powerful kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula and the expulsion of Islam, a role that has not been sufficiently studied or recognized as yet. Both Cisneros and Talavera were promulgators of the monarchs' ideas about the identification of the royal image with the divine, together with the legitimization of their power through liturgy: in 1480 Ferdinand and Isabel confirmed the privileges of the Mozarabs of Toledo, making special reference to the continuity of their predecessors in their guardianship of the Hispano-Mozarabic rite (Dávila García-Miranda 2004: 352–53). They also celebrated in the royal chapels the new Offices created by Talavera in which they were exalted as Christian conquerors in order to assert their image as monarchs chosen by God in the crusade against Islam and as rulers of a newly unified kingdom (Knighton 2001: 235–44).

Fray Hernando de Talavera and the Creation of New Plainchant Offices

The Jeronymite fray Hernando de Talavera, confessor to the queen and Bishop of Avila, later Archbishop of Granada, not only reformed the liturgy but actually created new liturgical services, some markedly political in character, so that he, like Cisneros—although in a much more explicit fashion—highlighted the monarchs' victories against the Muslims. In addition to his role as a statesman who contributed to the royal image-making process, he was the founder of a new archdiocese with the challenge of converting, evangelizing and assimilating the morisco population, and he was constantly aware of the power of liturgy. Indeed, his original contribution as a composer-creator of plainchant Offices distinguishes him from his contemporaries. His musical education seems to have begun early; according to his biographer, Jerónimo de Madrid, Talavera served as a choirboy of the collegiate church of Santa María la Mayor in Talavera de la Reina from the age of five (Alcántara Suárez y Muñano 1866: 22):

And thus it was that he became such a great clergyman who knew the chants as well as those who composed them; and though later, in observance of his pastoral office, he sang much less, he could still direct the choir better than if he had never left it; and he was expert in singing, reading [music] and composing. (Madrid *Santa vida*: fol. 9)²²

Talavera's biographers make many references to his exceptional musical skills, and they refer not only to his ability as a singer but also as author of both text and music, as well as choir director (Castillo Ferreira 2015):

When [Talavera] was absent from the choir, he left in his place two brothers selected from the whole of his Order to teach the prebendaries the way in which they should perform the Divine Office, because when he was there, there was no need of another master, since he was equally skilled in music as in theology.²³

Another of his biographers, Suárez y Muñano, also affirmed that Talavera did not scorn the idea of being both archbishop and singer, in the same way that David was both king and divine musician, and he detested the vanity of those who thought it was beneath them to occupy their time with music and other works in the house of God.²⁴ Talavera's biographers also allude to some of the Offices he had written, although not all of these have been located as yet.²⁵ Table 8.2 offers a summary of references to Talavera's Offices.

Without Talavera's personal testimony, it is imposible to know the real motive behind his composition of these Offices and their inclusion in the

22 'Y de aquí vino a ser tan grande eclesiástico que es verdad que sabía tanto en el canto como quien lo compuso; y aunque después siguiendo su oficio pastoral usaba poco [de] cantar, mejor enmendaba el coro que si nunca de él saliera e sabido muy bien cantar, leer y escribir.' For a complete transcription of this document, see Martínez Medina & Bier-sack 2011: 359–86.

23 'Cuando se salió del coro, dejó en su lugar dos religiosos en toda su Orden escogidos para ello que enseñaran a los beneficiados la manera que habían de tener en el oficio divino porque estando él presente no había necesidad de otro maestro que en canto sabía en ello como en teología'. See Madrid *Santa vida*: fol. 25.

24 Suárez y Muñano 1866: 111–12: 'sin desdeñarse de ser Arzobispo y cantor, como David rey y músico divino, detestando la vanidad de los que creen degradarse, ocupándose en este y otros oficios de la casa de Dios.'

25 Alan Deyermond believed that many of Talavera's works were lost, although I have recently been able to locate some of these texts; see Deyermond 1999. The list given by Velarde de Ribera was not known to Deyermond.

TABLE 8.2 *Summary of the Offices written by fray Hernando de Talavera, including recent discoveries*

Offices	Sources	Other references
In die expurgationis laudatae urbis Granatense	Fernández de Madrid c. 1540	Antonio 1672; Suárez y Muñano, <i>Vida</i> ; Velarde de Ribera, <i>Historia</i>
In die San Josephi	Fernández de Madrid c. 1540	Antonio 1672; Suárez y Muñano; Velarde de Ribera, <i>Historia</i>
In expectationis partus dei parae virginis	Fernández de Madrid c. 1540	Antonio 1672
Battle of Salado	Correspondence between Talavera and Isabel	
Transfixion of Our Lady	Velarde de Ribera, <i>Historia</i>	
Guardian Angel	Velarde de Ribera, <i>Historia</i>	
Archangel Gabriel	Velarde de Ribera, <i>Historia</i>	

liturgical calendar of his archdiocese. Analysis of the context in which these ceremonies were created, as well as their early history, suggests there were three main influences on Talavera: political image-making, specifically the image of the Catholic Monarchs; a theological programme relating to the conversion of the moriscos; his personal devotions based on his reading and cultural environment. For example, Talavera's choice of the feast of St Joseph would seem to reflect personal devotion, at least according to his biographer Alonso Fernández de Madrid. One of the first churches he founded in Granada in a former mosque in the Albaicín was that of San José. Devotion to St Joseph had also been established in 1479 in Rome by Sixtus IV, and this may have exerted some influence on Talavera, especially since the pope had granted Isabel the privilege of having a royal confessor. Similarly, the sermons of the Bishop of Avila, Alonso de Madrigal el Tostado, and the works of Jean Gerson (1363–1429) and Francesc Eiximenis (d. 1409), with their focus on St Joseph, may also have been influential (Madre de Dios 1964: 248–49; Chadwick Wilson 2006: 129).

Royal Image-making: the Offices of the Taking of Granada, the Battle of Salado and the Guardian Angel

Talavera did not invent the idea of politically inspired plainchant Offices; the close relationship between political and religious spheres throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance meant that sacred music was often used for political ends (Hankeln 2009) (see Chapter 6). The musico-political dimension of plainchant Offices is expressed in two ways: those Offices with a religious theme to which accrued a political function through the sociohistorical context in which they were conceived, as, for example, the feast of St John *ante porta latina* in Seville Cathedral, founded by Isabel as thanksgiving to this saint and in memory of her father, Juan II, thus legitimizing her inheritance of the Castilian throne (Carrasco Manchado 2014: 399–402); and those Offices that commemorated a political event, such as victories in battle. Given the complexity of the territorial divisions and the constant fighting between Muslims and Christians in the Spanish kingdoms, the case of the Iberian Peninsula is exceptional for the wealth of such commemorations: from the victory of Las Navas de Tolosa, through the Battle of Salado to the Taking of Granada (Castillo Ferreira 2014a, 2014b, 2015).

This phenomenon must be considered as part of a double process of legitimization of the monarchs and representation of their power through transformation into a metaphor of divine right and their consecration in plainchant Offices; thus the monarchs were heralded as having been sent by God to achieve liberation from Muslim rule.²⁶ Furthermore, as José Manuel Nieto Soria has commented, any protest against or threat to royal power could thus be considered heretical, since God had granted them the victory and thus legitimized their right to govern (Nieto Soria 1993: 83). It is also important to take into consideration the messianic fervour with which royal image-makers imbued the monarchy, and particularly the figure of Ferdinand. In his study of the royal apologist Juan Barba, Pedro Cátedra analyzes this aspect in writers of the period who, picking up on the Pseudo-Isidore's prophecies about Spain, present a 'prince who will unit the world through Christianity, starting from the west and succeeding in the conquest of Jerusalem and the restoration of Christianity in Santa Sophia' (Cátedra 1989: 25). This, 'had officially served to integrate the monarchs' incursions in Granada in a prophetic tradition' (Cátedra [García] 1989: 26), and thus made appropriate the celebration of their victory in church with an Office that lauded their crusading spirit.

26 On the use by the Spanish monarchy of the figure of St James 'Moor-slayer' ('matamoros'), see Zapke 2009.

The Offices for the Taking of Granada: Talavera and Muros

The Taking of Granada was one of the most notable political events of the reign of the Catholic Monarchs with a significant impact on the rest of Renaissance Europe: its transcendent impact in Rome, for example, found expression in Carlo Verardi's play entitled *Historia Baetica* and other literary manifestations (Rincón González 1992). Given the religious nature of the war in Granada, it was approved by the papacy with the Bull of Crusade—granted by Sixtus IV in 1479—and secured considerable financial support, estimated at about eight hundred million maravedís (Hillgarth 1984: 45). A royal deed of this magnitude had to be celebrated not only in the court and civic milieus, but also by the Church, since the battle was undertaken by the monarchs as God's instrument on behalf of the Christian faith. This double religious-military dimension represented by the war against Islam is to the fore in the correspondence of the royal chronicler Diego de Valera to Ferdinand: '[the queen] fights no less with her many alms and devout prayers [...] than you, my Lord, with your lance in hand' ('[la reina] no menos pelea con sus muchas limosnas e devotas oraciones ... que vos, Señor, con la lança en la mano') (Hillgarth 1984: 38).

According to the eighteenth-century Jesuit hymnographer Faustino Arévalo, at least three different Offices in commemoration of the Taking of Granada were instituted in Granada Cathedral and other churches of the Spanish kingdoms (see Table 8.3).

The most studied Office is that by Talavera, which represents the culmination of his efforts as royal confessor to create the deified image of the monarchs (Ramos López 2003a). It is not surprising that Talavera, who actively participated in the Taking of Granada and was appointed its first archbishop, should create and have performed this Office in Granada, but its dissemination and longevity prove difficult to establish; to date, musical sources for the Office have been found only in Granada. Although it was originally thought that it was performed for only a short period after it was composed, this view needs to be modified by more recent research that has uncovered exemplars recopied in the nineteenth century.²⁷

27 Pilar Ramos has suggested that only in Santa Fe did the Office continue to be performed beyond the years immediately after the Taking in 1492, since no reference to it is found in the chant books of Granada Cathedral and Royal Chapel (Ramos López 2003a: 49). However, Ramos was not aware of the existence of some parts of the Office in the chant books of the Royal Chapel in Granada, nor of its later inclusion (in incomplete form) in a nineteenth-century chant book in the Abbey of Sacromonte, together with other examples from several convents in Granada (Castillo Ferreira 2009: 355; García-Ferrer 2004).

TABLE 8.3 *Fifteenth-century Offices in commemoration of the Taking of Granada*

Author	Office	Church	Patron	Main sources
Fray Hernando de Talavera (1428–1507)	<i>Deditionis Urbis Granatensis</i>	Granada	Isabel the Catholic?	Archivo General de Simancas; Santa Fe (Granada)
Fray Diego de Muros (1408–92)	<i>Exaltationis Fidei</i>	Santiago de Compostela	Catholic Monarchs / Santiago Cathedral chapter	Breviary (1497); Breviary (1569); Santiago Cathedral (Cantoral 22)
Juan Maldonado (1485–1554)	<i>Deditio Urbis Granatae</i>	Burgos	Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca	Lost

Fray Diego de Muros's commemorative Office for Santiago de Compostela Cathedral, entitled *Exaltationis Fidei*, was certainly performed over time, but the third Office, commissioned for Burgos Cathedral by Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca (1451–1524) and written by the humanist Juan Maldonado (1485–1558), who maintained a lengthy correspondence with Erasmus and wrote several works about the Catholic Monarchs, has not survived. Bishop Fonseca had been a page at court, and was trained, at the queen's request, by Talavera 'so that being in his service he might learn to be a saint' ('para que en su servicio aprendiera a ser santo') (Aldea Vaquero 1973, 2: 951–52). Fonseca was inextricably linked with the monarchs—being the first minister for the Indies—and shared their inclination for music patronage, as illustrated by the commissioning of chant books for the sees where he was bishop (notably Badajoz and Cordoba), and endowing the Salve service in Palencia Cathedral, with a detailed artistic and musical programme (Knighton 2009). It is not surprising, therefore, that he would have wanted to contribute to the exaltation of the monarchs' achievement, relying on Maldonado's pen. However, Fonseca's Office was withdrawn from the Burgos breviary by his successor Antonio de Rojas, who had previously followed Talavera as Archbishop of Granada, since 'he judged Fonseca to be superstitious' ('juzgando supersticioso a Fonseca') (Arévalo 1783: 369). The two surviving commemorative Offices, attributed to Talavera and Muros respectively, are discussed below (see also Castillo Ferreira 2015).

In 1494, the German traveller Jeronimo Münzer described Talavera's Office in glowing terms: 'I cannot convey an idea of the celebrated and elegant Office

that he composed for the Taking of Granada for God's mercy and the king's victory' ('O quam nobile et elegans officium de regno Granate, misericordia Dei et victoria Regis scripsit, non possum scribere') (Münzer 1494–95: 65–66; Ramos López 2003a: 43–44). As Pilar Ramos has indicated, neither the text nor the music are entirely Talavera's work, since the Mass draws on existing Gregorian chants. Talavera was especially concerned with the items for the canonical Hours, for which he combines existing antiphons, others that are lightly adapted, and some specially composed (Ramos López 2003: 54). Ramos also shows how in the order of the pieces for the Office he followed the modal theory of the time in assigning an ethos to each mode (Ramos López 2003a: 60). The overall aim of the Office is to consolidate the monarchs' image as the chosen conquerors of Granada, which is identified as a promised land, a new Jerusalem, while the Muslims are associated with sin (Ramos López 2003a: 57).

The political content is mostly found in the lessons for Matins, which notably include a tribute to Ferdinand (who, unlike most kings, was personally involved in the fighting, and whom Talavera likens to the Good Shepherd who cares for his sheep) and a homage to Isabel in which he praises her physical and moral perfection. As a counterweight to Christian royal goodness, the fifth lesson refers to the evil of the Muslims, who are presented as 'murderers of widows and children, abusers of virgins and adolescents, bloody torturers and destroyers of temples' ('asesinos de viudas y niños, abusadores de vírgenes y adolescentes, sanguinarios torturadores y devastadores de templos') (Ramos López 2003a: 58–59). In the sixth lesson, Talavera focuses on God's victory, for which He chose the monarchs.

The motivation for the performance of Talavera's Office in Granada was clear; that behind Muros's version, *Exaltationis fidei*, for the distant Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela stemmed from the Catholic Monarchs' appropriation of the apostle St James (Santiago) who was charged with securing victory over the Muslims. According to medieval legend, Santiago's intervention in the Battle of Clavijo secured Ramón I's triumph over Islam, and the saint was subsequently taken as a symbol of royal legitimization. Indeed, in some coronation ceremonies of members of the Trastamaran dynasty, an articulated model of Santiago appeared, to symbolize the transmission of divine power to the king. In 1492, the Catholic Monarchs granted the so-called 'Vow to St James' ('Voto a Santiago') to Santiago Cathedral, which supposedly guarded the apostle's tomb, as a privilege that earned an annual part of the harvest in the recently regained lands in the Kingdom of Granada. As Ofelia Rey has shown, through the custom of paying the vow, the figure of Santiago was promoted as the visible leader of the 'reconquest' and the conquered region was deemed to be unified (Rey Castelao 1985: 13).

The text of the new privilege redacted by the Catholic Monarchs established—beyond the tributes demanded of the subjugated regions and the distribution of the income of benefice-holders (including musicians)—their duties, including celebration of the feast on 2 January, for which they should compose a new Mass and Office:

And they should also, now and forever, celebrate a solemn feast with Vespers, Compline and Matins, and on the following day solemn Mass sung with deacon and subdeacon, as is usually done at the major feasts of the year, which we want to commemorate the day that the city of Granada was delivered to us on 2 January just passed, of the present year 1492, and the said venerable dean and chapter must celebrate on 2 January each year, now and forever, the Mass and Offices and prayers that for this solemn occasion are to be celebrated and performed, and they must be those services that have been newly ordered and composed in commemoration and memory of this holy victory; this Mass and other commemorations must be celebrated by the said dean and chapter, dignitaries and benefice-holders of this church in perpetuity, as has been ordained.²⁸

The privilege was drawn up, in the first instance, in Granada on 15 May 1492, and was ratified in Alcalá de Henares on 23 December 1497. Thus, the institution of the feast of 2 January dates from at least 1497 (also the publication date of the breviaries that include it), although it was probably celebrated previously, and it continued to be observed until the abolition of the Vow in 1834 (Table 8.4). Polyphonic motets continued to be composed for the feast well into the eighteenth century, as, for example, those attributed to José de Vaquedano and the Italian composer Buono Chiodi, both of whom were

28 'Es más que se haga en cada un año para siempre jamás una fiesta solemne con sus vísperas e completas e maytines, e otro día Missa solemne cantada con Diácono e Subdiácono, según se suele hazer en las fiestas más principales del año, la qual queremos que por memoria del día que se nos entrego la dicha ciudad de Granada que fue el segundo día del mes de Enero que agora passo, deste presente año de mil e quatrocientos e noventa e dos años, sea obligado a los dichos venerables Deán e cabildo fazer dezir el segundo día del mes de Enero de cada un año para siempre jamas la Missa e oficios e oraciones que en esta solemnidad se an de celebrar e dezir, e an de ser los que agora nuevamente se ordenaren e compusieren, en conmemoración e memoria de esta sancta victoria, la qual dicha missa e conmemoraciones e oficio sean obligados de dezir e celebrar los dichos venerables Deán e cabildo e dinidades, e beneficiados de la dicha santa yglesia perpetuamente según dicho es...' (*Certificación* 1596).

TABLE 8.4 *Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century breviaries printed for Santiago Cathedral*

Source	Date	Printer	Extant copies	Place of printing
Breviary	1497	Juan de Porras	None	Salamanca
Breviary	1497	Nicolás de Sajonia	<i>E-Mra</i> Incunable 148; <i>E-Mn</i> INC/874	Lisbon
Breviary	1543	Vasco Díaz Tanco	None	Unknown
Breviary	1569	Matías Gast	<i>E-Mbn</i> R/26294; <i>E-Muc</i> Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla BH FLL 11095; <i>E-Tc</i> 74-10; <i>E-VA</i> Biblioteca Histórica de Santa Cruz, U/Bc IyR 121; <i>E-SCu</i> 5568 and 8164 (two copies)	Salamanca

chapel master at Santiago Cathedral.²⁹ Unfortunately, only some loose leaves of the Santiago Missal printed in 1496 survive, and none of them includes the Mass for the Taking of Granada that the privilege stipulated should be composed (Odriozola 1988; Cabano 2003). However, fray Diego de Muros's Office can be partially reconstructed from extant printed and manuscript sources.

Fortunately, two copies of the breviary printed by Nicolás de Sajonia survive (Odriozola 1976–77: 94, 103–4; Rial Costas 2007). Muros's Office is found in the last seven pages of the breviary, in a separately foliated appendix, and not in its corresponding place in the liturgical calendar (2 January). The author of the

29 José de Vaquedano (1642–1711), 'Tubilate Deo, motete a 8 de la fiesta de Granada' (Choir I: S1 S2 AT; Choir II: SATB (organ)); the text may be inspired by that for Morales's *Jubilate Deo* composed to commemorate the Peace of Nice in 1534: 'Tubilate Deo omnis terra; cantate omnes, quoniam suadente Apostolo Iacobo, Fernandus et Isabella convenerunt in unum et regnum granatense expugnauerunt. O felix aetas, et vos, Principes, qui regno granatensi fidem tradidistis! Vivat Isabella, vivat Fernandus, simul cun Christo in aeternum!'. Buono Giuseppe Chiodi (1728–83), 'Tubilate Deo, motete para la fiesta de Granada' (SATB; SATB, double choir, two violins, basso continuo for each choir); the text is similar to that set by Vaquedano according to the entry in RISM (<<http://opac.rism.info/search?id=100015284&db=251&View=rism>> [accessed 20 May 2014]); see López Calo 1972: 55, 96.

Office is specified in the rubric: 'Office of the Exaltation of the Faith, composed by the Venerable Father in Christ Diego de Muros, Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo, for the victory over the city and Kingdom of Granada, in thanksgiving to God in name of the king and queen and the whole kingdom'.³⁰

Three men in this period had the name Diego (Didacus) de Muros, but the only one to have been bishop 'civitavensis' was the Mercedarian fray Diego de Muros, Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo in 1487; he was probably born in Muros (La Coruña) in 1405 (Rodríguez Carriazo 1963: 324). He had been Bishop of Tuy from 1473 (dying in that city in 1492), and was Provincial of his order and judge of the Audiencia in 1475; he was also a member of the Royal Council until his death, and he thus enjoyed a close relationship with the monarchs.³¹ Matías Gast's later edition of the Santiago Breviary, printed in Salamanca in 1569, also includes the Office *Exaltationis Fidei*, but the text differs from that in Sajonia's breviary, which has the title *Exaltatio fidei seu Festum Granatae*, and begins with a shortened rubric that omits Muros's name. The music for the Office survives in Cantoral 22 of Santiago Cathedral.³²

The title of the Office reflects Muros's aim of imbuing the war in Granada with a religious nature: 'Exaltation of the faith' (or 'Increase in the Faith' as it appears in the 1497 breviary). The title is reminiscent of the feast known as the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September) established by Emperor Constantine and his mother, St Helena, in Jerusalem in veneration of the Holy Cross, and suggests a possible connection with Granada, which had been, like Jerusalem, the object of a crusade. The text, which is overtly political in nature, opens at First Vespers with the joyful celebration of the victory ('laude, gaude, in cantico letitia...'), and lauds the role of Ferdinand and Isabel as liberators from 'the

30 'Officium Exaltationis Fidei, quod ordinavit reverendus in Christo Pater Didacus de Muros Episcopus civitatis, pro victoria civitatis et regni Granatae. Regis et reginae nomine totiusque regni gratias agens Deo'; I am grateful to Professor Raúl Manchón for his help with translation from the Latin.

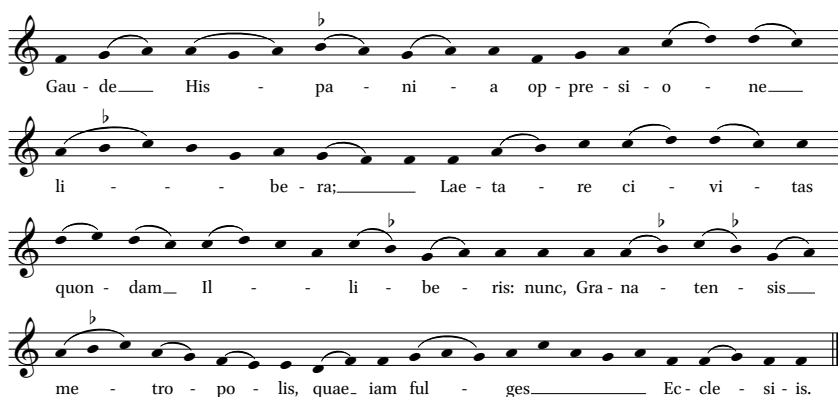
31 In addition to the Office, Muros was the author of several works, including: *Sinodales de Tuy* (1484), *Epístola sobre la victoria de Granada* (1488), *Sermón sobre los Reyes Católicos* (1494), and the manuscript *Vida de Fray Juan de Granada*; see Placer 1973.

32 Cantoral 22 is a large-format chant book (80 × 54 × 10.50; page 53 × 75.5, border 49 × 73, text box 34.5 × 57.5); the binding is in poor condition, and the decoration has been touched up. The grotesque border includes the scallop shells of Santiago in each corner. There are four staves per page, drawn in red ink, with square notation. On fol. 100v is found the rubric 'In secundis vesp. Circumcisionis, post comm. S. Steph', and below, in pencil, the annotations: 'Pa. Granada' and 'por Granada'. Although in James Boyce's inventory it is considered to be from the seventeenth century, an inscription in the actual book would suggest the eighteenth century: 'F. Thomas Couxil scripsit Ano Dni 1742'.

sect of Mohammed'. The Santiago Office inevitably reflects the importance of the role of the apostle as patron saint and protector of the Spanish kingdoms, but it is in the lessons for Matins that Muros presents the monarchs as the true architects of the victory. The first lesson describes the Muslim invasion, and the second singles out for praise those individuals who, apart from the monarchs themselves, contributed to the reconquest: for example, Pope Julius II and Pedro González de Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo. The three lessons of the second Nocturn concern the foundations of the Christian faith, presented in the manner of a Credo, and those of the third Nocturn are inspired by the parables, and concern the value of faith and thanksgiving for the Catholic Monarchs. The remainder of the Office sustains this celebration of triumph and thanksgiving.

The creation of new chants after the standardization of the repertory has been little studied. These examples raise questions as to what guidelines composers would have followed in their contributions to the chant repertory. Talavera made use of contrafacta for some of his Office, but he also drew on modal theory with ease, as Pilar Ramos has shown; his rhetorical intent again points to political image-making (Ramos López 2003a: 59ss). As with Talavera, Muros's antiphon texts are often reminiscent of those of the standard chant repertory: *Lauda Hesperia Dominum* is a new text, but is similar to *Lauda Jerusalem Dominum*. At other moments, the text is the same, as with *Nisi Dominus* (Psalm 126); however, the hymn *Surgamus arcti latrìa* was created specifically for this Office. The identification of chant is more problematic, but the melodies preserved in Cantoral 22 were specially composed. A priori, Muros's Office is less ambitious in its length and its music: the antiphons with chant are considerably shorter and less elaborate than Talavera's (see Music Example 8.1). However, it is not really possible to compare the two Offices, given that Muros's is incomplete.

Although the Office *Exaltationis Fidei* was reprinted several times, it would appear that it was not performed beyond the diocese of Santiago since it is not found outside the Santiago breviary. The feast of the Taking of Granada is included in the calendar of sung feasts of the Castilian royal chapel, and both Talavera's Office and that by Muros are found bound together in Isabel's library, making it difficult to know whether both, none, or just one—and if so which one—would have been performed there (Knighton 2001: 124; Sánchez Cantón 1950: 83; Ruiz García 2004b: 448). The Catholic Monarchs, and their advisers such as Talavera, Muros and Fonseca, undoubtedly wished their incursions in the Muslim-held Kingdom of Granada to be viewed as a crusade, and thus they deliberately continued the tradition established by their forebears of evoking



EXAMPLE 8.1 *Magnificat antiphon Gaude Hispania* (Santiago de Compostela, Archivo de la Catedral, Cantoral 22, fols 101–2)

St James as a symbol of the unification of the Spanish kingdoms under Christian rule.

The Office for the Battle of Salado

Talavera saw the potential of the Office of the Battle of Salado for exalting Isabel's lineage and for acclaiming her for continuing the programme of conquest of her distant ancestor, Alfonso XI. The Office had been celebrated from the fourteenth century onwards, but Talavera considered the lessons as they appeared in the Toledo breviary to be 'brief and not as I would like them to be':

Since Your Highness is avid to receive the writings that I send or convey to you, and shows them perhaps too freely and generously, when perhaps they are things that should not be shown, for this reason, and because it is written in Latin, I am sending it to Dr [Rodrigo Maldonado de] Talavera³³ to see if in his opinion it should be shown to Your Royal Highness: the outstanding victory, worthy of immortal memory, which God granted to your ancestor, King Alonso XI, near to the river known as the Salado against the King of Morrocco and Bellamarin etc., which I put into Latin together with some sentences from Holy Scripture so that we might read them as lessons at Matins of that feast, that some time ago we began quite rightly to celebrate very solemnly, because the lessons I saw

33 Rodrigo Maldonado de Talavera, was rector of Salamanca University and Counsellor of the Catholic Monarchs; see Santos Burgaleta 2003.

in a Toledan breviary were brief and not as I would like them to be, and thus Your Highness will see some of the things that eat into my time...³⁴

It has proved problematic to establish which parts of the existing Office (or Offices) for the Battle of Salado (30 October 1340) were rewritten by Talavera. The battle was commemorated liturgically in Spain and Portugal with two different Offices from soon after the event (see Chapter 6): a mid-fourteenth-century psalter in Coimbra (between 1340 and 1360) contains the hymns of the *festo Victoriae Christianorum* (Corbin 1947). As Solange Corbin has pointed out, all the pieces, except the hymn for Compline, refer to the Battle of the River Salado and the site of Tarifa. A printed edition of 1492 presents the text as ‘in festo victorie de benamari’, and the first antiphon begins ‘Domine Iesu Christe Deum de Deo’. The hymns from this print were also included in the 1515 *Intonarum toletanum* commissioned by Cardinal Cisneros (Turner 2011). A further challenge is presented by the confusion surrounding another feast commemorating a battle: the Office for the Battle of Navas de Tolosa, known as the ‘Triumphus crucis’. The Office for the Battle of the Salado River was known in Portugal as the ‘Victoria Christianorum’, and in Spain as the ‘Victory of Tarifa’ or the ‘Triumphus Crucis de Benamarin (or Belamarin)’ (Corbin 1947: 207–8). This partial use of the same name, ‘Triumphus crucis’, inevitably raises some doubts as to which Office is which. The situation becomes even more complex, given that some rubrics indicate that the Office for the Battle of Salado should use the chants for the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (for example, in the 1500 breviary and missal from Toledo) (see Table 8.2).

Two further versions were printed rather later in Granada in a breviary and missal, both dating from 1544. Under the heading ‘In festo triumphi de bellamarin’, the missal contains the music for the Introit, Gradual, Offertory and Communion, while the breviary contains the text (though not the music) for

34 ‘porque vuestra alteza es avarienta de las escripturas que le presento o comunico, y no las muestra quizá con mucha prudentia y no menos caridad, sino son tales que se deban mostrar, por esso y porque va en latin, envió al doctor de Talavera para que si le pareciere bien, la presente a vuestra serenidad, la muy excelente victoria y digna de inmortal memoria que nuestro Señor dió al Rey D. Alonso XI, vuestro cuarto abuelo, cerca del rio que dicen del Salado contra el Rei de Marruecos y de Bellamarin etc.: la cual puse en latín acompañada de algunas sentencias de la santa escritura para que la leyésemos por lecciones a los maitines de aquella fiesta, que acá comenzamos ogaño a celebrar con mucha solemnidad, como es razón, porque unas lecciones que ví en un breviario toledano me parecieron breves y no tales como yo quisiera, y así verá vuestra alteza alguna de las ocupaciones que estragan mi tiempo [...]’ (Clemencín 1821: 360).

an extended Office, with the following rubric: 'In festo triumphi sancte crucis miraculose dato regi Illefonso o[nzeno] rege de bellamarin'. It is possible that these two prints contain Talavera's Office, since they were published after 1493, and before the reforms of the Council of Trent had been introduced in Granada. The arguments to support this hypothesis are: both the breviary and the missal also contain other Offices attributed to Talavera by Nicolás Antonio; the fact that Alonso Fernández de Madrid mentions (c. 1540) that the Offices composed by Talavera were still celebrated in Granada (and both books were for the use of that archdiocese);³⁵ as Pilar Ramos has pointed out, Talavera preferred to introduce new texts in the Office and use existing antiphons from other feasts for the Mass (Talavera *Oficio*: 54); and the texts are different from the previous extant versions and are much longer. However, a more detailed analysis is needed of which parts might belong to the original fourteenth-century Office.

The Office of the Guardian Angel

Another of Talavera's Offices written within this politico-liturgical frame is that of the Guardian Angel, a popular ceremony in Aragon in the fourteenth century before it became an established part of the liturgy, apparently inspired by widely read works such as Francesc Eiximenis's *Llibre dels Angels* completed in Valencia in 1392 (Llompарт 1988). The feast would almost certainly have been of significance for Ferdinand of Aragon, and, as explained in a seventeenth-century description of the feasts celebrated in Toledo Cathedral, it was established as part of the liturgical calendar for 1 March by way of thanksgiving for the king's victory at the Battle of Toro (1476):

The Holy Church of Toledo, according to ancient custom, and for the reason I will presently describe, celebrates the [feast of the] Guardian Angel on 1 March, and it is found in its breviaries and Offices. This feast of the Guardian Angel was founded—according to reliable informants—in thanksgiving for the marvellous victory achieved by King Ferdinand over Afonso v of Portugal...³⁶

35 Fernández de Madrid c. 1540: 124–25: 'He likewise composed, both text and melody, some divine Offices and Masses for the divine hours and Offices which are sung, and will always be sung, in the church and kingdom of Granada' ('Compuso, así mesmo, algunos oficios divinos, así en el canto como en la letra, para las horas y oficios divinos y misas de ciertas solemnidades nuevas, los cuales se cantan y cantarán siempre en la Iglesia de Granada y su Reino').

36 'La Santa Iglesia de Toledo, segun su Antigua costumbre, por la razon que presto diremos, celebra al Angel Custodio el primer dia de Março, en que hallamos sus Breviarios, y

The calendar of sung feasts in the Castilian royal chapel specifies the ‘Victoria de bello çamoreii [sic]’ for 1 March, which must refer to the Battle of Toro, in the province of Zamora, although there is no mention of the Guardian Angel in that document (Knighton 2001: 124, 236). Talavera would surely have been familiar with the close connection between the feast and the Aragonese king and incorporated it as part of his programme of royal image-making. Although this feast was included in the Granadine prints from the mid-sixteenth century, it is not found in the Toledan Missal of 1499, possibly because that book was commissioned by Cisneros. The sources for this Office await a detailed study.

As we have seen, Talavera, as first Archbishop of Granada following its ‘reconquest’ was faced with the double challenge of organizing the new archdiocese (including the creation of its own calendar of liturgical feasts), and attempting to convert the morisco population. In order to achieve this, he also used the composition of Offices to bring together two religious traditions through celebration of those Christian tenets of faith that were theologically closest to Islamic beliefs.

Talavera's Offices with a Theological Programme Aimed at the Conversion of the Moriscos

Talavera's approach to the conversion of the Muslims of Granada was one of tolerance and respect; it consisted of doctrinal rapprochement, with conversion by persuasion rather than force. His biographers note that he tried to learn Arabic and commissioned an Arabic grammar—fray Pedro de Alcalá's *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua arábica*—so that priests could evangelize the population more easily.³⁷ Talavera owned a copy of the Koran in his personal library, and he also consulted Muslim law-makers (‘alfaquíes’) on theological matters. Eye-witness accounts describe how Talavera allowed *zambros* (the word denotes both the musical ensemble and the music it performed) to participate in religious ceremonies, including the Corpus procession; for example, in the words of Francisco Núñez Muley: ‘He [Talavera] took pleasure in their involvement in the processions of Corpus Christi and other feasts, to which all the communities came every year to compete as to which was the best *zambra*’

Oficios. Instituyóse esta Fiesta del Angel Custodio en la Iglesia de Toledo a 1 de Março (segun me informaron personas de crédito) en accion de gracias de la maravillosa victoria, que el Rey D. Fernando el Católico alcanzó este dia del Rey de Portugal D. Alonso v deste nombre...’ (Quintanadueñas 1651: 483).

37 Fray Pedro de Alcalá's work also includes a brief, bilingual catechism, and three Masses of the Roman Rite in Arabic; see Folgado 2014.

('Holgaba que acompañasen el Santísimo Sacramento en las procesiones del Corpus Christi y de otras solemnidades, donde concurrían todos los pueblos a porfía unos de otros, cual mejor *zambra* sacaba'), and on visits to the Alpujarra,

when his Lordship celebrated Mass in person, the *zambra* was in the choir with the clergy, and at the moments when the organ was to be played, because there was no organ, the *zambra* instead responded with their instruments, and he said several words in Arabic during Mass, especially when he pronounced 'dominus bobyspon', he said instead 'y barafiqun'. This I remember as if it were yesterday, in the year five hundred and two...'³⁸

Other evidence for the 'convivencia' of the *zambras* in the Christian context is that of the Town Council of Baza which, in 1495, asked the 'Moorish minstrels of the region to participate in the celebration of Corpus Christi ('ministriles moros de los lugares de su tierra, acudan para acompañar la celebración del Corpus Christi') (Fernández Manzano 1985: 55). The liberal attitude towards morisco music on the part of Talavera, and also the Catholic Monarchs in their legislation on the issue (the first ruling as regards the music of the moriscos dates from 13 February 1492, shortly after the Taking of Granada) was to be transformed into a total ban in the Pragmática Sanción of 1567. The 1492 royal appointment of Yahya ben Brahim al-Fishtali (known as 'Fisteli', later baptized as Fernando Morales) as 'mayor of male and female minstrels' ('alcaide de las juglaras e juglares')³⁹ in Granada acknowledged all the rights and privileges

38 'y quando su señoría dezia la misa en persona, estaua la zanbra en el coro con los clérigos, y en los tiempos que avian de taner los órganos porque no los avia rrespondia la zanbra y estrumentos della, y dezia en la misa en algunas palabras en arábigo, en especial quando dezia 'dominus bobyspon' dezia 'y barafiqun'. Esto me acuerdo dello como si fuese ayer, en el año de quinientos y dos...'; see Foulché-Delbosc 1899: 223, cited in Martínez Medina & Biersack 2011: 70.

39 On the document regulating the position of leader of the morisco musicians, see Quesada Gómez & Fernández Manzano 1983. It attempts to nominate the person responsible for collecting the tax known as the 'tarcón' that musicians in Granada used to pay before 1492: 'Carta de merced del oficio de Alcaide de las juglaras y juglares de Granada a favor de Ayaya Fisteli, conforme usaron tal cargo los alcaides nombrados por los Reyes Moros' (Archivo General del Simancas, Registro General del Sello, fol. 18, dated 13 February 1492): 'e llevades los derechos e salario al dicho oficio, anexos e pertenencias según que acostumbraron llevar los alcaides que fueron de los Reyes Moros pasados ... e vos guarden e fagan gran derecho, todas las honras grandes, mercedes, franquicias e libertades que fagades a los alcaides que han sido de las dichas joglaras e joglares de la dicha çibdat'.

that had accrued to the post under Moorish rule. Fernando Morales is an excellent example of how someone belonging to an ethnic minority mediated the new social order thanks to his skills as an administrator and businessman. He must have died in 1530, as that is when a group of Moorish *zambros* asked the Crown to appoint a new 'mayor' to organize their participation in processions, *zambros* and other festivities.⁴⁰ They proposed Sebastián de Palacios as Morales's successor. After Talavera's time, the music of the 'other' was perceived as a threat to Christian purity and was frequently associated with both lascivious behaviour and heresy, especially during the *leilas* or nocturnal dances that included praise to Mohammed.

Zambros were present at birth and marriage festivities, and were closely associated with the *leilas*, although the religious nature of the latter meant that they were increasingly punished by the Inquisition, as is clear from a later inquisitorial decree dated c. 1560:

The inquisitors punish *leilas*, as instructed by the decrees of the Assembly of the Royal Chapel, and they confiscate their instruments, and there are many in this Inquisition, although in the Toledo Assembly it was decreed that *zambros* should not be punished if they do not sing or play anything in praise or acclaim of Mohammed, since, as they perform them at night and in isolation, it is taken for granted that they do play and sing such things, and whenever there is a *zambra* at night there are also *leilas*.⁴¹

40 'persona que nos mande e tenga cargo de nos apercibir lo que hemos de hacer en las dichas fiestas e cosas tocantes al oficio a que nosotros somos obligados, muchas veces hacemos falta e no cumplimos ni hacemos nuestro oficio como debemos, e para lo hacer e mejor poder servir a Vuestra Magestad, tenemos nescesidad que el dicho oficio e cargo que el dicho Fernando de Morales, el fisteli, tenía se provea de una persona que tenga cuidado de hacer e cumplir' 'Carta de merced'). The names of the *zambros* who made the petition were: Alonso El Gafiqui, Juan Alhal, Francisco El Beznari, Cristóbal El Beznari, Fernando El Haçoni, Andrés Algodín, Francisco Barrayan, Alonso El Haçiçi, Lorenzo Alorzoti, Fernando Bayahia and Alonso Zogonb.

41 'Las leilas castigan los inquisidores y así lo manda la instrucción que se les dio de los capítulos sacados de la Congregación de la Capilla Real, y se les toman los instrumentos y hay muchos en esta inquisición, aunque la Congregación de Toledo manda que no se castiguen las *zambros* sino cantaren o tañeren cosas en loor y aplauso de Mahoma, porque como las hacen de noche y a solas, se tiene entendido que las tañen y cantan, y siempre que hay *zambra* de noche hay *leila*' (Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección Inquisición, Legajo 1953, no. 72; cited in Pérez de Colosía Rodríguez 1998).



FIGURE 8.3 Christoph Weiditz, 'Danza morisca' (Trachtenbuch, 1529) (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 22474. Bl. 107–108 'Der Moriskentanz')

Iconographical evidence provided by a traveller who formed part of the retinue of Charles V on his journey to Granada in 1526 shows the rich materials of the clothing worn by the members of the *zambra*, and the musical instruments they played. With the title 'Danza morisca', Christoph Weiditz depicted what was probably a *zambra* held in Granada, which he describes thus: 'In this manner the moriscos dance with each other, snapping their fingers at the same time', and 'This is the morisco dance music; they also make noises like calves' (McKenzie 2007: 140) (Figure 8.3).

Talavera's royal appointment as Archbishop of Granada confronted him with an arduous task: to organize the diocese from scratch, and to convert the Jewish and Muslim communities. His efforts to understand the tenets of the Muslim faith aimed at communicating with them with as little confrontation as possible, seeking out beliefs held in common and minimizing differences (Pastore 2003: 110). This was the thinking behind Talavera's choice of Marian themes for the composition of Offices since in Islam, Mary was held to be a prophetess. In addition, one of the works that he translated and had published, Eiximenis's *Meditationes de Vita Christi*—a work that was highly influential on

his own doctrine—presented Mary in terms that were close to the Koran's version of her. This interpretation was of particular use to Talavera, who saw in the *Vita Christi* a suitable means for persuading and converting the Muslims of Granada. Thus in order to present Mary as an acceptable figure in Koranic thought and to the later views of Muslim commentators, Talavera wrote the following Marian Offices:

- The Office of the Perpetual Virginity of Mary, also known as the Expectation of the Birth or the Office of Mary of the O; the idea of the purity of Mary's soul and body (*al-Batul*) was accepted by Muslim commentators on the Koran and was an increasingly widespread devotion in the Christian world (Stowasser 1994: 164).
- The Office of the Transfixion of the Virgin, a Castilian devotion that focused on the Virgin Mary's suffering during Christ's Passion and which offered the possibility of honouring the Crucifixion in a veiled manner, since Muslims denied both the Crucifixion and Jesus's resurrection (Robinson 2013: 311ss).

Devotions inspired by the angels were also compatible with Muslim beliefs since Islam accepted the existence of these beings; the Koran refers to the Angel Gabriel, a figure commemorated by Talavera, together with the Guardian Angel, whose Office has already been discussed (Meri 2015: 44–45). At the same time, the Angels Michael and Gabriel were held to be defenders of the Jews, allowing Talavera, himself of converso origin, to approach that community (Roa 1615: 58–59).

In conclusion, behind Talavera's creation of new plainchant Offices lay a clear understanding of the potential for chant beyond its spiritual dimension as a way of enhancing divine worship: he considered it to be a useful tool with which to create images of royal power. His approach to using chant as a highly symbolic vehicle for both political propaganda and ideological and religious conversion was both innovatory and far-ranging. His choice of the calendar of liturgical feasts and repertory for the newly refounded Church of Granada was not arbitrary: he chose to follow the Toledan calendar and he created new Offices that were especially appropriate to the converso status of his flock. Just as he permitted morisco *zambras* and *leilas* in the liturgy as part of a syncretic process, he chose the theologically acceptable figures of the Virgin Mary and the angels.

In this context Talavera represents the epitome of the programme of reform initiated under the Catholic Monarchs; he clearly knew very well how to take advantage of the monarchy's well established connection to the divine to

enhance their image and prestige. The foundation and endowment of churches and convents—above all in the new territories won from the Muslims in the Kingdom of Granada—afforded the monarchs excellent opportunities to make apparent both their prestige and to enhance their ubiquitous presence through the construction of imposing and sumptuous churches, decorated with their coats of arms and emblems, and through the provision of those buildings with the elements needed for the celebration of divine worship, including large and expensively produced choirbooks, both manuscript and printed, that also bore the royal arms. The papal bulls that continually expanded their right to the presentation of bishops, canons and prebendaries resulted in a corresponding increase in their control over the Church and created a new generation of clergymen dedicated to the enhancement of royal prestige through their own patronage of liturgical books and the composition of new Offices. Two men—both royal confessors—were key to these developments: Cardinal Cisneros and Archbishop Talavera, figures of enormous prestige and influence in their own time and after. They initiated and collaborated with the programmes of reform and evangelization that clearly lay at the heart of the monarchs' religious policies which constantly—and largely successfully—reinforced and renewed royal authority.

Musical Cultures in the Reinos de Indias at the Time of Isabel and Ferdinand

Javier Marín López

As [the indigenous peoples] were very friendly towards us..., I gave some of them scarlet hats and some glass beads which they put round their necks ... and they brought us parrots and balls of cotton thread and spears, and many other things, and we exchanged them for other things, such as small glass beads and bells.

DIARIO DE A BORDO, 12 October 1492¹



This account from Christopher Columbus's *Diario de a bordo* represents his first response on reaching the Guanahani island, renamed San Salvador (now part of the Bahamas), on 12 October 1492, after several weeks of a hazardous and uncertain journey across the Atlantic. Having taken possession of the island in the name of the Catholic Monarchs, and given the impossibility of communicating with the Taino Indians, Columbus and his company relied on the exchange of artefacts by way of peace offerings. The presence of bells (*cascabeles*)—constantly used as an object for exchange—is significant, symbolizing the importance of sound, and more specifically music, in the process of encounter with a world that was as new and unknown for the Spanish as they were for the indigenous peoples. This first moment of contact depicts one of the defining characteristics of the 'kingdoms of the Indies' (Reinos de Indias) throughout their existence: the interaction of different ethnic groups and cultures that resulted in the rise of distinctive *mestizo* musical traditions, both in terms of art and popular music.

* Translated by Tess Knighton.

1 Cabrera Silvera 2013: 149: 'Yo porque [los indígenas] nos tuviesen mucha amistad ... les di a algunos de ellos unos bonetes colorados y unas cuentas de vidrio que ponían al pescuezo ... y nos traían papagayos e hilo de algodón en ovillos y azagayas y otras muchas cosas, y nos las trocaban por otras que nos les dábamos, como cuentecillas de vidrio y cascabeles'.

The arrival of the Spanish in America was undoubtedly one of the most revolutionary events of the reign of the Catholic Monarchs; its far-reaching impact goes well beyond either Spanish or American history. The start of the colonization of the Indies under the auspices of Ferdinand and Isabel implied a geopolitical reconfiguration of global proportions, the rise across the world of western civilization, and unprecedented expansion of the Catholic Church. However, to talk of the symbolic year of 1492 in terms of 'discovery' and 'conquest' would mean acceptance of a single model of civilization—the European model—and to deny the prior existence of a large number and variety of indigenous cultures—some thousands of years old—that are now dehumanized and homogenized, shorn of language and identity, and reduced to passive recipients of Western trends, imposed with the aim of civilization. As early as 1958 Edmundo O'Gorman reformulated the theory of discovery as an 'invention' of the Western world: to speak of discovery is anachronistic since Columbus always believed that he had reached the east coast of Asia; he could not 'discover' America without his being aware of what he was doing. Researchers of the 1980s, aware of this hegemonic, Eurocentric paradigm, based on specific political and ideological interests, signalled the need to understand the arrival in America as a fault line that affected not only the European world vision, but also that of their indigenous counterparts, who developed multiple and varied strategies of cultural survival in the face of the sudden appearance of the conquistadors (Todorov 1982; Gruzinsky 1988). Without the interaction between 'conquerors' and 'conquered', and without the evolution of collective processes of symbolic negotiation, colonization would never have been possible; thus it follows that it is more appropriate to describe this process less as one of 'discovery', and more as a meeting of cultures characterized by multiple failures to meet (Robertson 1992: 1–5).

This essay offers a panoramic approach to the musical cultures of the *Reinos de Indias* during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs (1474–1516), a period that is highly problematic given the fragmentary nature of the surviving sources. Research into native musical traditions from before 1492 is incomplete and generally mediated through European descriptions. In addition, the years after 1492 witnessed only the early contacts, initially limited to some of the Caribbean islands and the continental coast of Venezuela, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama. Indeed, by the time of Isabel's death in 1504, very few towns had been established, and those only on the Caribbean islands: La Isabela (1493) and Santo Domingo (1496), both on the island of La Española (now the Dominican Republic and Haiti). The first settlement on the continent, Santa María la Antigua del Darién (today Colombia), was not realized until 1510. As might be expected, life in the early years in these settlements

developed in relative geographic isolation and sparse material conditions.² The main colonial cities founded by the Spanish, whether newly constructed (Lima, Puebla or Cartagena de Indias), or built over existing urban centres (Mexico, Cuzco or Quito), date from the 1520s onwards, and so were developed after Ferdinand's death, during a phase of consolidation and expansion of the Spanish presence in the Indies. Thus the king's death in 1516—the symbolic endpoint of the Catholic Monarchs' reign—will be used in this essay as a marker, given that it will inevitably be necessary to resort to later examples where these can clearly be related to earlier decades.

The Catholic Monarchs and the Reinos de Indias

After King João II of Portugal declined Columbus's proposal to travel to the 'Indias' by sailing in a westerly direction, the Genoese trader offered the idea to several Castilian nobles and, finally, to the Catholic Monarchs. A long and complex negotiation followed, but on 17 April 1492 the *Capitulaciones de Santa Fe* were signed, and Columbus obtained permission (though not the funding) to embark on the first of his four voyages from Andalusia (1492, 1493, 1498 and 1502). On his return from his first expedition, and faced with João II's claims, Isabel and Ferdinand hurried to obtain a series of papal bulls from Alexander VI to legitimize their possession of all the recently discovered territories, as well as those that remained to be discovered, on condition that they would undertake the conversion of the peoples there. The papal gift of these territories was made in their individual names and not as titular monarchs of their respective kingdoms. The monarchs' clearheadedness led them to incorporate the new territories only into the Castilian—and not the Aragonese—Crown, since Aragon had no direct access to the Atlantic and its political and administrative organization limited Ferdinand's power over the nobility. The real reasons for the exclusion of Aragon have been much debated, but on Isabel's death in 1504 her personal rights over the newly discovered lands passed to the kingdom of Castile, although Ferdinand maintained his personal share. The full incorporation of the Indies under the Castilian Crown occurred after Ferdinand's death in 1516 and the declaration of Juana I as universal heir of the Aragonese Crown. Significantly, from a juridical viewpoint, the Indies were

2 Two other factors have determined the lack of early documentary sources in the Caribbean region: the tropical climate (always a threat to the preservation of paper) and the constant raids by pirates and corsairs along the coastline resulting in the destruction of a number of archives.

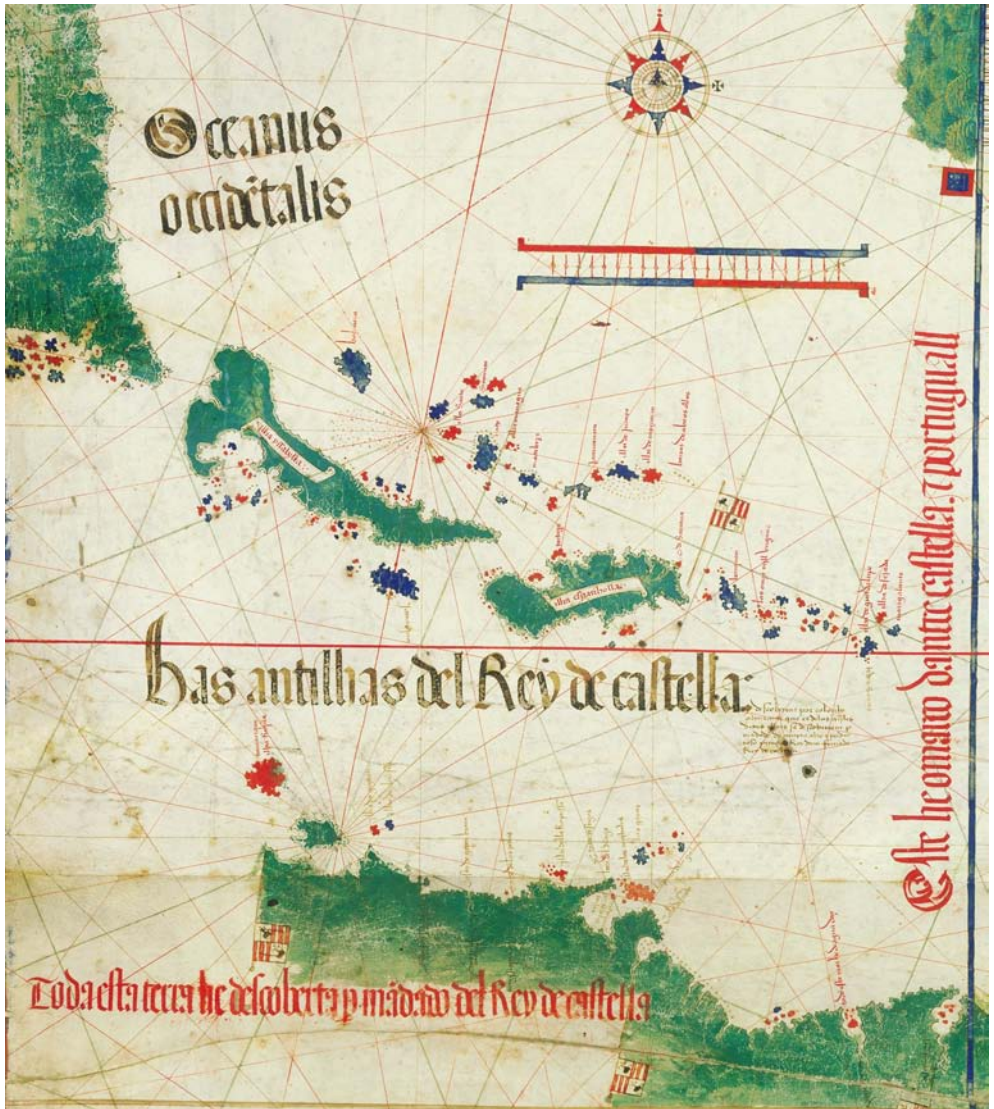


FIGURE 9.1 Charta del navicare per le isole novamente trovate in la parte de l'India (1502), west detail (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, c.g.a. 2, License Creative Commons; <<http://bibliotecaestense.beniculturali.it>>)

never considered to be colonies; the documentation from the time refers to the new territories as the Reinos de Indias, with a legal profile analogous to the kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula (García-Gallo 1950). Alberto Cantino's planisphere, one of the earliest examples of western cartography of the newly discovered regions, shows the territory as it was known in about 1502, with two

larger islands—Cuba (incorrectly named ‘Ysabella’), and the Dominican Republic and Haiti (‘Espanholla’)—together with other Caribbean islands (among them Jamaica, Puerto Rico (‘Boriqueni’)), and a group of islands with exotic names that today equate with the Bahamas, and the Lesser Antilles. The map also reproduces part of the south coast of Florida and Central America, separated by a large expanse of sea (Figure 9.1).

Throughout their reign, the Catholic Monarchs implemented an integral model of political, economic, religious and cultural colonization which was based on the important precedents of Granada and the Canary Islands, and this model would be developed and expanded by Charles V and Philip II. It comprised the repopulation and founding of towns, in the form of minor military advances, and the systematic importation of peninsular institutions and administrative apparatus, adapted according to need. Two of the most important organisms of metropolitan government created under the rule of Ferdinand and Isabel were the Casa de la Contratación and the Consejo de Indias. The Casa de la Contratación, established in the Reales Alcázares in Seville in 1503 until it moved to Cadiz in 1717, was created with the basic aim of regulation and control of the commercial monopoly over the Indies, as well as serving an important role as a school of navigation and metropolitan financial centre.³ The Consejo de Indias, founded in 1511 (initially as a department of the Consejo de Castilla, and from 1524 as an independent entity of equal status), dealt with the material and spiritual government of the new lands, and issued a complex sequence of laws that was published in 1680 (*Recopilación* 1680). The first secretary was Bishop Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, one of the most influential and erudite members of the royal court, who from 1499 promoted free navigation with royal authorization, a privilege that until then had belonged to Columbus alone. The vast amount of documentation generated by both institutions is housed in the Archivo General de Indias [AGI], an inexhaustible source of information on many aspects of the history of the Indies (as well as of the Peninsula), including music history.

In parallel to the creation of these institutions, and with a view to guaranteeing political and religious control over the new territories, the Catholic Monarchs obtained a series of papal prerogatives, confirmed by Julius II in 1508 and known as the Patronato Real. The Patronato Real allowed the Crown to exercise absolute power over religious administration, reserving the right to the tithe (*diezmo*) and to control the founding and building of cathedrals, the

3 An example of financial support by the Casa de la Contratación for musical activities in the Peninsula is the payment of 217,125 maravedís to the ‘capellanes y cantores de la reina’ on 9 November 1506; see Ladero Quesada 2008: 300 (no. 327).

sending of missions, the appointment of ecclesiastical authorities and the salaries of prebendaries (including musicians). Ferdinand and Isabel also initiated a new system of *encomiendas* (the granting of land) through which a group of indigenous people were assigned to a *encomendero*, to whom they paid tributes and carried out services in return for his protection and religious instruction, with music having an important role in this process (Aldea Vaquero 1975b, 3: 1948–49).

The Catholic Monarchs, and in particular Isabel, were also responsible for inaugurating the protectionist policy of the indigenous person. On returning from his first voyage, Columbus presented them with several Indians as well as his proposal for a slavery scheme. After consultation with a committee of theologians and jurists, the monarchs decided that the indigenous peoples should be respected, liberated and returned to their place of origin, except in certain special, authorized cases. In the *Instrucciones* given in 1501 to Nicolás de Ovando, governor of La Española, they expressly ordered ‘that the native peoples should be as well treated as our own good subjects and vassals, and no-one should dare to harm them in any way’ (*‘que los indios sean bien tratados como nuestros buenos súbditos y vasallos, y que ninguno sea osado de les hacer mal ni daño’*), which in theory granted them equivalent status to the free citizens of Castile. A codicil to Isabel’s will alluded to the importance of the missionary aim established by the bulls of Alexander VI, and insisted on the privileges of the indigenous peoples as Crown subjects, establishing an important precedent in the history of their rights (Rumeu de Armas 1969). This legal status as Crown subjects did not in practice prevent the trafficking of slaves from the Indies without the authorities’ permission and conquistadors, clergymen, traders and artisans who returned to the Peninsula brought Indians with them to carry out domestic tasks or servile jobs, although high-ranking *caciques* (leaders or chiefs) also travelled to be educated in Castilian colleges and convents. In other cases, the indigenous people were taken as luxury possessions and a reflection of the power and magnificence of the owner, among them musicians who formed part of the retinue of some Castilian nobles. For example, between 1542 and 1558 Juan Alonso Pérez de Guzmán y Zúñiga, Sixth Duke of Medina-Sidonia, had a group of six Indian slave instrumentalists who performed on sackbuts and shawms, and who accompanied him to the wedding of Prince Philip to María of Portugal in Salamanca (1543), and created something of a stir (Gómez Fernández 2007: 64–68) (see Chapter 5). The exoticism and curiosity surrounding the *indio* formed part of the peninsular imaginary throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries through the representation of indigenous musicians and dancers in processions and mascarades,

such as, for example, those that took place on Philip III's royal entry into Segovia in 1600 (Colmenares 1640: 594–95).

The 1501 *Instrucciones* authorized the introduction of the first black slaves into the lands found by Columbus, insisting that they should be Christian *ladinos*, born in Spain. The lack of Spanish women in the new territories led to a boom in mixed-race births that the authorities were never able to control, and which resulted in an increase in new ethnic types: together with the *gachupines* (born in the Peninsula) and *criollos* (of Spanish parents but born in the New World), were the *mestizos* (illegitimate children of Indians and Spaniards), and a huge variety of intermediary combinations, referred to as *castas*. All these social groups used music as a powerful tool to express their collective identity and to symbolically negotiate their status.

Sounds and Musics of Columbus's Journeys

The musical journey to the Indies began on the first of Columbus's ships, in which the communicative power of sound articulated the journey and was present not only in the key moments of setting sail and reaching land, but also in daily life aboard ship. These practices were not new; rather they were deeply rooted in Mediterranean naval and nautical tradition, and would appear to develop rapidly in the second half of the sixteenth century when more evidence becomes available. In the specific case of sailings to the Indies, and beyond the crossing of the Atlantic itself, sound formed part of all the narratives of encounter; it was a determining factor in enabling the Europeans to establish their earliest relations with the indigenous peoples in the absence of a shared verbal code.

Until the systematic introduction of gunpowder salvoes, and even afterwards, players of trumpets and shawms were an essential part of the crew and carried out various tasks, whether purely functional (marking time or communicating messages between ships) or making ceremonial, representative or recreational contributions. The repertory performed by these instruments, which would have consisted of simple calls or fanfares, has not survived.⁴ The presence of instrumentalists is documented from Columbus's second journey (1493–96), although the actual names of the musicians are not known until his fourth journey (1502–4), when the trumpeters Juan de Cuéllar and Gonzalo de

4 Pepe Rey has suggested that this nautical music might be glimpsed in various vocal and instrumental pieces, such as Mateo Flecha's *La bomba* or the anonymous song preserved in the Palace Songbook, *La tricotea*; see Rey [Marcos] 2004.

Salazar appear as official members of the crew (Cabrera Silvera 2013: 50). As the organization of the fleets became more established, the presence of wind bands of five or six members (mainly Sevillian in origin), who were contracted for the round trip, became more frequent (Bejarano Pellicer 2013a: 370–72). Other instruments carried on board from the earliest journeys include bells, which took on a highly important role in commercial and political relations between Castilians and Tainos, being used both as gift and symbol of friendship, as object of exchange (in return for gold or provisions), and as a unit of measurement for the payment of taxes. In the years after Columbus, bells became one of the most commonly shipped instruments according to the registers of the Archivo General de Indias (Cabrera Silvera 2013: 91–113; Sarno 1986: 102).

Among the daily sounds heard during the crossing were the voices of the cabin crew, who throughout the day declaimed or semi-sang the various calls for different purposes (morning greeting, changing of the guard, or announcing meals). Although references do not survive for the earliest journeys, the singing of sea shanties or *zalomas* was used by the foremen in order to coordinate the efforts of cabin boys and galley slaves in raising the sails and rowing—a practice firmly established over following decades. One of the most frequently mentioned musical items is the sailors' *Salve* (sung in the vernacular and so different from the Latin antiphon), which was customarily sung after sunset or on reaching land by way of thanksgiving to the Virgin Mary. In his diary, Columbus noted the singing of the *Salve* on 11 October 1492—the eve of the sighting of Guanahani.⁵ Many years later, fray Tomás de la Torre described other musical events performed by both clergy and laymen: 'In these things we spent the journey, sometimes crying and sometimes singing the rosary, psalms and hymns, three people here, six over there, the laymen playing guitar and singing ballads, each to his own'.⁶ Some of these sounds were carried over into the new territories: on 6 January 1494, the first Mass was sung at the solemn foundation of La Isabela, being celebrated by thirteen priests (Zavadiwker 1999, 4: 188). The mentality of the age meant that every important event would be marked by religious ceremonies in which singing formed an intrinsic part. Thus, when on 25 September 1513 Núñez de Balboa saw the Pacific Ocean (then

5 Cabrera Silvera 2013: 148: 'dijeron la Salve, que la acostumbran decir y cantar a su manera todos los marineros'.

6 Rey [Marcos] 2004: 135: 'Con estas cosas pasamos nuestro camino unas veces llorando y otras cantando el rosario, salmos e himnos, aquí tres, acullá seis. Los seglares tañendo guitarra y cantando romances, y cada uno a su modo'.

called the *Mar del Sur*), the expedition's chaplain, Andrés de Vera, chanted the *Te Deum*, 'with tears of joyous devotion' (*Amador de los Ríos* 1851–55, 3: 11).

Together with the names of trumpeters and singing clergymen, other illustrious followers of Columbus can be identified. Among them, worthy of mention as the father of one of the most important musicians from the time of the Catholic Monarchs, was Francisco de Peñalosa, *contino* (servant) of Queen Isabel—who held him in high esteem—whose homonymous son, composer and singer in the Aragonese royal chapel, died in 1528. Bartolomé de las Casas, nephew of Peñalosa *père* (and so the composer's cousin), travelled to La Española as captain of the guard on Columbus's second journey, together with his own father, Pedro de las Casas. Peñalosa's sojourn on the Caribbean island lasted three years, and on his return to Castile he was sent to Azamor on the Moroccan coast, where he died in about 1499–1500, in defence of the *adelantado* of Tenerife (Giménez Fernández 1984, 2: 576; Knighton 2008c; Muñoz Carrasco 2013: 2079). Although it falls outside the chronological limits of this essay, it is also worth noting the case of Juan de Ceballos, a singer from Burgos who was father of the chapel master Rodrigo de Ceballos (c. 1530–81), and who travelled to Venezuela in 1534 in the German armada of the Welser family, although his activities in the New World are unknown (AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 3, f. 33(7), 11 October 1534).

The sounds of nature are also described in Columbus's chronicles of the crossing and the new lands. There are many references to bird song (real or imaginary), especially nightingales, the sound of the wind and the roar of the sea. Many of these references, slipped into broader descriptions of the climate and sea of the Antilles, observe stereotypical models in that expressions and images are reiterated, almost always in an idealized way, and compared with the beauty and fertility of the point of departure for Columbus's fleet: Andalusia. Most of these descriptions are found in the early voyages (especially the first) and relate to the European perception of the new territories as an earthly paradise (Cabrera Silvera 2013: 71–89). Although 1492 has traditionally been seen as marking the beginning of the Modern Age, the whole process surrounding the reaching of the Indies and initial contacts with its settlers belonged firmly to a medieval mentality, inspired by the fantastical chronicles of Marco Polo in the Orient, which provided a spur to the imagination of the earliest adventurers.

European Discourses on Aboriginal Musics

A survey of the musics heard in the New World in the time of the Catholic Monarchs should begin with the soundworld of the indigenous cultures, but detailed analysis of this complex mosaic falls beyond the scope of this essay; moreover, it is highly problematic given that these musical practices were based on oral transmission and are either lost or profoundly changed after five hundred years of interaction with various European traditions. An ethnomusiological approach to the study of indigenous musical traditions would be more apt, and would imply drawing not only on archaeological, iconographic and documentary sources, but also traditional musics of the present.⁷ In the context of this essay, I will focus briefly on some of these cultures from the perspective of the early European settlers, through the chronicles of the Indies ('crónicas de Indias'), even though their primary importance is bound by the conquistadors' mental discourses, which oscillated between a paternalism that considered the indigenous peoples as impoverished barbarians with no musical culture and a utopic and idealized vision of their innate musicality (Kuss 2001).⁸

From the earliest contact with the indigenous peoples, it is clear that the primary goal of the conquistadors was their evangelization, and the Spanish exploited the existence of deeply rooted indigenous musical traditions whose structures were in some cases not dissimilar to those of the Iberian Peninsula.⁹ Religious instruction was taken on by the religious orders, led by the Dominicans, Augustinians and Franciscans, whose importance during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs was greater than that of the lay clergy. Much information

7 In this sense, a distinction must be made between more or less pure indigenous musical traditions and those—the majority—of *mestizo* origin.

8 Despite existing studies, a systematic analysis of the musical information found in the chronicles remains to be undertaken; for Venezuela, see Palacios 2000. On the survival of mythical structures in the chroniclers' discourses and their transference to the way in which the history of colonial music has been written, see Vera 2014.

9 According to several chroniclers, the Mexican *cuicacalli* or *cuicacalco* was equivalent to a music school, and *cuicacani* or *tlapizcatzin*, or principal master-singer, is comparable with the figure of precentor ('he was responsible for what was to be sung, he chanted the songs and marked time' ('cuidaba de lo que se había de cantar, entonaba los cánticos y llevaba el compás'), while the *tzapotlateohuatzin*, or succentor, covered for his absences. In Andean cultures, communal singing is described as 'all singing together, on the same pitch, in the manner of plainchant, with no difference between basses, altos or *tiples*' ('todos a una, levantando la voz a un tono, a manera de canto llano, sin ninguna diferencia de bajos, tiples o contraltos'); see Martínez Miura 2004: 179, 233.

on the progress and setbacks of this process is provided by the chroniclers, based on their own experience as eye-witnesses of the first phase or on oral accounts. Some of them formed part of the inner circle of the monarchs; for example, the Italian Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, chaplain in the Castilian royal chapel, and first chronicler of the Indies, or Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, page (*mozo de cámara*) to Prince Juan, who also described the musical activities of the heir to the throne (see Chapter 3). These and other writers bore witness to a slow but inexorable integration of European and American sound-worlds, and the development of hybrid ritual and musical practices, although in some areas the indigenous peoples remained in isolation, without contact with the Spanish.

Before Columbus's arrival, the region was occupied by a large number of different ethnic groups, each of which had its own musical traditions in terms of songs, dances and instruments.¹⁰ Heterogeneity was the key note of these cultures, characterized by different levels of political, social and economic organization, from isolated tribal communities with limited musical activity (such as the Caribes in the Antilles) to civilizations with a high degree of technological and military development which had come to dominate vast regions as a result of political alliances with other towns and kingdoms, and to establish the professional teaching of music as an official state institution (as in the case of the Incas and the Mexicas).¹¹ The chroniclers describe the myriad functions of sound in these cultures (for whom music was generally considered to be of divine inspiration), and the variety of their instruments, which were also often endowed with a mythical value. In Andean cultures, aerophones dominated, particularly the *antaras* (analogous to the panpipe, and also known as *siku*), and the *pincollos* and *quenás* (recorders, the first with mouthpiece, the second without), and were characterized by pentatonic melodies and certain kinds of ornaments.¹² In late fifteenth-century Mesoamerica, the military hegemony of the Mexicas was established, and they used a surprising variety of idiophones, membranophones and aerophones that reappear in the same form (although with different names) across several ethnic groups (such as the *p'urhépecha* or *zapoteca*). The *teponaztli* (a hollowed-out horizontal branch

10 For Mesoamerica, the study of reference is still Martí 1961, while for South America there is a more recent monograph: Olsen 2001. Robert Stevenson's ethnic-historical approach still remains useful (Stevenson 1968), and for an overview of the different regions, see Kuss 2004 and Stöckli et al. 2012–14.

11 The word 'Aztec' is a neologism introduced in the eighteenth century and thus unknown to the Mexicas, the ancient dwellers of the Mexican plateau.

12 From a later period, the descriptions of Andean aerophones by the acculturated Inca Garcilaso de la Vega and Guamán Poma de Ayala are useful.

with an H-form incision hit by two sticks) and *huehuettl* (cylindrical drum covered in skin and played with the hands) were held in high esteem as ritual and symbolic instruments, as reflected in many depictions in manuscripts and wall paintings, as well as the detailed descriptions of the chroniclers; both instruments could produce two different pitches.¹³ The most important aerophones included cylindrical trumpets, recorders (with single or double pipes and differing numbers of fingerholes), globular flutes (of the ocarina type), sea shells, pitchers that could be blown and whistles of many sizes which, together with scrapers (*güiros*) and rattles (*sonajeros*), made up the most common instrumentarium that accompanied a range of ceremonial dances in different formations. The Incas, Mexicas and Mayans, as well as other indigenous groups, developed a complex sonic ritual that included songs, dances and instruments regarded as an integrated display and communal means of social cohesion. Another aspect common to the various ethnic groups were responsorial and antiphonal practices between leader (or soloist) and choir, the absence of musical notation (and consequently the importance of oral transmission for the singing of epics), and an almost complete lack of knowledge of chordophones, with the exception of the musical bow, which had a rhythmic function.¹⁴

The chroniclers present various narrative *topoi* as regards the process of musical acculturation, sometimes reiterated in stereotypical descriptions, although a single perspective is not shared in all the chronicles; the response on the part of Spanish writers varied over time and space. One *topos* that persistently recurs is the pejorative tone taken towards indigenous sounds, which are heard and analyzed through European ears. Juan de Castellanos spoke of 'imperfect shepherd pipes and recorders' ('caramillos y flautas imperfectas'), while fray Toribio de Benavente (or Motolinía) noted that indigenous singers 'sang out-of-tune' ('parecían desentonados') and 'with weak voices' ('con flacas voces'), alluding to the use of guttural sounds and intervals of less than a semitone, vocal techniques alien to Western musical aesthetics. Francisco López de Gómara described in amazement the 'great noise made that night by drums, shells, cornetts, hollow bones with piercing whistles' ('el grandísimo ruido

13 Among manuscripts predating Spanish contact, those of particular importance for their musical iconography include the Borbonicus, Vindobonensis and Dresden codices. The chronicler who described instruments in most detail was Fernández de Oviedo in his *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, covering the period 1492–1549.

14 The only reference to indigenous chordophones is that made by fray Gaspar de Carvajal, who mentioned the existence of three-stringed rebecs among the inhabitants of the Amazon; see Zavadvik 1999: 190.

aquella noche con atabales, caracoles, cornetas, huesos hendidos, con que silban muy recio'), when referring to certain Mexican rituals of war, and Columbus how a group of Tainos received the Spanish with painted bodies, and 'a terrifying cry, as they are wont to do on certain occasions' ('dando grito espantable, así como acostumbran a tiempos ciertos') (Zavadiwker 1999: 192; Martínez Miura 2004: 151; Cabrera Silvera 2013: 134). References of this type abound in the narratives of the early chronicles as a symbol of fear of unfamiliar, atavistic practices (Tomlinson 2007: 180–201).

In contrast, when speaking of the solemn devotion of the indigenous peoples—once they had been 'happily' converted—they are consistently praised for their performance of European musics, with 'well concerted [voices], whether tenors, *tiples* or altos' ('[voces] bien concertadas, así tenores como tiples o contraltos'), and 'skillful [minstrels] in all manner of musical instruments, shawms, recorders, sackbuts, dulcians, cornetts [and] organs, made curiously and with great skill, of many reed pipes' ('[ministriles] diestros en todo género de instrumentos músicos, chirimías, flautas, sacabuches, bajones, cornetas [y] órganos hechos de muchas cañas juntas muy curiosos y de ingenio') (Martínez Miura 2004: 243, 252). The chroniclers' clearly biased and exaggerated views mean that all such accounts must be approached critically. At the same time, this should not lead to the other extreme and the categorical negation of the possibility that, as the process of acculturation developed, some communities performed European music reasonably well within their own cultural frame, because to do so would be to perpetuate the same hegemonic approach for which the chronicles are so heavily criticized (Ros-Fábregas 2012b).

The impressive amount of information conveyed by the chronicles is supported by evidence from other kinds of documentation (including music books, as will be discussed below), which after the period of Columbus demonstrate the almost incredible proliferation of music ensembles in the rural parishes or *doctrinas*. Given that in many of the ancient indigenous cultures musicians were held in high esteem and benefited from certain tax exemptions and positions for their services to the community, the *encomenderos* observed these privileges for specific assistants or auxiliaries, the so-called *maestros cantores* (an equivalent concept to the position of chapel master) who took responsibility for teaching their communities to read and write and to learn Christian doctrine through music. Thus music as a profession became a way of social advancement for the indigenous population, as occurred with the *naborías* on the Mexican plateau or the Andean *yanaconas*. There is no question that the history of Spanish colonization would have followed a very different course without the collaboration of these local leaders who formed a

vital link between the Spanish clergy and the local communities (Collins 1997; Gómez García & Mauleón 2013; Baker 2008: 191–237).

There is, however, total unanimity among the chroniclers who highlight the importance of musical instruments in the process of conversion, perhaps because instrumental practice was more permeable and simpler to transfer than vocal musics contingent upon language skills. The indigenous peoples very quickly assimilated European organological prototypes, both in terms of construction and performance; the initiatives of clergymen such as Bishop Vasco de Quiroga in Michoacán in establishing an important centre for making instruments in Pátzcuaro as part of apprenticeships in mechanical skills are attested to by chroniclers such as Motolinía and Jerónimo de Mendieta.¹⁵ Linked to instrumental practice was dance, the earliest European references to which date from Columbus's second voyage (1493–96), as related by the Jeronymite friar Ramón Pané, author of a chronicle written for the Catholic Monarchs. Pané described the reception by Behechio, *cacique principal* of Xaraguá (part of La Española) in 1496 for Bartolomé Colón (Columbus's brother) that included a dance by thirty naked women—compared to nymphs—directed by Anacoana, the *cacique's* sister.¹⁶ However, the earliest and most complete description of the indigenous dances of La Española was written by Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, who for the first time used the Taino word *areíto* to refer in a flexible manner to the varied repertory of dances accompanied by ancestral songs and instruments. From that moment, *areíto* became a symbol of Caribbean identity and was exported to other regions with different names (*mitote* in Mesoamerica or *taki* in the Andes) (Scolieri 2013: 24–43).

15 Motolinía indicated that 'they make very good bells ... [and] construct bandurrias, vihuelas and harps with thousands of details and adornments. They make well-tuned recorders of all sizes, as are needed to accompany vocal polyphony. They also make shawms and have produced good sackbuts' ('sacan muy buenas campanas ... labran bandurrias, vihuelas y arpas, y en ellas mil labores y lazos. Hacen flautas bien entonadas, de todas voces, según se requiere para oficiar y cantar con ellas canto de órgano. También han hecho chirimías y han fundido sacabuches buenos'). Mendieta is still more forceful: 'One thing I can say for sure is that in all the Christian kingdoms (outside the Indies) there is not as much making of recorders, shawms, sackbuts, crumhorns, trumpets and drums as there is in this kingdom of New Spain alone. They also have organs in almost every church.' ('Una cosa puedo afirmar con verdad, que en todos los reinos de la cristiandad (fuera de las Indias) no hay tanta copia de flautas, chirimías, sacabuches, orlos, trompetas y atabales como en solo este reino de la Nueva España. Órganos también los tienen cuasi todas las Iglesias.');

16 Bartolomé de las Casas included additional information on this dance in his chronicle; see Cabrera Silvera 2013: 126.

Later chroniclers confirm that the clergy had to use the *areíto* and agree to its performance within Christian services in order to attract the indigenous peoples. Perhaps the most symbolic example is the *Psalmodia christiana y sermonario de los santos en lengua mexicana* by the Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagún (published in 1583, although compiled decades previously) 'so that the *indios* sing in the *areítos* performed in church' ('para que canten los indios en los *areítos* que hacen en las iglesias'). The book includes three hundred and thirty-three songs, many of which are hymns and psalms translated into nahuatl, although no music is notated and there are no instructions as to how to sing them (Alcántara Rojas 2008; Candelaria 2014). Candelaria points out that these songs were probably performed before Mass and Vespers in the church porticos or *capillas abiertas*. These accounts bear witness to the correspondence with the musical strategies used in the same period for the integration of the *moriscos* in Granada, to whom the American indigenous peoples were likened from early on.¹⁷ The authorities' response to these practices was varied, oscillating between permissiveness and condemnation. Thus on the one hand there are many references to the clergy's tolerance, and even encouragement (notably in the case of Pedro de Gante, one of the mythical figures in musical education in the New World); on the other, there are many examples of cruel treatment in order to suppress indigenous and idolatrous songs and dances, as in the case of the bloody massacre of Mexicas in Tenochtitlan (1529) or of the Muisca in Ubaque a few decades later (Scolieri 2013: 90–126; Bermúdez 2011).

The copious quantity of information on musical practices afforded by the chronicles contrasts starkly with the almost total lack of musical sources, resulting in part from the oral-based traditions of the indigenous peoples. On Columbus's second journey, Pané described how the Taino priests communicated orally the myths and ancient stories of their village through a kind of recitation accompanied by a percussion instrument, the *maïohavau* (Cabrera Silvera 2013: 121–24). Some Mesoamerican manuscripts, copied before the

17 Reynaldo Fernández Manzano provides several examples of the performance of *morisco* dances (*zambras* and *leilas*) in the celebration of the Mass and procession of Corpus Christi (Fernández Manzano 1985: 55–56). In his *Historia General de las Indias*, Francisco López de Gómara compared the *areíto* with a 'Moorish *zambra*, which they dance while singing ballads in praise of their idols and kings, and in memory of victories and important ancient events' ('*zambra de moros, que bailan cantando romances en alabanza de sus ídolos y de sus reyes, en memoria de victorias y acaecimientos notables y antiguos*') (see Chapter 8). Hernán Cortés went further in referring to Mexican temples as mosques in a letter addressed to Queen Juana. For a selection and critique of texts on indigenous dances, see Martínez Miura 2004: 191–228.

Europeans' arrival, include pictograms of indigenous stories accompanied by musical instruments, although identification of them has attracted differing interpretations (Gómez 2008). This fertile seam of reality led to the tradition of the Spanish chroniclers of the mid-sixteenth century gathering together songs in indigenous languages as a reflection of older sung practices.¹⁸ Two manuscripts—the *Romances de los señores de Nueva España* and *Cantares mexicanos*—include one hundred and twenty sacred, lyric or battle poems in nahuatl, some of which were performed with instrumental accompaniment on the *huehuetl* and *teponaztli*. As with the *Psalmodia christiana*, the melodies (probably similar to recitational chants) have not survived, but both manuscripts notated outlines of rhythmic-melodic accompaniments by means of a syllabic notation based on combinations of four syllables (*ti, qui, to, co*) which functioned as mnemonic patterns in the teaching of the songs; several ways of reconstructing this notational system have been proposed (Stevenson 1968: 46–54; Bierhorst 1985: 72–79; Tomlinson 2007: 42–49). The survival of these indigenous notational practices is confirmed by the presence of an early eighteenth-century collection of Zapotec songs which include the same syllables (Tavárez 2000; Tomlinson 2007: 90–92).

In this context, the presence of a song with music entitled *Dehe tna quehui nacahando* in the *Doctrina christiana en lengua mixteca* (1568) by the Dominican Domingo Hernández is quite exceptional and affords a glimpse of a melody that is more elaborate and varied than psalm recitation.¹⁹ The melodic style is syllabic, and develops step-wise, in a similar manner to peninsular Christian doctrines and also to certain chant repertoires, so that this music in indigenous languages can be linked stylistically with the European musical tradition (Candelaria 2014: 627–33; Vicente [Delgado] 2007: 6–7) (Music Example 9.1).

Everything would indicate a pre-existing popular melody of European origin that was used to memorize a devotional text in Mixtec in the manner of a contrafactum. Among indigenous musicians, the contrafactum process was used both ways, through setting indigenous texts to Christian melodies (as seems to have happened with *Dehe tna quehui nacahando*), and Christian texts to indigenous songs, as the Jesuit José de Acosta explained:

18 Tomlinson defines this process as the 'invention of Aztec music and poetry in accordance with the construction of humanist imaginaria' (Tomlinson 2007: 20).

19 The text of this song refers to the need to observe the commandments: '*Dehe tna quehui nacaha[n]do, saconaa huaha huidzo dzaha: da dzahua tañayonaa ua[h]a[n]do, vacuhui coto[n]do nanaya*' ('Every day you remember to keep the commandments: because, if you do not, you will never see the Lord'); see Doesburg & Swanton 2008: 92.



EXAMPLE 9.1 *Anonymous, Dehe tna quehui nacahando, from Benito Hernández, Doctrina christiana en lengua mixteca (Mexico City, 1568), fol. 199v*

Our people who mix with them have tried to set the tenets of our Holy Faith to their manner of singing, and the benefit that is derived from this is great because the pleasure afforded by song and melody means that they spend whole days rehearsing and listening without tiring of it. They have also set our pieces and melodies, such as octavas, ballads and round-dels in their own language.²⁰

These hybrid cultural products were the fruit of the Europeans' need to incorporate the existing tradition of indigenous song in the literate world of Western written culture, and also the indigenous peoples' own interest in maintaining such a key sign of identity as language. The bidirectionality of the process leads to consideration of more flexible cultural models less restricted by perceptions of the normative.

Peninsular Musical Practices in Civic and Domestic Milieus

The earliest information on the European settlers in the New World bears witness to the presence of musical practices in all sections of a society built in the Castilian image and likeness. The Catholic Monarchs seem to have been aware of the importance of music, and in some lengthy *Instrucciones* to Columbus of 15 June 1497 indicated that he should take 'some instruments and music for the pastime of those who are to stay there' ('algunos instrumentos y músicas para pasatiempo de las gentes que allá han de estar') (Fernández de Navarrete 1825–37, 2: 206). The reference to instruments and music clearly implies the presence

20 Waisman 2004: 539–40: 'Los nuestros que andan entre ellos han probado ponerles las cosas de nuestra santa fe en su modo de canto, y es cosa grande el provecho que se halla porque con el gusto de canto y tonada están días enteros repitiendo y oyendo sin cansarse. También han puesto en su lengua composiciones y tonadas nuestras como de octavas, canciones de romances, de redondilla.'

of musicians. During their reign, most of the emigrant musicians were Andalusian minstrels with military or heraldic functions; as the years went by, Castilian and Extremaduran musicians also travelled, and the most frequently found profile is that of the ecclesiastical musician with his various specializations, who thus covered the full range of the musical profession.

The process of colonialization would not have been possible without the establishment of a network of interconnected urban centres with military functions, and structured on the Castilian model with a perpendicular layout and a central main square (or *plaza de armas*) round which the civic and religious authorities were situated. The Crown placed an *adelantado* or governor at the head of each district; most of these governors were nobles of military stock who followed the protocol and behaviour of the Castilian and Aragonese royalty and nobility, including the use of musicians in public appearances as a symbol of authority and prestige (Bermúdez 2001: 169). Thus for the governor's civic entry, celebrations and dances with musical accompaniment were organized, as, for example, on 10 July 1509 in Santo Domingo (the most important Spanish settlement in the time of the Catholic Monarchs) to receive Columbus's son and heir, Diego Colón, as second viceroy of the Indies and the new governor of La Española, and the vicereine, his wife María de Toledo, Ferdinand's niece. No detailed description of this entry survives, but references found in the chronicles evoke the solemnity of the occasion and the important role of music. According to the Sevillian poet and chronicler Juan de Castellanos (Castellanos 1857: 47; Rodríguez Demorizi 1971: 49):

<i>Grandes fiestas hicieron aquel día</i>	Great celebrations were held that day
<i>y muchos juegos más en el siguiente</i>	and many more games on the next
<i>demás de regocijos y alegrías</i>	as well as the rejoicing and merriment
<i>que duraron por más de veinte días.</i>	that lasted for more than twenty days.
<i>Sacaron todos invenciones bellas</i>	They all presented beautiful inventions,
...	...
<i>hubo toros, sortijas, juegos, cañas</i>	there were bulls, rings, games, tilting
<i>en que se daban todos muy buenas mañas.</i>	at which everyone displayed great skill.

There were several musicians in the new governor's retinue, among them Francisco Colón, 'sacabuche del almirante', whose wife asked for a permit to travel to the Indies to join her husband in 1511; the shared surname would suggest ties with the Columbus family.²¹ A lawsuit of 1523 reveals that during his sojourn in Santo Domingo, this instrumentalist taught polyphony to a high-ranking official, Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, judge of the recently created law courts (*Audiencia*).²²

When the Segovian nobleman, Pedrarias Dávila, general captain of Castilla de Oro, set sail in 1514, an impressive ensemble of sixteen heraldic instrumentalists formed part of his retinue: six trumpeters, four kettledrummers, two side-drummers, a tambourine player, a fife, a bagpiper and a harpist, whose names are given in detail.²³ This practice continued, as is clear from a later document of 1535 regarding the Granadine noble Pedro de Mendoza's expedition to Río de la Plata, which confirms the indispensable presence of these military musicians, half of whom, in this instance, were foreigners.²⁴ These were the instrumentalists who would initially have played in the extraordinary ceremonies related to royal events (royal proclamations, exequies and births, military victories and so on), and in religious processions on major feasts such as Corpus Christi, an event that quickly took root with the involvement of a good number of minstrels and dancers.²⁵ The function of these urban festivities, which with the passing of the years became impressive spectacles, was not only to mark a particular event, but also to demonstrate publically observance of the Catholic faith and loyalty to the Crown, as well as to strengthen a sense of hierarchy in a new, mixed-race society.

21 Seville, Archivo General de Indias [AGI], Contratación, 5536, L. 1, fol. 72(3), 8 August 1511. The earliest musician identified as such in the passenger lists of the AGI seems to have been the trumpeter Pedro Hernández, who travelled to Santo Domingo (AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 1, fol. 29(2), 3 September 1510).

22 AGI, Patronato, 295, N. 110, 9 September 1523. The case involved a resident of Santo Domingo, García de Roales, who accused his wife, Catalina de Salas, of having an extra-marital relationship with Vázquez de Ayllón.

23 AGI, Contaduría, 1451, 19 January 1514. Carmen Mena García, who has studied Pedrarias's expedition in detail, points out that the proportion of musicians to the whole company of 210 people was unusually high; see Mena García 2011: 303.

24 AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 3, fol. 353r, 2 August 1535. The expedition included eight musicians (six kettledrummers and two fifers), of whom four were Spanish (Jerónimo de la Vega, Juan de Guadalupe, Juan de Miranda, Pedro Dosto), three Flemish (Felipe Lejón, Simión Miguel, Juan Cola) and one Italian (Sebastián Italiano).

25 The Corpus Christi procession in Mexico dates from 1526, just five years after the taking of Tenochtitlan; see O'Gorman 1970: 48.

In addition to their emblematic function, these instrumentalists carried out other duties, such as surveillance of the towers of the Caribbean fortresses, which faced constant danger from pirates, and the accompaniment of official proclamations. Indeed, one of the first official positions related to sound in the Indies was that of town crier, who worked directly for the town hall. The role of town crier, with its roots in Castilian juridical tradition, was to communicate to the townspeople the aldermen's decisions, royal decrees and diverse announcements relating to the daily activity of the community, such as notice of public ceremonies and fiestas. In the earliest settlements, the town criers were Castilian, Italian or Portuguese; thus in 1511 two town criers were appointed at the same time, Juan de Oviedo, destined for Puerto Rico, and Alonso Mendaño for La Española, both of whom were paid with several dozen *indios*.²⁶ As the years went by, the position of town crier spread to continental territory, and most of the town criers contracted were bilingual *indios*, since many of the rulings were directed specifically at members of their own ethnic group.

The presence of non-military instruments—such as bagpipe or harp—in the companies of the conquistadors suggests that these musicians also performed in the domestic milieu, where plucked stringed instruments were popular as a form of amateur musical pastime. The Jaen nobleman Diego de Nicuesa, for example, reached La Española in 1502 and six years later was appointed governor of Veragua, a province that encompassed the Caribbean coast-line that is today Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama. Nicuesa's appointment probably reflected his previous position as confidant to Enrique Enríquez, King Ferdinand's uncle. Bartolomé de las Casas portrayed Nicuesa as the perfect courtier: 'a very intelligent and courtly person, elegant in speech, a good vihuelist, and, above all, a great horseman' ('persona muy cuerda y palaciana [palaciega] y graciosa en decir, gran tañedor de vihuela y sobre todo gran jinete'); according to other sources, he was 'a keen composer of villancicos for Christmas Eve' ('grande hombre en componer villancicos para la noche del Señor') (Carpentier 1946: 28).²⁷

Vihuelas and guitars are among the first European instruments to be documented in the Reinos de Indias, because of their popularity and because they were easy to transport. Two of the musicians who travelled to Santo Domingo in 1509 in Diego Colón's retinue were Rui González, who took 'a vihuela and

26 AGI, Indiferente, 418, L. 3, fols 117r–v, 118r, 25 July 1511.

27 Pietro Martire d'Anghiera asserted erroneously that Nicuesa was from Baeza, while Nicuesa's brother's will gives Torredonjimeno as his birthplace; see Mena García 2011: 114–15. Mena García also outlines Nicuesa's tragic end when he was betrayed by his companions (Mena García 2011: 149–53).

strings' ('una vihuela y cuerdas'), and Fernando de Morales, who had two vihuelas (Rodríguez Demorizi 1971: 49–50). The vihuela (both plucked and bowed, played as a solo instrument or for vocal accompaniment) was firmly established at court and in aristocratic circles in the Peninsula, and it is thus very likely that these musicians graced the evening entertainments of the new governor in his brand-new viceregal palace (now the Museo Alcázar de Colón), which had as many as fifty-five rooms and was the first residential building of its kind in the Indies. Three musicians settled on the island of Cuba, which was colonized in 1512: Porras, 'of reddish hue and a great singer' ('muy bermejo y gran cantor'), the vihuelist Alonso Morón, and Alonso Ortiz, 'el músico', who in 1518 formed part of Cortés's expedition to Mexico (Carpentier 1946: 21–22).²⁸ The following decade witnessed the exporting of plucked instruments in commercial numbers. In 1523, thirty guitars ('treinta guitarras') and 'thirteen large vihuelas and their cases' ('trece vihuelas grandes con sus fundas') were sent to Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico.²⁹ In 1529, the Siennese traders Scipion Pechi and Juan Antonio Piccolomino sent from Seville fifteen vihuelas, each costing one peso and dos reales, for Nueva Cádiz de Cabagua, capital of a small island now part of Venezuela which was founded by an Italian sailor and was famous for its abundance of pearls. The intended recipient was the Milanese count, Luis de Lampignan, who was involved in the trade of precious stones. This cultural model of court life rooted in Italian humanism was reflected in Castellanos's *Elegías de varones ilustres* in which he makes reference to the use of these instruments, whether in solo repertory or song accompaniment (Calzavara 1987: 9–11).

Beyond the elitist circles of this Italian count, the widespread practice of singing ballads, verses and songs with vihuela accompaniment was exported rapidly and extensively to the earliest towns in the Indies, where both officials, minor nobles and clergy who formed part of the administration, and traders or artisans, as well as those of lower social status, such as barbers, blacksmiths or pharmacists, took pleasure in such pastimes. Among the chapbooks (*pliegos sueltos*) and other manifestations of oral culture exported to the New World, one of the most important was the *Cancionero general de muchos y diversos autores* compiled by Hernando del Castillo from the 1490s and published in 1511 (see Chapter 2). This anthology consisted of almost a thousand lyric poems by different poets and on varied themes (from moral and devotional verse to love poems and humorous works) that were intended to be recited or sung in court

28 On the historiographic tradition surrounding Ortiz, see Roubina 2002.

29 In conjunction with the export of instruments was that of strings for vihuela and harpsichord in commercial quantities; see Sarno 1986: 100–102, and Torre Revello 1943: 778.

circles. One poem, by the nobleman Suero de Ribera, refers significantly to the participation of recorders, lutes and vihuelas as instruments for the accompaniment of this kind of poetry.³⁰ The *Cancionero general* was the most widely read and important anthology of lyric verse of the sixteenth century—as demonstrated by the many revised editions and additions—and was rapidly disseminated in the New World, where it continued to be exported until the end of the sixteenth century (Leonard 1959: 328).³¹

Much of this lyric verse was sung to simple, traditional melodies which travelled in the collective memory of the new settlers and were disseminated orally; a little later, they were included in polyphonic settings in vihuela anthologies such as Luis de Narváez's *Los seys libros del Delphin de Música* (1538), Miguel de Fuenllana's *Orphenica Lyra* (1554) or Esteban Daza's *El Parnaso* (1576), which were widely distributed in the Indies (Leonard 1959: 331, 158, 376).³² Many ballads were specifically mentioned by the chroniclers of Peru, polyphonic settings of which are found in music manuscripts from the time of the Catholic Monarchs. Thus Pedro Cieza de León mentions performance of the ballad *Tiempo es, el caballero* on the occasion of the ambush set by Gonzalo Pizarro for Diego de Almagro in 1537 (Sáenz de Santamaría 1985, 2: 7).³³ An anonymous polyphonic setting for three voices, with the textual variant, *Tiempo es, el escudero*, is found in the Palace Songbook (no. 146 in Anglés 1947 and Romeu Figueras 1965) (Music Example 9.2). In accordance with the practice of the time, the traditional popular melody is presented, slightly ornamented, in the upper voice, as in other songs from the cancionero repertory.³⁴

Another chronicler, Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, describes Francisco Carvajal's vicissitudes in Peruvian territory, and comments on the singing of the ballads of Gaiferos and the Marquis of Mantua (Serrano y Sanz 1904–29:

30 'Flautas, laúd y vihuela / al galán son muy amigos / cantares tristes antiguos, / es lo que más consuela', in Castillo 1520: fol. xliii.

31 A later anthology of lyric verse that appeared with great frequency in the ships' registers is that of Jorge de Montemayor (1554).

32 These books were still found in private libraries in 1620; see O'Gorman 1939: 703–4 (entries 24–27).

33 On the history of this ballad, see Díaz Mas 2000. These lines actually formed part of the longer ballad, *La infanta seducida*.

34 A more detailed study of the reuse of this melodic type would prove interesting; the first part is similar to the melodic contour found in both *¿Con qué la lavaré?* and *Hanacpachap cussicuinin*. Whether this similarity was intentional or the result of melodic patterns derived from the use of the same mode remains to be considered; on the presence of supposedly popular melodies in the Palace Songbook, see Manzano Alonso 1990.

[Tiple] Tiem - po es, ell es - cu - de - ro,

Tenor Tiem - po es, ell es - cu - de - ro,

Contra Tiem - po es, ell es - cu - de - ro,

6 tiem - po es de an - dar d'a - quí,

tiem - po es de an - dar d'a - quí,

tiem - po es de an - dar d'a - quí,

12 qu'el se - cre - to se des - cu - bre,

qu'el se - cre - to se des - cu - bre,

qu'el se - cre - to se des - cu - bre,

18 ya no lo pue - do en - co - brir.

ya no lo pue - do en - co - brir.

ya no lo pue - do en - co - brir.

EXAMPLE 9.2 *Anonymous, Tiempo es, el escudero (E-Mp 11-1335, fol. 86r; edition follows Anglés 1947 with text added to Tenor and Contra)*

Book 4, chapter XXVII; Zavadvker 1999: 199). The chronicle includes eight versions of the Gaiferos ballad text, one of which, *Asentado está Gaiferos*, is found in a setting (of a single verse) in the Palace Songbook as part of the ballad *Si de amor pena sentís* (no. 113 in Anglés 1947 and Romeu Figueras 1965). Some lines (specifically the verse *Caballero si a Francia ides*) from the Marquis of Mantua's ballad are found in a three-voice setting in the Turin Songbook (Querol Gavaldá 1989: no. 17). Traces of these early ballads, transformed both textually and musically, are still found in traditional music in the form of corridos, coplas or décimas (Mendoza 1939; Mendoza 1984). Diego Fernández, another chronicler in Peru, includes many examples of verses sung 'al tono de...', that is, setting new texts to existing popular melodies (Fernández 1571; Zavadvker 1999: 198). This practice was widespread in the court environment of Isabel, who may herself have sung well-known popular melodies to the devotional poetry penned by her confessor, fray Ambrosio Montesino, who published two volumes of such verse: *Coplas sobre diversas devociones* (1485) and *Cancionero de diversas obras de nuevo trovadas* (Toledo, 1508) (Ros-Fábreas 1993, 2008).

The Institutionalization of the Cathedral Model

Latin liturgical music, whether chant or polyphony, performed in cathedrals by clergymen and professional musicians, represented most clearly the Hispanocentric ideals that the authorities wished to establish in the new territories and instil in the indigenous peoples. The encoding of this music in luxurious manuscripts and performance by professional singers and instrumentalists symbolized authority and status in the face of musical cultures of oral tradition unaware of written polyphonic practice, at least in the European sense. Together with the crusading spirit of the conquest, this led to the creation and endowment of a cathedral network in the main urban settlements. At the time of the Catholic Monarchs, cathedral centres were few and precariously financed, but, despite the lack of data, it is possible to glimpse a modest but systematic degree of musical activity beginning to take root, which flourished in later periods of consolidation and homogenization as perfectly structured cathedral music chapels.

The establishment of new dioceses with the corresponding bulls of foundation was a process achieved through the Patronato Real and sanctioned by the papacy. Initially, all the bishoprics in the Reinos de Indias were suffragan to the archdiocese of Seville, until in 1546 the first American archbishoprics were created: Santo Domingo, Mexico and Lima. Only three dioceses were created in the time of the Catholic Monarchs: Santo Domingo and Concepción de la Vega

on La Española and San Juan in Puerto Rico (all dating from 1511). These were followed, on the mainland, by the dioceses of Santa María la Antigua in Darién (1513), Santiago in Cuba (1518) and Santa María de los Remedios on the island of Cozumel, opposite the Yucatán peninsula (1519). The 1520s, and particularly the 1530s, witnessed a rapid growth in the number of new continental bishoprics, some itinerant depending on demographic concentration and expanse of land.³⁵

The creation of each diocese was complemented by the appointment of the necessary ecclesiastical personnel for the functioning of the cathedral (dignitaries, prebendaries and other officials), and the establishment of certain musico-liturgical practices which are detailed in the bulls of foundation. These documents are more or less the same, if not identical, in organization and redaction, differing only in the names of the sees, the number of prebends and the amount of money assigned to each, which varied according to the cathedral's income. Among the five dignitaries specified by the bulls was the figure of precentor, whose musical duties were outlined in the foundation document of Santo Domingo Cathedral, which served as a model for later foundations: 'The position of precentor, to which no-one may apply unless they are trained and expert in music (at least in plainchant), requires his presence at the lectern, and he must himself—and not any other person—teach the cathedral choirboys to sing and organize, correct and amend in the choir and wherever else, all those matters that pertain to the music'.³⁶

The position of precentor in these earliest cathedrals in the Indies accrued more importance than in the Peninsula as the person responsible for the organization, direction and teaching of music to clergymen and chaplains, as well as being master of the choirboys; over time, and despite the instruction that the precentor was not to delegate his responsibilities, the position of succentor

35 The date given corresponds to that of the papal bull in each case: Tlaxcala (1525), resulting from the transfer of the dioceses of Cozumel, and in 1539 to Puebla; Veragua (1527) (later transferred to Panama), Mexico (1530), León (Nicaragua), Trujillo (Honduras), Comayagua (Honduras) and Coro (Venezuela) (all in 1531), Cartagena (Colombia), Santiago (Guatemala), Santa Marta (Colombia) and Panama (all in 1534), Antequera de Oaxaca (Mexico) (1535), Tzintzuntzan (Michoacán, Mexico) (1536), Cuzco (1537) and San Cristóbal de Ciudad Real (Chiapas, Mexico); see García y García 1992: 141–43.

36 'La chantría, para la cual ninguno se pueda presentar que no sea experto y docto en la música, a lo menos en el canto llano: cuyo oficio será asistir al facistol, y enseñar a cantar a los monacillos de la Iglesia y ordenar, corregir y enmendar en el coro y cualquiera parte por sí y no por otro aquellas cosas que pertenecen al canto'; see Hernández 1879, 2: 8. These lines were repeated more or less literally in the bulls issued for Puerto Rico, Panama, Santiago de Cuba, Mexico, Caracas, Cartagena and Lima, among others.

was created, as in the Spanish kingdoms, to carry out his musical duties. There is less information on the position of organist, the only indication being that it was 'his responsibility to play the organ on feast days' ('tocar los órganos en los días festivos'), although in practice he had to play whenever he was required to by the chapter (Hernández 1879, 2: 9). The bulls do not refer to polyphonic practice (whether improvised or written), nor to the position of chapel master, but the chronology of the creation of new dioceses, and the presence of singers, choirbooks and instruments such as the organ, suggest that a modest position was created distinct from the succentor responsible for the singing of plainchant, even though in most cases it has not proved possible to find firm evidence.³⁷

The early papal bulls of cathedral foundations in the Indies indicate that Seville Cathedral served as the model for the singing of the Divine Office and Mass, although it seems unlikely that Seville was the only model for the range of liturgical and ceremonial practices in the New World given that each cathedral depended to a large extent on the origin and experience of its earliest bishops and precentors, and on the endowment of votive services that gave rise to local practices that varied over time.³⁸ However, there can be no doubt that the earliest cathedrals in the Indies were greatly influenced by the Sevillian model, as is clear from the *Regla vieja* of that cathedral which describes pre-tridentine Sevillian musico-liturgical practices (see Chapter 7). Together with the texts of the Seville missal and breviary, and the chant melodies of the cathedral antiphony, the *Regla vieja* provides invaluable information on the participation of singers or organ on certain feasts of the liturgical year according to their ranking, the foundation of the Salve service or the ceremony of the Señá, the rules for singing chant *in alternatim* in hymns and sequences, and the polyphonic setting of certain texts, including those of the Mass (Ruiz Jiménez

37 Although he was active on the mainland, Juan Xuárez (d. 1560) can be considered representative of the first generation of chapel masters. He became a canon of Mexico Cathedral in 1529, and the earliest reference to him as chapel master dates from 1539, suggesting that he had probably held that position for some years; see AGI, Patronato Real, 276, N. 3, R. 11, 12 June 1529; and Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México [ACMM], chapter minutes, book 1, fol. 10v, 4 February 1539. This Juan Xuárez was probably the singer of the same name at Seville Cathedral who was dismissed on 4 June 1529 in order to 'negotiate certain things he needed to do outside this town' ('negociar ciertas cosas que le cumplían fuera de esta ciudad'); see Llorens Cisteró 1978: 38.

38 Stevenson already pointed to the eclecticism of pre-tridentine liturgical practices in the Indies as reflected in the *Manuale Sacramentorum* (Mexico City, 1560), which was based on uses from Rome, Toledo, Salamanca, Seville, Granada and Plasencia; see Stevenson 1968: 178.

2010, 2011). One of the earliest surviving choir regulations from the Indies reflects the primacy of the Sevillian liturgy: the *regla de coro* commissioned by Cristóbal de Campaya in Seville for use in Mexico Cathedral. Although this document has not been located, the accounts Campaya presented to the chapter in October 1538 reveal that it was copied on vellum at Seville Cathedral (probably taking the *Regla vieja* as a model), and that plainchant melodies were included, since among the payments is one to the cathedral succentor 'for checking the choir regulations' ('por el corregir de la regla de coro').³⁹

The provision of the first precentors and organists in the New World proceeded slowly and the administrative institution of these posts in the bulls was delayed for some years by a number of factors, including progress on the building of cathedrals, the delay in bishops (many of whom took church musicians with them) taking possession of their sees, and the complex bureaucracy as regards appointments made through the Patronato Real—in addition to lacunae in the documentation. Thus the first documented precentors in Caribbean cathedrals date only from the 1520s, although it is likely that before the official date of their appointment, other clergy took on that role. These were usually multifaceted people who held several ecclesiastical positions and shared the profile of the first-generation prebendaries who for a few years of their life dedicated themselves to music as part of their ecclesiastical career. Although the position of precentor is not mentioned until some years later, already in 1504 the first consignment of forty-one psalters was sent to La Española, and over the following years the exportation of all kinds of liturgical books gathered momentum (Ladero Quesada 2008: 57, 134). One of the most important musical figures in these early years was Diego Álvarez Osorio (d. 1536), precentor of Darién Cathedral from 1521, a well-known defender of the indigenous peoples, and later Bishop of Nicaragua.⁴⁰ Millán Gómez was one of the first precentors of Concepción de la Vega Cathedral, where he died in 1528, while Alonso de Peralta was precentor in Santo Domingo in the same year.⁴¹

39 ACCMM, chapter minutes, book 1, fols 6r–8v, 25 October 1538. The *regla* was copied by Juan de Avecilla and Bartolomé de Mesa (both cathedral clergymen), illuminated by Francisco Flores and bound by Alonso Alfaro; other expenses included two iron *pares* (probably to reinforce each cover) and his crossing and travel from Veracruz to Mexico; see Zamora & Alfaro Cruz 2007.

40 AGI, Panama, 233, L. 1, fols 304r–304v, 15 September 1521. Álvarez Osorio was appointed protector of the Indies in 1527 and Bishop of Nicaragua in 1531. In 1521, an organ was commissioned for Darién Cathedral (AGI, Panama, 233, L. 1, fols 295v–296r, 6 September 1521.

41 AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 2, fol. 112(8), 18 September 1528 has the appointment of his successor, Jorge de Viguera (also in AGI, Indiferente, 421, L. 13, fols 324v–325r, 21 August 1528). One of the first precentors in Puerto Rico Cathedral was Juan de Cea, a Sevillian

Appointments of clergy musicians on the continent date from slightly later. The year 1530 marks the presence of the first official organist, Juan de Alcalá, at Mexico Cathedral, and three years later the precentor Cristóbal de Pedraza travelled from Seville accompanied by eight priests to serve in the choir, as well as numerous choir books and objects for the celebration of the liturgy; he was later appointed Bishop of Honduras.⁴² These men, with no place in history and forgotten by musicologists, must have played an important role in the institutionalization of plainchant in the liturgical ceremonies of the first cathedrals in the Indies.

Although of a slightly later date, it is worth mentioning another illustrious precentor, Juan Pérez Materano (d. 1561), contracted by Cartagena de Indias Cathedral in 1537, although his first position in the New World would seem to have been at Mexico Cathedral where he was a priest in 1532 (Alfaro Cruz 2012: 79).⁴³ In 1554, Pérez Materano was granted a licence to print a book of polyphony and chant ('un libro de canto de órgano y canto llano'), which was apparently never published, and his skill as a musician earned him comparison with the great Josquin according to a long poem on the conquest of New Granada by the chronicler Juan de Castellanos.⁴⁴ The case of Pérez Materano reflects the marked tendency during the sixteenth century in cathedrals in the Indies, with very few exceptions, and already established in the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, to appoint peninsular musicians—or their direct descendants—to positions of important musical responsibility, relegating more menial tasks to *mestizos* or indigenous musicians (in contrast to their high profile in the parishes and *doctrinas*).⁴⁵

priest who reached San Juan in 1532; AGI, Santo Domingo, 2280, L. 1, fols 106v–107r, 1 July 1532.

42 AGI, Mexico, 1088, L. 1bis, fols 93v–94r, 9 June 1531; and AGI, Indiferente, 422, L. 15, fols 168r–168v, 28 July 1532. The 1530s saw precentors appointed in other cathedrals of New Spain such as Oaxaca (Alonso de Figueroa, 1535), Puebla-Tlaxcala (Antonio Gómez, 1536), Guatemala (Juan de Pinilla, 1538) and Michoacán (Rodrigo de Tapia, 1540); see AGI, Contratación, 5787, N. 1, L. 4, fol. 18v, 13 March 1535; Contratación, 5787, N. 1, L. 4, fols 62r–62v, 3 November 1536; Guatemala, 393, L. 2, fol. 22v, 26 June 1538; and Contratación, 5787, N. 1, L. 4, fols 99–100, 8 July 1540.

43 From 1535 Pérez Materano lived in Panama; see Bermúdez 2011: 90.

44 'El deán Juan Pérez Materano / venerable persona, docto, santo / y Jusquin en teórica de canto'; see Castellanos 1857: 366. On Pérez Materano's books, see Gembero Ustárriz 2011: 160–61.

45 At the Junta de Burgos (1512) it was decreed that the prebends should be awarded to peninsular clergy or their direct descendants and not to the sons of those born there ('y no a los hijos de los naturales de allá'), without *limpieza de sangre*. The contested appointment

The Creation of Cathedral Music Libraries

At the same time that personnel were being appointed, and in accordance with the economic possibilities of each diocese, their material needs were being met through the acquisition of images, ornaments, vestments, bells, organs and chant books.⁴⁶ On some occasions, these objects were taken to the New World by the clergy themselves; on others, they were ordered from the Peninsula by the ecclesiastical authorities in order to create music collections ('librería de canto'), in which they invested large sums of money. Some shipments were directly ordered by Ferdinand, as in 1511 when he specified that various liturgical items should be shipped to the island of San Juan (Puerto Rico) for use in the service of the cathedral, including six missals, two breviaries, three bells with their clappers and three small ('chequitas') bells (Ladero Quesada 2008: 365). An early example is that of the Franciscan Juan de Quevedo who, once established as Bishop of Darién in 1513, ordered the purchase of Toledan chant books, including six books for the Office, six antiphoners, six Toledan or Sevillian manuals, and six large psalters, as well as 'a substantial harpsichord with bellows' ('un pesado clavecímalo con fuelles'), which would appear to have been the first keyboard instrument to reach the New World (Pardo Tovar 1966: 64; Ingram 2008: 23).⁴⁷ Similar tasks were undertaken by the first bishops sent to the Indies, including the Franciscan García de Padilla (Santo Domingo), the Dominican Pedro Suárez de Deza (Concepción de la Vega) or the secular priest Alonso Manso (Puerto Rico), who had been chaplain to Prince Juan.

of the *mestizo* chapel master Gonzalo García Zorro as canon of Santafé Cathedral reveals the tensions and discrimination they endured; see Stevenson 1964b: 12.

46 The well-known *registros de ida* of the Contratación section of the Archivo General de Indias are of no use for the time of the Catholic Monarchs since it was not until 1550 that it became obligatory (and even then it was not always observed) to provide precise information of books to be exported; prior to this, only generic descriptions are found. Even from 1550, the accuracy of the descriptions is in many cases far from clear, given the mercantile nature of the sources. For the time of the Catholic Monarchs, the books of *cargo* and *data* of the first treasurer of the Casa de Contratación, canon Sancho de Matienzo, are of some use.

47 This is quite possibly a reference to a claviorgan (see Chapter 3). The original inventory is preserved at AGI, Panamá, 233, L. 1, fols 103v–106r, 5 September 1513. In the same year, the vicar of the Dominican order in La Española commissioned from Seville the copying and illumination on vellum of a Dominican psalter 'with its antiphons and hymns' ('con sus antífonas e himnos'), which was subsequently shipped to Santo Domingo together with a bell weighing four *quintales* and two small bells; see Álvarez Márquez 2000: 51–52 and Ladero Quesada 2008: 393, 399.

A paradigmatic example of the concern on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities to acquire as quickly as possible the music books needed for divine worship is that of the intellectual Basque fray Juan de Zumárraga, first Bishop of Mexico. As soon as he took possession of his diocese in 1530, Zumárraga recorded the purchase of 'four large, notated books to sing the Divine Office and large missals and breviaries for the choir ('cuatro oficiarios grandes de punto para cantar el oficio divino y misales y breviarios grandes para el coro'). The same document includes a statement by canon Gaspar López confirming that since the arrival of the new prelate, many Masses and Vespers on feast days were celebrated with polyphony ('canto de órgano').⁴⁸ Three years later, the recently appointed cathedral precentor, Cristóbal de Pedraza, took with him an important set of liturgical items including six processional, six psalters, three missals, four breviaries, twenty Books of Hours of Our Lady, two manual baptisteries, a book of sacraments, an ecclesiastic dictionary, a sanctorale and a dominicale with chant ('de cantoría'), a 'cincohistorias de cantoría', a book of Passions with the Lamentations and the Office of Lent, as well as other books to teach Christian doctrine, a 'rod to rule the choir' ('regla para regir el coro'), and the constitutions of the Archbishopric of Seville.⁴⁹

On his return from his second journey to Spain, in March 1536, Zumárraga urged the cathedral chapter to buy new chant books in Seville: a *regla* copied on vellum 'of good quality and of the new ones' ('que sea muy buena y de las nuevas'), a book of prayers for the Divine Office ('capitulario'), a manual for the diurnal Office ('oficiero manual diurno'), and a dominicale, the most urgent being the shipment of the *regla* and the intonations of the hymns for the whole year and the psalm tones ('unas entonaciones de los himnos para todo el año y los tonos de los salmos'), some pages of which have been preserved in books reordered at the end of the sixteenth century.⁵⁰ At Zumárraga's specific request, the clergyman and copyist Juan de Avecilla travelled from Seville to Mexico; in

48 ACCMM, Reales Cédulas, Libro 2, N. 8, fols 10v and 12v, 20 October 1530; see Alfaro Cruz 2010: 22.

49 The inventory is found in AGI, Indiferente, 1092, N. 44, fols 1r–4v, 27 May 1533; it is transcribed in Alfaro Cruz 2010: 29–33.

50 In order to obtain these materials, it was agreed to send canon Cristóbal de Campaya with 100 pesos de minas to Seville, where he was to contact a cathedral singer by the name of Peña; see ACCMM, chapter minutes, book 1, fols 1v and 3r, 1–2 March 1536. These were probably the books of polyphony and plainchant and processional and psalters ('así de canto llano como de órgano y procesionarios y salterios') shipped by the clergyman Antón Gómez and for which Zumárraga asked Charles V to exempt from the *almojari-fazgo* tax; see AGI, México, 1088, L. 3, fols 208v–210v, 25 October 1538; see Alfaro Cruz 2010: 40.

subsequent years he copied a psalter, a Sunday gradual, a Kyriele and part of a choir regulations, using as models the copies he had brought with him from Seville Cathedral (Marín López 2007, 1: 419–20). This evidence confirms that the formation of the first collection of music books in Mexico owed much to personal intervention on the part of the bishop, and it is likely that analogous examples of episcopal musical patronage occurred in other cathedrals for which information is not available.

As Zumárraga's case shows, most of the music books used in the earliest cathedrals in the New World were acquired from bookshops and publishing houses in Seville by the ecclesiastical authorities, either directly or with members of the clergy acting as intermediaries, or the actual officials of the Casa de Contratación. The production and sale of books destined for the Indies became a wealthy business and created conditions that drew merchants from all over Europe to Seville; these merchants, many of whom specialized in trade with the Indies, created the necessary infrastructures and established commercial networks to keep the emerging American market well supplied.⁵¹ Research by María del Carmen Álvarez Márquez confirms the recurring presence and quantity of books of musical interest—both manuscript and printed books—in Sevillian warehouses: choir regulations, plainchant handbooks, graduals, missals, breviaries, antiphonaries, psalters, hymnals, processional, passionaries and books of hours, among others.⁵² A well-known example is that of the printer Jacob Cromberger, whose bookshop in 1529 included more than two thousand chant handbooks and chapbooks (some notated ('contrapuntadas')), almost five hundred Christmas song texts, and some five thousand five hundred chapbooks of verse, much of which was intended to be sung to a well-known melody ('al tono de...'), such as those by Rodrigo Reinosa (1515) or Cristóbal de Pedraza (1517). As well as many liturgical books, Sebastián de Lavezaris (a bookseller from at least 1508) had in stock the 'Musyca y teorica de Ludovisi Floryani', the 'Musica Franquiny' (surely Franchinus Gaffurius), the 'Musyca de Çiruelo' (probably his *Cursus quattuor mathematicum artium liberalium*, 1516), as well as collections of frottoles, chansons and several 'artes de contrapunto'. Pedro de Morales's bookshop held 'un cançionero de canto de

51 Juan de Pablos, who established the first print shop in the Indies, in Mexico in 1539, hailed from Seville. The first chant book published by Pablos was the *Ordinarium sacri ordinis heremitarum Sancti Augustini* (1556); see Stevenson 1968: 175–78.

52 The generic nature of the description of these books restricts their identification. One of the earliest and most widespread chant handbooks was Juan Martínez's *Arte de canto llano*, published in Seville in 1530, and reprinted many times thereafter; see Mazuela-Anguila 2014. On other 'artes' used in the Indies, see Lemmon 1978–80.

órgano en romance' (Álvarez Márquez 2009, 2: 132–51, 307, 325; 3: 168). The possible impact of Ferdinand Columbus's important collection of music books is unknown. Second son of Christopher, and page to both Prince Juan and Queen Isabel, Ferdinand based his library in Seville and in 1552 it passed to the cathedral. The size and range of his music manuscripts and printed books made it one of the most important music collections in Europe (Chapman 1968).

Evidence for the presence of polyphonic books in the New World in these early years is scarce, although there are indications that both manuscript and the first printed collections from Europe rapidly began to circulate there. Cathedral inventories document the presence of two books of Masses that were widely disseminated in Spain: the 'libro de las quince misas', listed in an inventory of Guatemala Cathedral in 1542, which can be identified with the *Liber Quindecim Missarum* (Rome, 1516 [RISM 1516¹]); and the 'libro de las veinte misas de Josquin', found in a 1589 inventory of Mexico Cathedral, which corresponds with the collection of seven volumes printed in choirbook format by Pierre Attaignant (Paris, 1532; [RISM 1532¹⁻⁷]) with the title *Primus, Secundus... Septimus Liber tres misas continet*.⁵³ Both volumes were among the earliest volumes of Masses to be printed, and both contained works by composers active in the time of the Catholic Monarchs, or shortly afterwards: Antoine Brumel, Antoine de Févin, Pierre de La Rue, Johannes Mouton, Johannes Prioris, Mattheus Pipelare, Jean Richafort and Nicolas Gombert, as well as Josquin.⁵⁴ It is thus likely that polyphonic Masses by Franco-Flemish composers were sung in the New World alongside those by their Spanish counterparts.

One of the earliest and most intriguing pieces of evidence for the presence of polyphonic sources in the New World comes from the convent of Santo Domingo de Guzmán in Tlaquiltenango (today the state of Morelos, Mexico). This convent, the building of which was completed by the indigenous population in 1540, was administered by Franciscans and Dominicans and became the most important religious establishment in the region, which then belonged to the marquissate of the Valle de Oaxaca. For some unknown reason, fragments of manuscripts copied and used by the indigenous people were stuck to the walls of the upper cloister and were later whitewashed over—possibly to conceal them. Together with registers that record the payment of taxes by the

53 'Un libro grande de canto de órgano de las quinze misas'; see Stevenson 1980: 32; and 'Item otro libro de veinte misas de Josquin de molde en papel de marca mayor encuadrado en papel'; see Marín López 2008: 588.

54 A digitized copy of the 1516 *Liber quindecim missarum* can be consulted in the Petrucci Music Library (<<http://imslp.org>>, accessed 15 January 2015); on the 1532 collection, see Heartz 1969: 245–49.

indigenous people, and others in nahuatl, a collection of manuscript fragments of chant and polyphony—probably of European origin—were stuck to one of the pillars.⁵⁵ A detailed study of dating and filiation remains to be undertaken, but these fragments confirm the chroniclers' testimony as to the existence of an early and well-developed polyphonic practice in rural areas, where the high proportion of indigenous population can be more easily verified than in urban areas.

The fifteen music manuscripts from San Juan Ixcay, San Mateo Ixtatán and Santa Eulalia Puyumatlán—three remote indigenous villages to the northeast of Guatemala—were dealt with more kindly by fate and are now preserved in the Lilly Library of Indiana University (Stevenson 1964a; Baird 1981; Borg 1985). These choirbooks, with two more preserved at the parish of Santa Eulalia de Jacaltenango (*GCA-Jse* 7) and Princeton University Library (Garret-Gates Collection, *US-PRu* 258), afford an invaluable insight into the chant and polyphonic repertory performed by the indigenous peoples of the Sierra de los Chuchumatanes.⁵⁶ Although these polyphonic books were copied between 1582 and 1635 by several different anonymous hands, as well as the indigenous chapel masters Francisco de León (Santa Eulalia Puyumatlán) and Tomás Pascual (San Juan Ixcay), the repertory they contain—copied in various layers—mostly dates from the time of the Catholic Monarchs, and mainly comprises Masses and Mass fragments, Magnificats, motets, psalms, versicles and Castilian-texted villancicos, although there are also works in French, Italian and indigenous languages and an intriguing collection of *fabordones*, dances and short instrumental pieces. Notable features of these choirbooks are their small size (all vary between 30/34 × 20/24cm, except for *GCA-Jse* 7, which is smaller), their complex codicological structure (with fascicles and loose leaves copied by different amanuenses at different times), the juxtaposition of chant and polyphony on contiguous pages, and the many concordances within the set, suggesting that certain repertories were common to different villages. Inconsistencies on the part of the copyists (particularly in the texts), the gaps in foliation, the use of contrafacta, and the idiosyncratic features of the transmitted versions make a new study essential, with analysis of the

55 Some of these codices survive in the convent itself, while others were taken some decades ago to the Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia in Mexico City and the American Museum of Natural History in New York; see Hinojosa Hinojosa 2013: 9–10, 76 and 182–90 (for illustrations of the musical fragments).

56 The Jacaltenango manuscript has been described in Pujol 1965 and Borg 1980. The Princeton manuscript has not yet been studied, although its repertory, chronology and calligraphy would confirm that it belonged to the same collection.

attributions and the high number of anonymous works, as well as the many fragmentary pieces, without text or title, which contribute to this complex musical and linguistic jigsaw. These manuscripts, copied in rudimentary fashion by indigenous scribes, afford a unique glimpse into the survival into the first third of the seventeenth century of a repertory considered old-fashioned.

Although many works are unattributed, Paul Borg's initial study of concordances has enabled some pieces to be identified as being by Franco-Flemish composers: motets by Loyset Compère (c. 1445–1518) and Jean Mouton (1459–1522), Mass sections by Heinrich Isaac (c. 1450/55–1517), chansons by Claudin de Sermisy (c. 1490–1562) and madrigals by Philippe Verdelot (c. 1480/85–1552), as well as other unidentified, contrapuntally-inspired pieces of probable European provenance (Borg 1985).⁵⁷ The list of Spanish composers is even longer, and includes several who were active in the Castilian and Aragonese royal chapels and 'hits' such as the setting of *Pange lingua* by Juan de Urreda (fl. 1451–c. 1482) concordant with the versions in *E-TZ* 2/3 and *E-Bbc* M454, and the responsory *Ne recorderis* by Francisco de La Torre (fl. 1464–1507), one of the most widely disseminated pieces in the history of Spanish polyphony with almost fifty concordances, eight of them in American sources (see Chapters 1 and 7) (Marín López 2012, 1: 197–202). Two textless pieces, probably unica, are attributed respectively to Basurto (Borg 1985: 8/53) and Pastrana (Borg 1985: 8/71), who may be identifiable with the royal chapel singer Juan García de Basurto (c. 1490–1547) and Pedro de Pastrana (c. 1490–1558), chapel master of the Duke of Calabria, Fernando de Aragón. As might be expected, the group of composers linked to Seville Cathedral is prominently featured; as well as La Torre, Pedro de Escobar (chapel master 1507–14), Francisco de Peñalosa (c. 1470–1528) and Antonio de Ribera (fl. 1496–1526) are represented by motets with concordances in Iberian manuscripts, and which are often copied in duplicate or triplicate in the Guatemalan manuscripts.⁵⁸ Other canonic works

57 One of the anonymous motets cited by Borg as being possibly of European provenance, *Hic solus* (8/17 according to his numbering system) is in fact the second part of the motet *Agnus Christus* included by Susato as anonymous ('Incertus author') in his anthology *Ecclesiasticarum cantionum 4 vocum, liber 2* (Antwerp, 1553; RISM [1553⁹]). Beyond this particular collection of manuscripts, another motet of international profile is Jacquet of Mantua's *Aspice Domine*, which was copied anonymously in *GCA-Gc* 3, fols 35v–39r. This piece circulated widely and was published in several sixteenth-century collections, including Moderne's *Motetti del fiore. Secundus liber cum quinque vocibus* (Lyons, 1532 [RISM 1532⁹]).

58 For example, Escobar's *Clamabat autem mulier* (Borg 1985: 8/14), Peñalosa's *Ave vere sanguinis* (Borg 1985: 8/64), and Ribera's *Ave Maria* (Borg 1985: 1/2) or *Patris sapientia* (Borg 1985: 9/38). Another motet by Peñalosa, *Sancta mater, istud agas*, is copied twice in the

from the time of the Catholic Monarchs have concordances in these manuscripts, such as the mysterious Johannes Illarius's *O admirabile commercium*, or the setting of *O bone Jesu*, with conflicting attributions to several composers (Borg 1985: 4/14 and 8/23; see also Kreitner 2004b: 119–20 and 133–35). Among the composers of the next generation, in addition to Cristóbal de Morales and Juan Vásquez, are two whose identification remains doubtful: 'Diego Fernantez' may possibly be identified with Diego Fernández de Córdoba, chapel master of Malaga Cathedral between 1507 and 1551, and likely composer of two songs in the Palace Songbook (Knighton 2001: 330).⁵⁹ 'Matheo Fernandez', to whom a textless piece is attributed (Borg 1985: 8/89) (Music Example 9.3), has previously been identified as a homonymous local musician who copied a gradual with plainchant in 1570. However, these were very common names in Spain at this time, and could easily refer, for example, to the Mateo Fernández who worked as chapel master to the Empress Isabel of Portugal between 1526 and 1539 (Stevenson 1964a: 349, 351; Knighton 2000a).⁶⁰ The absence of text, title and dating makes it impossible to link the work with any specific period or genre, or make a useful comparative analysis with stylistic conventions of the time. However, its length, rhythmic variety and contrapuntal handling would link it with pieces of European or Spanish origin. The tessitura, clef combination (G2, C3, C3 and F3; transposed down a fourth in Music Example 9.3), and two inner voices of similar range might well suggest a work for wind band.⁶¹

One of the Guatemalan books includes what is generally considered to be the earliest polyphonic music by a cathedral chapel master in the Indies: four

two polyphonic books of Guatemala Cathedral (GCA-Gc 3, fols 28v–30r; GCA-Gc 4, fols 14v–16r), and two invitatories for the Office of the Dead, *Regem cui omnia* and *Circumderunt me*, attributed to 'Pedro Hernández' in the Códice Valdés (MEX-Mvaldés, fols 35v–36r)—possibly Pedro Hernández de Tordesillas (fl. 1499–1520) or, more probably, Pedro Fernández de Castilleja, Seville chapel master from 1514. Another work that probably reached Guatemala from Seville is the first part of Martín de Rivaflacha's *Quam pulchra es* (Borg 1985: 8/53), found in E-Sco 5–5–20.

59 For an edition of Fernández's *Qui do Domine* (Borg 1985: 8/79), see Borg 1978: 101.

60 Stevenson consistently identified Mateo Fernández as being of Spanish origin, setting him apart from the local chapel masters Pascual and León. A third composer with problematic attributions is the unknown Alonso de Ávila. The *Laetatus sum* attributed to him (Borg 1985: 8/88) is actually a sacred version of the anonymous chanson *Je ne sçay pas* published by Attaignant in his *Quarente et deux chansons musicales* (Paris, 1529; [RISM 1529⁴]); the motet *Patris sapientia* (Borg 1985: 8/59) also attributed to him is concordant with Ribera's setting; see Borg 1985, 1: 99, 124, 231, 237.

61 A recording of this piece is included in *Oy Hasemos Fiesta. Music from 16th-century Guatemala for Voices and Winds*, Ensemble Lipzodes with The Pro Arte Singers (Focus/IUMusic, 2011), track 25.

[Altus]

[Tenor 1]

[Tenor 2]

[Bassus]

8

15

22

EXAMPLE 9.3 *Mateo Fernández, textless* (US-BLl 8, fols 54v–55r; ed. Borg, transposed down a fourth and in original note values)

The image displays a musical score for Example 9.3, consisting of four systems of music. Each system is composed of four staves, with the first two staves in treble clef and the last two in bass clef. The music is transposed down a fourth and in original note values. The systems are labeled with measure numbers 29, 36, 44, and 51. The notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines, indicating a complex rhythmic structure.

EXAMPLE 9.3 *Mateo Fernández, textless* (US-BLl 8, fols 54v–55r; ed. Borg, transposed down a fourth and in original note values) (cont.)

The image displays a musical score for Example 9.3, consisting of four systems of music. Each system is composed of four staves, with the top two staves in treble clef and the bottom two in bass clef. The music is transposed down a fourth and in original note values. The systems are labeled with measure numbers 58, 65, 72, and 79. The notation includes various note values, rests, and slurs.

EXAMPLE 9.3 *Mateo Fernández, textless* (US-BLl 8, fols 54v–55r; ed. Borg, transposed down a fourth and in original note values) (cont.)

86

94

101

108

EXAMPLE 9.3 *Mateo Fernández, textless* (US-BL1 8, fols 54v–55r; ed. Borg, transposed down a fourth and in original note values) (cont.)

textless pieces attributed in *US-BL* 8 to 'Perez', who has been identified as Juan Pérez, chapel master at Guatemala Cathedral from at least 1541, when the original settlement of Santiago de los Caballeros in the Almolonga valley was swept away by flooding (Lehnhoff 1986: 47–48).⁶² Again, these common names give rise to several hypothetical candidates as the composer of these pieces, such as Juan Pérez de Gijón, singer in the Aragonese royal chapel between 1480 and 1492 and composer of two songs in the Palace Songbook (Knighton 2001: 332). Whichever Pérez composed these unpretentious, archaic-sounding works—two are more lively rhythmically, while the other two are essentially homophonic—they could well have formed part of the older layers of repertory included in these books (Waisman 2004: 516). A group of pieces with texts in indigenous languages, such as nahuatl (in a Mesoamerican variant called pipil), q'anjob'al, chuj and popot'i or jakalteko (Mayan dialects which are still spoken today in the Department of Huehuetenango), has traditionally been considered to be of local authorship.⁶³ Some of these are found copied two or three times with a different text; for example, the song *Vancho loh* is retexed in other manuscripts as *Hoy hacemos fiesta* and *Ábrase el reino* (Borg 1985: 3/24, 1/10 and 7/43 respectively). This fact, together with the identification of psalms in *fabordón* as French chansons,⁶⁴ makes it likely that other homophonic pieces with vernacular texts—including villancicos and coplas—are contrafacta drawn from Hispanic or international repertories, adapted to the linguistic, liturgical and aesthetic requirement of indigenous communities. The same can be said of a group of unattributed and textless (even untitled) pieces, some of which functioned as instrumental works (such as the *pavanillas*). Although these pieces vary in length and texture, their general style falls within European parameters.⁶⁵

Analysis of these books tears down traditional classification schemes, and challenges notions of composer, work, genre and function, which in the indigenous *doctrinas* held meanings completely different from their European significance. Apart from the musical variants stemming from transmission of this repertory, the real difference lay in the soundworld and their performance by indigenous music chapels whose members had developed an instrumental

62 Stevenson doubted whether to attribute these pieces to the Valencian Juan Ginés Pérez (Stevenson 1964a: 345).

63 In addition to these languages, phrases and inscriptions in two other Mayan dialects—kaqchikel and k'ich'—have been identified in Baird 1981.

64 The piece entitled *Voce mea* (Borg 1985: 8/78) is in fact a contrafactum of the chanson *Fait ou faillit* by Sermisy; for other examples, see Borg 1978, 1: 99–101.

65 For example, one of the *pavanillas* (Borg 1985: 8/76) is musically concordant with Sermis's *Je ne fais rien*; see Borg 1978, 1: 125–27.

practice and a tuning system, as well as vocal production (derived from the phonetic nature of their own languages) that would have made the music sound very different to performances heard in the peninsular cathedrals or the royal chapels. Nevertheless, this collection of manuscripts demonstrates that Spanish and international composers from the time of Ferdinand and Isabel had an important role not only in the cathedral environment, but also among indigenous rural communities, where their music had to be adapted to a new reality. From a broader perspective, these manuscripts, considered as complex cultural artefacts, clearly exemplify a feature that can obliquely be applied to all the spaces and contexts discussed in this essay: the diversity and flexibility of musical practice that stemmed from a complex process of resistance and negotiation, and resulted in a rich and eclectic soundworld that would transform forever not only the indigenous cultures, but also those of Europe.

The Roman Connection: The Spanish Nation in the Papal Chapel, 1492–1521

Richard Sherr

The Roman Connection I: The Establishment of the Spanish Nation in the Papal Chapel

Whilst Ferdinand and Isabel always maintained a diplomatic connection with the papacy in Rome, a permanent musical connection was established only towards the end of their reigns when the ‘Spanish Nation’ (a cohort of singers from Spain) in the papal chapel was founded. More specifically, the ‘Spanish Nation’ was founded during the last years of the pontificate of the Spanish pope Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia, r. 1492–1503), was maintained and grew in the chapels of his successors Julius II (Giuliano della Rovere, r. 1503–13) and Leo X (Giovanni de’ Medici, r. 1513–21), and lasted until the end of the sixteenth century (Sherr 1992b). The establishment was gradual, which suggests that it was not the result of a decision on the part of the pope or the Catholic Monarchs, but rather that word might have gotten back to Spain that positions in the chapel were available and some singers decided to take advantage of the opportunity. It began with the entry of Juan de Hillanis, a cleric of Saragossa who also had ties to the diocese of Gerona (see below), into the chapel in July 1492, the last month of the pontificate of Innocent VIII (Giovanni Cibo, r. 1484–92). Hillanis remained the only Spanish singer in the choir for four or five years. By 1496 or 1497, another Spaniard, Alonso de Troya from Toledo, had entered the choir, and in 1499, two more Spanish singers joined (perhaps not coincidentally, one was a cleric of Saragossa, another a cleric of Gerona), bringing the complement to four. In 1502–3, the last year of Alexander’s pontificate (he died on 18 August 1503), four Spanish singers (again, perhaps not coincidentally, the first two of these were from the diocese of Toledo) joined the chapel, and the complement stood at seven of whom one, Troya, had moved to the position of *capellanus missarum* and subdeacon of the chapel, so there were really six Spanish singers out of twenty (thirty per cent) of the choir (see Appendix 1).

The number of Spanish or Iberian singers (one seems to have been Portuguese) increased in the pontificate of Julius II, so that by its end c. 1512,

there were nine out of a complement of twenty or forty-five per cent of the total.¹ There are no chapel lists from the pontificate of Leo X (1513–21), but from other sources it can be estimated that four Spanish or Iberian singers joined the chapel at different points, including Francisco de Peñalosa. A notarial document of 3 September 1522 signed by seventeen singers claiming to represent more than two-thirds of the choir, contains seven Spaniards (Haberl 1888: 70–71). In 1545, the newly promulgated Constitution of the Chapel officially recognized in Chapter 37 that the singers of the chapel were divided into three ‘nations’: Italian, French, Spanish.² In 1545, there were fourteen singers who came from Italy, eleven singers from France or French language areas, and six singers from Spain. That number remains more or less constant until the middle of the sixteenth century, after which the number of Spaniards declines as the papal choir becomes more and more Italian and eventually the Spanish Nation (along with the French Nation) disappears.³

The introduction of Spanish singers into the papal chapel also had a lasting effect on the music of the papal liturgy of Holy Week. Manfred Schuler has presented evidence drawn from the diary of Johannes Burckard, the papal master of ceremonies from 1483–1506, that Spanish singers introduced a new way of performing the Passion in the pontificate of Alexander VI (Schuler 1970). On Palm Sunday 1499 (24 March), Burckard reported that the [St Matthew] Passion was sung by three Spaniards (one of whom was a papal singer), each performing one of the ‘characters’ of the Passion (Evangelist, Crowd, Christ), and that they mixed in the more elaborate ‘Spanish style’ of chanting to their performance; furthermore they sang the words ‘flevit amare’ [Matthew 26: 75] and ‘emisit spiritum’ [Matthew 27:50] in sweet three-part polyphony.⁴ Later entries add more words from the Passion sung in

1 The increase in Spanish singers comes at the end of Julius II’s pontificate and seems to be related in some way to his break with Louis XII of France, which would have cut off the supply of French singers for the chapel, who were then replaced with Spaniards; see Sherr 2010.

2 The Constitution is transcribed in Haberl 1888: 96–108.

3 In 1565, there were eight Spaniards in a choir of thirty-six of whom twenty-two were Italians. In 1590, there were two Spaniards in a choir of twenty-two of whom twenty were Italians. From the 1550s on, all the Spanish singers who joined the choir were castrati—a phenomenon that cannot be treated here. The details of chapel membership in the sixteenth century are reported in Sherr 2016.

4 *Passionem dixerunt tre hispani, quidam novus senex in voce evangeliste, alius, cantor capelle nostre in voce judei, et d. Raphael de Arena, diaconus capelle, in voce Christi; bene vociferati erant omnes, et si accentus et cantum capelle observassent simpliciter, cantassent optime; sed ubi morem Hispaniarum miscebant nostro, male sonabat. Verba flevit amare, emisit spiritum contra sepulchrum cantaverunt omnes tribus vocibus suavissime*’ (Schuler 1970: 30).

polyphony.⁵ This clearly became customary in the papal chapel; Burckard's colleague and successor Paris de Grassis reports that on Palm Sunday 1505 (16 March) the Passion was sung by three people, and continues:

Each one sang his own part, but sometimes they all sang in figural music, that is, at the words 'Tristis est anima mea', etc. [Matthew 26:38] until the end of the verse; and 'Mi pater si possibile est' [Matthew 26:39], until the end of the verse, and 'Pater mi si non potest' etc. [Matthew 26: 42], the whole verse, and 'Flevit amare'; and 'Eeli Eeli Lamazabathani' [Matthew 27: 46]; and 'Deus meus, Deus meus ut quid', etc. [Matthew 27:46]; and at the words 'Emisit spiritum'. (Sherr 1982b: 256)

In his manuscript *Ceremoniale*, de Grassis states directly that this custom was begun by the Spanish singers who joined the chapel in the pontificate of Alexander VI:

However, Pope Alexander VI, who was Spanish, established that his Spanish singers, who in singing seem to be weeping more than singing, in certain clauses or parts of the Passion should sing these words in three-part polyphony most piously and devoutly almost as if they were lamenting: 'Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem'; item 'Mi Pater si possibile est', etc. to the end of the phrase; item 'Pater mi, si non potest', etc.; item 'Flevit amare'; item 'Deus meus, Deus meus ut quid', etc.; item 'emisit spiritum' and other similar parts of the Passion, which notably aroused the congregation to piety. And these singers did the same on Good Friday when they sang the Passion.⁶

The custom of singing these words in three-part polyphony continued well into the sixteenth century. *I-Rc* 1671, a manuscript copied by the chapel scribe Johannes Parvus around 1540, contains anonymous three-part settings of precisely the words from the Passion reported by the masters of ceremonies, and must reflect the practice of the papal chapel in the mid-sixteenth century (Music Example 10.1).⁷ The settings are simple enough that they may also

5 The words of the Crowd, which were obvious candidates for polyphony, are not mentioned (the non-setting of the *turba* parts is an Iberian Peninsula tradition).

6 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticani Latini [Vat. Lat.] 5634, Part II, fol. 238r; see Sherr 1982b: 263, fn. 35.

7 *I-Rc* 1671, fols 41v–45v (Domenica in ramis palmarum), and 46r–48r (Feria VI in parasceve). The relationship of this manuscript to the papal chapel is not entirely clear: see Brauner 1982: 410–20 and Pietschmann 2007: 238–40.

The image shows a musical score for a three-part setting of 'Deus meus'. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has three staves (Soprano, Alto, Bass) with lyrics: 'De - - us me - - - us ut quid'. The second system also has three staves with lyrics: 'de - re - li - - qui - - sti me?'. The notation includes various note values (minims, crotchets) and rests, with some notes beamed together. The lyrics are written below the staves, with hyphens indicating long notes or rests.

EXAMPLE 10.1 Anonymous setting of 'Deus meus' [Matthew 27:46] (I-Rc 1671, fol. 44r)

reflect the original 'Spanish' three-part polyphony, which may also have been improvised as Schuler suggests (Schuler 1970: 32).⁸

Burckard remarks that the Spanish singers used the Spanish lamentation tone when they performed the lessons from the Lamentations of Jeremiah during the Tenebrae services of Holy Week (Schuler 1970: 33). He also reports that some of the Lamentations were sung 'only by the Spanish singers in four voices' in 1499 (Schuler 1970: 33). In 1499 the chapel had exactly four Spanish singers: Troya, Hillanis, Marturià Prats and Martín Scudero (see Appendix 1). Burckard does not specifically mention polyphony, but if the rendition was not polyphonic, why specify that they sang 'per quatuor voces'?

The commentators also state or imply that there was something about the quality of Spanish voices that was considered appropriate for the sombre affect of Holy Week. In the description of the introduction of polyphony into the Passion quoted above, de Grassis also remarks that Spanish singers: 'in singing seem to be weeping more than singing'. This conception of the lugubrious voice quality of Spaniards was widely shared in Italy in the early sixteenth century. Schuler quotes Antonio de Ferrariis as describing Spanish music as

8 Sherr 1992b presents a transcription of 'Tristis est anima mea' from fol. 41v of I-Rc 1671.

'effeminate, languid, lamenting, sad, soft, lugubrious'.⁹ Paolo Cortese in his *De cardinalatu libri tres* (1510) described the Lydian mode of singing in this way:

The Lydian [mode] can be considered to be of two kinds, one that is called complex and the second simple. Complex is the one in which the souls are induced to weeping and compassion by a mode inflected toward sorrows; such may be considered the one in which the papal novendalia or the senatorial parentalia is customarily celebrated. Of this lugubrious manner of singing did the nation of the Spaniards always make use.' (Pirrota 1966: 154)

Paris de Grassis remarked in 1518 that the national groups had distinct vocal characteristics; in his diary entry for Maundy Thursday (31 March) 1518 he wrote: 'The first three Lamentations were recited first by the Spaniards in a lamenting manner, second by the French in a learned manner, and third by the Italians sweetly and well'.¹⁰ This has long been known, but nobody has actually considered what it might mean aurally. What is a 'lamenting' voice and why was it Spanish? Was it something about vocal instruction in Spain? Did it have something to do with the centuries of Moorish domination? Or was it something else? I will make a suggestion later.

The Roman Connection II: Two Well-connected Papal Singers from the Diocese Of Toledo¹¹

Although the Spanish singers formed a corporate group within the chapel, they acted as individuals when it came to furthering their ecclesiastical careers (a major concern of all papal singers). As an example of the way the Spanish singers used their presence in Rome to further their ecclesiastical careers in Spain, let us consider two singers from the diocese of Toledo who were colleagues in the chapel.¹² Their search for benefices can be followed in some detail, and they also allow us to get a better idea of the people they knew in

9 'Effiminata, languida, lamentosa, triste, molle, lugubre'; see Schuler 1970: 35–36.

10 'Tres primae lamentationes recitatae fuerunt primo per Hispanos lamentabiliter, secunda per gallos docte, tertia per Italos dulciter et bene' (Rome, Vat. Lat. 5636, fol. 232v).

11 This section was first presented as a paper at the Medieval and Renaissance International Music Conference held in Barcelona, 5–8 July 2011.

12 A discussion of the beneficial careers of all the Spanish singers is beyond the scope of this chapter.

Rome and Spain and the (quite different) networks they employed as they sought benefices in Spain from their perch in Rome.¹³

1 *Alonso [Alfonsus] de Troya (c. 1460–1516): A Double Career as a Singer-cleric and Diplomatic Agent*

Connections: Cardinal Cisneros, the Chapter of Toledo Cathedral
The case of Alonso de Troya is an example of a situation where a person has a double career each separate part of which is known to scholars of particular disciplines who are generally unaware of the other part. Musicologists know him as a singer in Toledo Cathedral and the papal chapel, and a possible composer. Historians know him as an assiduous agent in Rome for the chapter of Toledo Cathedral and for the Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. Musicologists, as far as I can tell, are totally unaware of his career as a diplomatic agent; historians, as far as I can tell, are totally unaware of his musical career. It was only through serendipity, and Google Books, that I have been able to put the two careers together.

Troya does not fit the usual mode of the singer-cleric; that is, he was not a singer who needed to be a cleric in order to make it in the sacred music business. Instead, Troya was a career cleric, a member of a prominent family in the area around the city of Toledo, who relied on what must have been professional calibre musical abilities only when forced to by circumstances, and who abandoned the singing profession entirely as soon as the opportunity arose. François Reynaud has shown that Troya was a *clerizón* (choirboy) at Toledo Cathedral in 1474 and speculates that he might also have been one of the *seises*, the six choirboys schooled in polyphony (Reynaud 1996: 63). In 1477, Troya is listed as a *canónigo extravagante* (canon without prebend); this presumably means that his voice broke between 1474 and 1477, which in turn suggests that he was in his late teens in 1477 and had been born c. 1460 (Lop Otín 2001: 865). But this was not a musical position as far as I can tell, and Troya remained a *canónigo extravagante* for nearly twenty years. In 1494, the chapter suddenly hired him as a singer and teacher of polyphony to the *seises*, and in 1495 he was granted one of the portions of the cathedral (payments made from the common treasury, distinct from the prebends which supported the canons) reserved for singers of polyphony that had been established by Innocent VIII in 1489 (Reynaud 1996: 102–3). But soon his singing career in Toledo ended. In April 1496, Troya left for Rome, and we even know why he went there. It had nothing to do with music. Troya was sent to Rome by the chapter in the

13 I hope to publish the documents on which this discussion is based elsewhere.

entourage of the head chaplain (*capellán mayor*) Alonso de Albornoiz with the purported task of negotiating with the curia regarding one of the portions of the cathedral.¹⁴ The real purpose of the trip was to complain to Alexander VI about the surprise appointment of Cisneros as archbishop in 1495, and also to get the pope to revoke privileges granted the Catholic Monarchs regarding taxes due to the cathedral chapter. Ferdinand and Isabel got wind of this and sent a faster ship to Rome so that when Albornoiz landed at Ostia in April 1496 he was arrested and sent back to prison in Spain (García Oro 1992a, 1: 82). Troya, on the other hand, being a very small fish, remained in Rome as an agent of the chapter. He must have been somewhat at a loose end, however, and perhaps even afraid of returning to Spain, so he did two things. He joined the household of a cardinal, Ascanio Sforza, and he drew on his musical abilities to get accepted as a singer in the papal chapel. The earliest documents I have found confirming this date from 1497, but as early as 25 July 1496 Troya is specifically mentioned as one of the singers who 'came from the Palace' to celebrate the feast of St James at the Spanish national church of San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli (Pietschmann 2002: 124).¹⁵

Troya remained in the singers' ranks for at least six years (1497–1503), but as early as 1502 there are signs that he was trying to get out of that job. Burckard remarks that on 24 March 1502, Troya acted as subdeacon in the chapel in place of the recently deceased Honofrius Cole (Sherr 1992b). Shortly after this, Troya ceases to be a singer; he is listed as one of the two *capellani missarum* in October 1503, and in all subsequent lists. In beneficial documents after 1503, he often describes himself as 'capellanus' and 'subdiaconus' of the chapel. As such, his workload was reduced. The *capellani missarum* had to be priests (Troya had been ordained in 1494) (Reynaud 1996: 21) since they had the duty of celebrating the daily Masses in the Vatican palace on alternate weeks. They

14 Meseguer Fernández 1980: 45, note 43: 'GOMEZ DE CASTRO [*De Rebus gestis a Francisco Ximénio Cisnerio Archiepiscopo Toletano. Libri Octo* (Alcalá de Henares 1569)], fol. 17v: 'El 15 de abril 1496 el cabildo extendió un poder al capellán mayor y a Alfonso de Troya—uno de sus compañeros sin duda—para pleitear en corte de Roma por una ración, *Actos*, 2, fol. 98v'.

15 The papal documents of 1497 are Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Registra Supplicationum* [RS] 1040, fol. 261v: supplication dated 26 May 1497: Troya is described as a 'cantor capellanus familiaris continuus commensalis'; ASV RS 1050, fol. 71r–v: supplication dated 21 November 1497: Troya is described as 'clericus Toletanensis diocesis magister in theologia et doctor decretorum' and member of the household of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza. Troya continued his association with San Giacomo; in September 1500 he was involved in overseeing the construction of a new organ (Pietschmann 2002: 129).

did not have to attend the other Offices as did the singers. During papal ceremonies, the subdeacon served at the altar and chanted the Epistle. His place was at the foot of the altar, in a good position to hear what was being sung in the cantoria.

The salary of the *capellani missarum* was five ducats a month (the singers were paid eight), but this included *spese in tinello* (the daily distribution of bread and wine given to papal familiars that the singers did not have). However, Troya also received a clerical promotion: in 1505, Julius II made him a papal protonotary.¹⁶ The position was honorary but it gave Troya a title and a higher position in the curia. Troya seems always to have signed his letters with his title, and he is known to historians as Protonotary Troya. The higher status (along with the reduced workload) probably further enhanced his ability to operate in the exquisitely corrupt system of ecclesiastical benefices. I have discovered over eighty documents concerning Troya's beneficial career (and these basically only cover the pontificate of Julius II). Most of the benefices Troya pursued were in the diocese of Toledo, and in fact near or in the city of Toledo: they consist largely of parish churches and simple benefices called prestimonia; occasionally he aimed higher, at an archdeaconry. Many of these activities resulted in litigation, resignations, permutations, and pensions. In 1504, Troya found himself in conflict over a benefice with no less a person than Queen Isabel herself; on 8 February 1504, Isabel ordered Francisco de Rojas, her ambassador in Rome to stop Troya from interfering with a canonry in Cordoba Cathedral that she wished to confer on somebody else (Beltrán de Heredia 1970, 2: 357–58, doc. 320). In 1506, Troya began his attempts to be provided with a canonry and prebend at Toledo Cathedral; on 11 December 1506, his brother Diego Troya appeared before the chapter and requested provision of a vacant canonry that Troya claimed by virtue of an expectative. The chapter refused and assigned the canonry to someone else (Meseguer Fernández 1980: 106). In 1511–12, Troya began to manoeuvre to be provided with the dignity of Abbot of San Vicente in the cathedral, along with a canonry and prebend made vacant by the death of Rodrigo Sánchez de Zapata, which involved him in various lawsuits in Rome with other claimants. It was not until 1513 that the chapter finally acquiesced to a bull of Leo X and provided Troya with a canonry and prebend in the cathedral along with the dignity of Abbot of San Vicente. At this point, Troya finally returned to Toledo; he was there at least by October 1513 (Meseguer Fernández 1980: 106).

16 ASV RS 1200, fol. 217v: supplication dated 7 January 1505.

Whilst performing his duties as subdeacon of the papal chapel and collecting benefices, Troya also acted as the agent in Rome of the chapter of Toledo Cathedral and particularly as an agent of the Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal Cisneros.¹⁷ José García Oro, in his comprehensive biography of Cisneros, calls Troya a 'diligent correspondent' and quotes from several letters at length. More letters and references to Troya as an agent of the cardinal exist in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid (see Appendix 2) (García Oro 1992a). Troya authenticated documents for the cardinal, he told him the news from Rome (including a striking eye-witness account of the near death of Julius II in 1511), and he acted as the cardinal's agent in financial and beneficial matters. Unfortunately, none of the extant letters mentions anything about the music sung by his former colleagues in the papal choir during the ceremonies that Troya attended during his seventeen years in the Rome of Alexander VI, Julius II and Leo X.

The beneficial documents do reveal something about Troya's network of connections in Rome. He operated at a very high level, often negotiating with cardinals; in fact, it was beneficial documents showing him acting as procurator for Cardinal Cisneros that sent me into the Cisneros literature where I would never have dreamed of looking for him. One of these beneficial transactions, as it turns out, actually deals with music and even produces a musicological factoid. This is the case of the portion of Toledo Cathedral specifically designated to support singers of polyphony that had been given to Troya in 1495. The minute he left Toledo, the chapter had the right to assign this portion to someone else (this privilege was a specific part of the indult of Innocent VIII which established the portions), but Troya seems to have thought that he could keep it. At least that is what he must have told Cardinal Pedro Luis Borgia Lancol de Romani, a nephew of Pope Alexander VI. The details of what happened are outlined in Table 10.1.

In 1502, Troya (at this point still a papal singer) resigned the portion to Alexander VI who provided Cardinal Borgia with the portion *in commendam*, specifically waiving the rights of the chapter of Toledo Cathedral, effectively depriving them of the salary of a singer. But in August 1503, Alexander VI died, and Borgia power in Rome collapsed. On the election of Julius II (31 October 1503), Cardinal Borgia fled Rome in fear of his life. Given the cardinal's now shaky position in the papal court and his equally shaky legal position vis-à-vis

17 Troya's letter to the chapter dated 18 May 1507 announcing the elevation of Cisneros to the cardinalate was published in 1653; see *Archetypo* 1653; Archivio Complutense (1652) (an appendix to the above), 21–22.

TABLE 10.1 *Troya and the portion of Toledo Cathedral designated to support singers of polyphony: chronology*

Date	Details	Source
March and April 1489	The dean and chapter of Toledo Cathedral ask permission to reserve the next six portions of the cathedral which become vacant to support six singers, who have been schooled in polyphony (<i>cantus organicus</i>), to reside continually in the church to support the divine service who they will present to the archbishop or his representative who will be required to approve. The dean and chapter ask to be able to remove these singers at will and to be able to appoint others in their places. The income from each portion does not exceed twenty-four small pounds of Tours [= twenty-four gold cameral ducats].	ASV RS 900, fol. 270r; Reynaud 1996: 4
January 1495	Troya is assigned the portion reserved for singers of polyphony, vacant on the death of Pedro de Avilez, by the chapter.	Reynaud 1996: 102; Meseguer Fernández 1980: 33
April 1496	Troya is sent to Rome with Albornoz and stays there.	Meseguer Fernández 1980: 45
8 December 1502	Troya resigns the portion to Alexander VI who provides it <i>in commendam</i> to Cardinal Pedro Luis Borgia Lancol de Romani, waiving the indult of Innocent VIII.	ASV LR ^a 9, fol. 93v
18 May 1503	Troya makes an obligation in the name of the cardinal to pay the annate on the income of the portion, which Troya had resigned. The income was not expected to exceed 40 gold cameral ducats.	ASV LA ^b 47, fol. 90r

TABLE 10.1 *Troya and the portion of Toledo Cathedral designated to support singers (cont.)*

Date	Details	Source
2 July 1504	The cardinal had not been able to take possession of the portion and had ceded it. Troya, who describes himself as a member of the household of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, asks to be provided with the benefice. The annual income was not expected to exceed forty small pounds of Tours [= forty gold cameral ducats].	ASV RS 1187, fol. 113r–v
31 May 1505	The cardinal had not taken possession and had ceded it. Troya asks to be provided with the benefice. The annual income was not expected to exceed forty small pounds of Tours. Later clauses waive the rights of the Archbishop of Toledo and the dean and chapter of the cathedral of Toledo regarding this benefice.	ASV RS 1205, fol. 10r
1 July 1505	Juan de Espinosa, who had already been provided with the portion by the cathedral chapter, asks to be provided with the benefice by the pope and explains the circumstances of its vacancy.	ASV RS 1206, fols 148v–149r

a ASV, *Libri Resignationum* [LR].

b ASV, *Libri Annatarum* [LA].

the Toledo chapter, it is not surprising that he could not take possession of the benefice and ceded his rights to it. Troya then had the gall to ask for it back, once in 1504 and again in 1505. But by this time, the chapter had in fact already reassigned it to the singer, theorist, and composer Juan de Espinosa who eventually sent a supplication, signed on 1 July 1505, explaining that Troya had been deprived of the portion by the chapter even before he resigned it and asking to be provided with it. This is the musicological factoid; it shows that Espinosa was connected with Toledo Cathedral before 1507, which is the earliest date in the literature, and possibly as early as 1502 (when Troya officially resigned the

portion) or even earlier.¹⁸ Since I have found no more supplications regarding the portion, I assume that Troya gave up on it.

Troya's end came in the second decade of the sixteenth century. Reynaud states that he died in 1513 when his canonry and the abbacy of San Vicente were reassigned (Reynaud 1996: 102–3). But there is evidence in the Cisneros literature that he was still alive in 1516. On 11 December 1516, one of Cisneros's secretaries, Jorge de Baracaldo, wrote that Troya was at death's door ('muy al cabo'), and then complained that his income was encumbered by regressions and that his benefices were really at the disposition of the pope because of his long service as a papal familiar.¹⁹ Baracaldo had good reason to have this on his mind, since he had already claimed Troya's benefices. On 9 December 1516, a supplication (which had to have been sent from Spain weeks previously) was signed in Rome that provided him with benefices said to be vacant on Troya's death, even though Baracaldo knew that Troya was still alive when he sent the supplication. For this reason, Baracaldo was careful to include a request for a waiver of the rule of *verisimili notitia obitus*, which was the very rule that was supposed to prevent him from doing what he was doing: claiming a benefice vacant by death before the incumbent had actually died. That waiver was granted, as it always was (ASV RS 1546: fols 1v–2r). In fact, as early as November 1516, the rumour that Troya had died had reached Rome.²⁰ This suggests that perhaps he was the victim of a long debilitating illness that had left him at the point of death on a number of occasions. Nonetheless, I think we can be fairly certain that Troya finally did die in December 1516. The benefices he seems to have possessed at the time of his death (at least the ones that Baracaldo was claiming) were not numerous and were said to bring in an annual income that did not exceed two hundred gold cameral ducats. However, two of them had been the objects of constant litigation and were still in litigation at the time of Troya's death, so it is not clear if he was receiving any income from them at all. The canonry in Toledo Cathedral had already been reassigned, so Troya's ecclesiastical income at the end of his forty-year clerical career might not have been all that much.

18 José M. Llorens and Tess Knighton, 'Espinosa, Juan de', *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed 30 December, 2014: <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08998>>.

19 'el prothonotario troya me certifican que esta muy al cabo, toda su renta esta llena de regresos, y los otros beneficios pertenecen a proveer al papa, porque es su familiar pp. Viuentis, y el indulto del cardenal acepta a solos estos'; see Fuente 1876: 68–69.

20 ASV RS 1546, fol. 26v: supplication dated 25 November 1516.

2 *Alonso [Alfonsus] de Frias (fl. 1490–1516): A 'Normal' Career that Leads to a Mystery*

Connections: Alonso de Rojas and the Rojas family of Toledo

As far as I can tell, Alonso de Frias did not have a double career like Troya's; he seems always to have been a singer-cleric, although he too eventually became a papal protonotary in 1512.²¹ He joined the papal chapel somewhat later than Troya; the first reference to him as a papal singer is the chapel list of January 1502. At that time or shortly after, as we know thanks to Klaus Pietschmann, he inscribed his name on one of the walls of the cantoria of the Sistine Chapel (Pietschmann 2009: 253). He seems to have remained in the papal chapel until 1516 where the documentary trail ends. There is something strange about this. In 1490, long before he joined the papal chapel, Frias claimed the secular abbey church of Santiago de Lousada in the diocese of Lugo near the town of Carballedo.²² He gained possession of that benefice and held on to it for the rest of his life assiduously 'uniting' the income of other parish churches to that one. The problem is that this church, which still exists, is very far away from anywhere in the diocese of Toledo (Yzquierdo Perrín 1983: 52–54, 265–66).

This raises the question of Frias's origins. It is true that he calls himself a cleric of the diocese of Toledo, yet a first benefice is much more likely to be in the actual area where the person was born and had relatives. This suggests that perhaps Frias really came from Galicia, but had moved into the diocese of Toledo before receiving the first tonsure. He was in fact so closely associated with this benefice in Lousada that in one supplication he even mistakenly referred to himself as a cleric of the diocese of Lugo and had to submit a reformation in order to correct it.²³ There is something fishy about this. Toledo was not exactly a neighbouring diocese of Lugo; why did he move so far away? His beneficial career also suggests that, unlike Troya, he had no interest in benefices in the city of Toledo or its cathedral. It is true that he goes after some benefices in the diocese of Toledo, but by far the majority of them are in dioceses to the west and north (approaching the diocese of Lugo) such as Avila, Salamanca, Zamora and Orense.

There are other strange things in his documents, such as his request in 1504 for a moratorium on his creditors pursuing him for a debt of forty gold ducats (the equivalent to five months' salary as a papal singer), and his request for absolution from the automatic excommunication he incurred in 1513 when he

21 ASV RS 1399, fol. 147r–v: supplication dated 2 April 1512.

22 ASV RS 910, fol. 194r: supplication dated 23 October 1490.

23 ASV RS 1344, fol. 242v: supplication dated 23 April 1510.

(a priest, papal singer, and apostolic protonotary) drew his sword (which he should not have been wearing) and wounded a man in the street to the spilling of blood.²⁴ This gives the impression that he was perhaps impecunious and a bit hot-headed (actually, this was not unusual for the Spanish singers in the papal chapel). More interesting and intriguing is Frias's relationship with a member of one of Toledo's most important noble families, Alonso de Rojas, a nephew of Francisco de Rojas, the longtime diplomat and resident ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabel in Rome (García Oro 2009). Alonso was the son of Francisco's younger brother Juan de Rojas, knight of the Order of Santiago, who had married a member of the even more prominent Ayala family of Toledo (Rodríguez Villa 1896; Rojas 1636). This Alonso de Rojas became an influential canon of Toledo Cathedral, who when he died in 1577 left a large legacy and is honoured by an imposing funeral monument on the inside of the Puerta de los Leones (Fernández Collado 1999: 96).

Frias, as it turns out, was instrumental in beginning Alonso de Rojas's long and illustrious career. It was because of Frias that Alonso, at age sixteen, was provided with the benefice that defined him—not the Toledan canonry, but an archdeaconry at Segovia Cathedral. Rojas was generally known as the 'Archdeacon of Segovia' even while being a canon of Toledo, and the square in front of his house in Toledo (now the Juego de Pelota) was even called the Plazuela del Arcediano (Martz & Porres Martín-Cleto 1974: 133). But Frias had gotten to this benefice first. In 1511, Frias and Rojas were in litigation about an archdeaconry in Segovia Cathedral that brought an expected annual income of not more than one hundred and sixty gold cameral ducats. The lawsuit was settled when Frias ceded his rights to the benefice to Rojas, which he did by a supplication dated 15 June 1511 (ASV RS 1365, fol. 121r). This, presumably, is the archdeaconry that Rojas possessed until his death sixty-six years later. Now it was normal in deals like this for some sort of quid pro quo to follow, usually a permutation of benefices or the assignation of a pension to the person who ceded his rights. There is no mention of this in the document, but on that same day, another supplication was signed (and registered on the same page as the preceding supplication) (ASV RS 1365, fol. 121r–v). This is not about the archdeaconry in Segovia but about one in Seville that Frias had been disputing with Juan Loayse. Frias gave up on that one as well, but then the document continues with a complicated arrangement, all guaranteed by Alonso de Rojas through his father Juan who was in Rome acting as his agent. The gist was that

24 ASV RS 1192, fol. 54v: supplication dated 21 November 1504; ASV RS 1412, fol. 82v: supplication dated 18 June 1513.

TABLE 10.2 *The agreement between Alonso de Frias and Alonso de Rojas and others*

Details	Source
<p>Supplication dated 15 June 1511: Frias and Juan Loayse had been litigating in Rome about the archdeaconry of Reyna in Seville Cathedral. Frias now cedes his rights according to the following complicated agreement involving Alonso de Frias, Alonso de Rojas, Juan de Loayse, Fernando de Mercado, Juan de Rojas, father of Alonso, and Gil Gundasalvi de Avila. Resignations and permutations of benefices concerning the archdeaconry of Reyna in Seville Cathedral, the parish church in Berrocal de Salvatierra in the diocese of Salamanca, simplex benefices in Cysla and St Nicholas of Madrigal in the diocese of Avila, a prestimonium or prestimonial portion in Frades in the diocese of Salamanca (see below).</p> <p>Summary of the agreement:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Frias had been in litigation with Loayse about the archdeaconry and cedes his rights to the benefice. 2 Alonso Rojas resigns the parish churches and simple benefices. 3 Mercado asks to be surrogated in Frias's place and to be provided with the archdeaconry whose income was not expected to exceed two hundred gold cameral ducats. 4 Frias asks to be provided with the church and the benefices, whose income was not expected to exceed one hundred and forty gold cameral ducats. 5 If the income of the church and benefices turns out to be more than one hundred and forty ducats, then Frias agrees to assign the difference as a pension to Alonso Rojas. 6 If the income turns out to be less than one hundred and forty ducats, then Alonso Rojas agrees to assign Frias a pension to make up the difference from the fruits of a canonry and prebend in Avila Cathedral that he possesses. 7 Juan de Rojas agrees to verify the income of the church and benefices by the first of October [1511] before Gundasalvi in Rome. 8 If he does not verify the income within that time, then Frias will not be required to pay the pension to Rojas. 9 If Frias verifies that the income is less than one hundred and forty ducats within the required time then Rojas will be required to pay the difference to Frias. 	<p>ASV RS 1365, fol. 121r-v</p>

Rojas resigned a number of benefices in favour of Frias with the intention of guaranteeing Frias an annual income of one hundred and forty gold cameral ducats (equivalent to eighty-eight per cent of the income provided by the archdeaconry in Segovia) from those benefices. Further supplications and copies of the enabling bulls for this arrangement are extant so we know that it was followed through (see Table 10.2).

What is going on here? Rojas was not interested in the archdeaconry in Seville that was to go to someone else. Why was he the one who paid off Frias? The answer is probably that this elaborate agreement was somehow the *quid pro quo* for Frias having resigned the archdeaconry of Segovia to Rojas. Why they chose this way of doing it is not clear to me, but it is apparent that all of this must have been preceded by intense negotiations involving Frias and Rojas. This in turn implies some sort of clientage relationship. The papal singer Frias was in no way the social equal of the noble Rojas, yet they were intimately connected. In fact, they were even mixed up; we have documents that are said to be about Frias but are clearly about Rojas (the names may have looked similar if written by somebody with bad handwriting).

And this is where a mystery unfolds. It starts when one considers that Frias and Rojas had some sort of close connection, that Frias's origins are somewhat mysterious, and the associations that the name Rojas would call up in any scholar of early modern Spain. I refer, of course, not to Alonso de Rojas, but to Fernando de Rojas, the author of *La Celestina*, and with him to the uniquely Spanish problem of the conversos, descendants of Jewish families who had converted to Christianity in the past, who had been good Catholics for generations if not centuries, and yet were still considered to be 'tainted' by Judaism.²⁵ This was a very hot and dangerous topic in the sixteenth century; anybody, it seems, could be accused of being a converso (possibly to protect themselves from attack, a number of conversos were violently anti-Semitic). In fact, one gets the impression that if you go back far enough in the family tree, everyone of interest historically or culturally in the Spain of this period was a converso. I have not found too many musicians who have been claimed to be conversos (Juan del Encina, who, incidentally, was in Rome precisely at the same time as Troya and Frias, is one example), but there must have been a number of them. The city of Toledo in particular was full of conversos, many of them in the cathedral chapter. Eventually, the persecution of conversos resulted in the racist purity of blood statutes that prohibited conversos from occupying many

25 They are to be distinguished from Jews who had converted but were secretly practising Judaism, who were called *marranos*.

positions, including canonries in cathedrals. As it happens, Alonso de Rojas, as canon of Toledo Cathedral where the first of these statutes was promulgated, was a violent opponent of them. Was that because he knew something about his own origins? It is generally agreed (although not by everybody) that Fernando de Rojas was a converso. If Fernando de Rojas was a converso, was Alonso de Rojas as well?

Of course, this is all bogus. Proving converso origin involves complicated genealogical investigations in which everyone had a motive to lie. Further, Spanish surnames tell us nothing about family relationships. There is absolutely no reason to believe that Fernando de Rojas and Alonso de Rojas were in any way related; yet it turns out that the taint of converso was directly associated with Alonso de Rojas. In 1538 (this was just when the purity of blood statute for Toledo Cathedral was being introduced), there was an ugly incident in Toledo in which a statue of a lion bearing Alonso de Rojas's coat of arms was stolen from in front of his house and was later found with a San Benito (the garment worn by those condemned by the Inquisition) appended to it with a statement basically accusing Rojas's ancestors of being conversos or worse. This incident was serious enough that Charles V ordered an investigation, and when he received the report, he burned it. Later testimony about the case declared that this was defamation, but that testimony is suspect (González [Ruiz] 1967). Modern scholarship suggests that there was indeed something to the accusation. For while Alonso's father was probably an Old Christian as evidenced by his acceptance into a military order (the military orders were very strict about such things), there is credible evidence that his great-grandmother on his mother's side was a conversa and he probably knew it (Martz 2003). I bring this up because, according to Linda Martz, converso families in Toledo formed 'networks' (Martz 2003). If Alonso de Rojas was a converso descendant, what does the apparent close connection between Frias and Rojas actually mean? Why are Frias's origins so murky? With this I circle back to the papal chapel and its Spanish singers.

Burckard makes a curious remark about the singing of the Passion by Spaniards: 'Others said that the Spanish were better than others of that sort in reciting the Passion, as their ancestors had been present at the Passion of Christ'. When I first read that passage, I thought it was a mere insult, basically calling the Spanish singers Jews (or marranos). Now having learned about the conversos, I begin to wonder if it was not in fact true, that people were aware of the Jewish origins of the Spanish singers in the papal chapel (three of whom came from the diocese of Toledo). And I begin to wonder if the special 'lamenting' sound of Spanish voices did not have something to do with some vague

connection to the music of this particular group, a distant memory of the synagogue perhaps? Of course, we will never know. It will remain a mystery.

The Roman Connection III: Two Spanish Composers in the Papal Chapel and Their Music

Appendix 1 shows that a number of Spanish singers were also composers.²⁶ For most, this means that one or two works are ascribed to them in Spanish sources. Only two of the Spanish singers in Appendix 1 left compositions that were copied into extant Vatican sources and were presumably sung by the singers of the papal chapel. I will end this chapter with a discussion of them and their music.

Juan de Hillanis [Hillanas, de Illanas, Yllianas, Illanis] (c. 1460–1522)

Hillanis can be claimed as the ‘founder’ of the Spanish Nation in the papal chapel. He was a cleric of the diocese of Saragossa who became an Augustinian canon associated with the monastery of Santa Maria de Ulivo and later with the monastery of Santa Maria de Vilabertran in the diocese of Gerona.²⁷ It seems likely that he is the ‘Giovanni degli Anas’ who served as a singer in Florence Cathedral and the Santissima Annunziata from April 1486 until June 1492 (D’Accone 1961; Zanovello 2014). He joined the papal chapel in July 1492 (listed first as ‘Jo. de Aragonia,’ then as ‘Jo. de Lannis’), and he is in all extant lists after that. Beneficial documents place him in the chapel in the years 1494–1518, with a possible leave of absence in 1497. By 1517 (after twenty-five years in the chapel) he had become the dean of the singers.²⁸ According to a notarial document, Hillanis was removed from the chapel in the pontificate of Leo x (probably in 1518) because of bad eyesight (*visum brevem*, which seems to mean long-sightedness or presbyopia, that is, the viewer had trouble with ‘short’ vision, seeing things that are up close, which could have caused a problem for a singer who had to stand in front of a lectern in the cantoria of the Sistine Chapel).²⁹ In fact, glasses with convex lenses to correct presbyopia had been available since the fourteenth century, but perhaps they no longer worked

26 Andreas de Silva, the first official composer of the papal chapel, is omitted from Appendix 1 because, even though his name looks Spanish, his origins have not yet been determined.

27 Hillanis is usually identified as a canon of Santa Maria de Ulivo, but one document identifies him as a cleric of Saragossa (ASV RS 1347, fol. 76v: supplication dated 10 June 1510).

28 He is designated dean in ASV RS 1582, fol. 200r–v: supplication dated 11 September 1517.

29 Vatican City, Cappella Sistina, 703, no. 14, notarial document dated 27 March 1550, Testimony of Ludovicus de Perlinis, cleric of Oviedo: ‘tempore Leonis prefati quidem Joannes



FIGURE 10.1 Possible portrait of Juan de Hillanis (I-Rvat CS 49, fol. 104v; ©2015 BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA); USED BY PERMISSION OF THE BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA

for Hillanis (Ilardi 1976). This detail permits a possible identification of a curious face appended to the initial 'V' of 'vivos et mortuos' on fol. 104v of *I-Rvat* CS 49 in the Credo of Hillanis's only extant work, his *Missa Dominicalis*. Jean Orceau, the scribe of these folios, often included stylized faces in his initials, but this one looks real (Figure 10.1). It is a picture of a man with a tonsure, cowl and glasses, all attributes that fit Hillanis, an Augustinian canon with bad eyesight. We may very well have here a portrait of the composer, drawn by someone who obviously knew him.

It is not known what Hillanis did after being dismissed from the papal chapel. Possibly he returned to his monastery or to one of his benefices in Spain. In any case, he was in Rome when he died before 7 June 1522 (the earliest date of a request for a benefice made vacant by his death *in Romana curia*) (ASV RS 1761, fol. 65r–v).

Juan de Hillanis's Missa Dominicalis

Hillanis's only extant composition is the Mass ascribed to 'Hillanas' in *I-Rvat* CS 49, fols 98v–109r, folios copied in the first years of the pontificate of Julius II (whose coat of arms is present in the initial on fol. 98v) (Sherr 1996: 197).³⁰ It is a plainsong Mass, each item of the Ordinary based on a different chant. The Kyrie and Sanctus use the chants of Mass XI (*In dominicis per annum*) of the Liber Usualis [LU] identifying this Mass as a *Missa Dominicalis*.³¹ The 'Patrem omnipotentem' uses the chant of Credo I of the LU which was also appropriate for a Sunday Mass (Music Example 10.2), while the 'Et in terra' seems to be based on Gloria xv, and the Agnus dei uses Agnus XII of the LU transposed to G.

While any setting of the Ordinary in polyphony is a substantial work, Hillanis's Mass is not particularly adventurous. The chant is always recognizable and dutifully presented (with some ornamentation) in the Tenor.

de Lanies qui tunc erat decanus capelle propter visum brevem fuit amotus et sibi data recompense...'.

30 I am aware of no published transcription of this Mass, but four of the five sections were performed in one of the concerts that accompanied the massive exhibition *Kunst und Kultur im Rom der Päpste 1. Hochrenaissance im Vatikan (1503–1534)* which took place in the Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn, from 11 December 1998 to 11 April 1999 (<<http://www2.bundeskunsthalle.de/1/25/1.htm#1>>); concert of the ensemble La Columbina on 12 March 1999. I am grateful to Klaus Pietschmann for sending me a tape of this concert.

31 The Kyrie I is transcribed in Sherr 1992b: 605. The chant of the Sanctus of Mass XI is transposed to G in the Mass.

EXAMPLE 10.2 *Juan de Hillanis, Missa Dominicalis: 'Patrem omnipotentem', setting of 'qui ex patre' with the chant marked*

Occasionally, especially at the beginning of movements or when the Tenor is silent, the chant will be quoted in other voices. In the 'Patrem omnipotentem', in common with many settings of Credo I, the chant is prominent in the Superius as well, along with the standard rhythms that were associated with it (Sherr 1992a).

The clauses in the Gloria and Credo are clearly delineated, sometimes with homophony. No elaborate canonic devices appear. Syntactic imitation and paired duets, hallmarks of the new style of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, are generally not present (although there is some use of imitation). There is no elaborate final *Agnus dei* à la Josquin. The work would be perfect for the ordinary Sunday Masses (not papal ceremonies) that the singers were required to sing throughout the year. It did not have to be interesting.³²

The openings of Kyrie I and Kyrie II, both based on Kyrie I of Mass XI, provide some evidence of the way Hillanis construed Mode 1 on D, and also about the relative speeds of Kyrie I and Kyrie II (Figure 10.2; Music Examples 10.3A and 10.3B). In both openings, the chant is quoted first in the Superius. The LU adds a flat to the first B of the chant. In Hillanis's Kyrie I, the flat could be added by ficta, yet the start of Kyrie II makes it clear that Hillanis thought of the beginning of the chant without a ficta flat since he juxtaposes *b'* in the Superius against E in the Bassus.

32 It could be compared with the Missa *L'Homme armé* by Hillanis's (and Josquin's) colleague Bertrandus Vaquerus (who in spite of his name was not Spanish), which definitely tries to be 'interesting'.

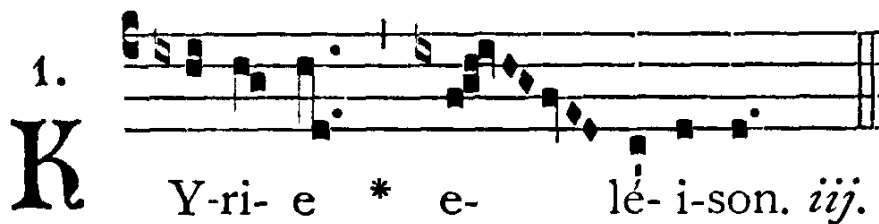


FIGURE 10.2 Kyrie I of Mass XI of the Liber Usualis

Hillanis's Kyrie II also makes clear what is usually ambiguous in Masses of this period. Often, the Kyrie I has the mensuration \circ , the Christe has the mensuration ϕ and the Kyrie II has the mensuration ϕ , yet uses basically the same note values of the Kyrie I. There is much debate these days about what ϕ means in terms of tempo: was the Kyrie II to move faster than the Kyrie I? If so, how much faster? Hillanis solves the problem for the performer. Both of his Kyries use the \circ mensuration, but he halves the basic note values in the beginning of the Kyrie II so that it has to move faster than Kyrie I (Music Example 10.4). That they both use the same chant only makes this more evident to the listener. At the end of the Kyrie II, the note values dramatically lengthen as the movement comes to a conclusion.

Johannes [Juan] Escribano [Escrivano, Scribano, Scrivano]
(c. 1480–1557)

Escribano was a bit more prolific than Hillanis as a composer.³³ Many details of his career in the papal chapel have been published by Llorens (Llorens Cisteró 1957). Because Escribano was a cleric of the diocese of Salamanca and eventually became a canon and dignitary of Salamanca Cathedral (and returned there in retirement), Llorens speculated that Escribano began his career in that cathedral.³⁴ While there is no evidence for this, it is perfectly plausible and is in keeping with what we know about other singers in the chapel who came to Rome from cathedral or collegiate church chapters (such as

33 As usual, there are various spellings of his last name, but in two autograph signatures, he signs himself 'Jo. Scribanus' and that spelling is used in most Vatican documents (Sherr 1976).

34 Llorens considers it 'probable' that Escribano had presented himself for the post of cantor of Salamanca Cathedral, which became vacant on the death of Fernando de Torrijos in 1498, but admits that there is no evidence of this.

EXAMPLE 10.3A Juan de Hillanis, *Missa Dominicalis*: opening of Kyrie IEXAMPLE 10.3B Juan de Hillanis, *Missa Dominicalis*: opening of Kyrie II

Alonso de Troya). What is certain is that Escribano first appears in a list of the papal chapel that was prepared in October 1503 on the occasion of the death of Pius III. Since the pontificate of Pius III only lasted from 22 September to 18 October 1503, and since there are no extant lists of the chapel after that of April 1502 in which Escribano is not present, it is reasonable to suppose that he joined the chapel at some time during the last year of the pontificate of Alexander VI (June 1502 to 18 August 1503).³⁵ Thus began a long tenure lasting, with a few significant interruptions, from 1502–3 to August 1539 when he definitely retired from the choir and returned to Spain (see Appendix 1). By that time, Escribano was the most senior singer and had the title of dean of the chapel, a title he had inherited in absentia on the death of Tomasso Fazanis in

35 In 1505, Escribano claimed that he had received an expectative from Alexander VI that would confirm that he was a member of the chapel at some point in the pontificate of the Borgia pope; see ASV RS 1193, fol. 138r; supplication dated 11 December 1505.

EXAMPLE 10.4 Juan de Hillanis, *Missa Dominicalis: Kyrie I and Kyrie II, Tenor*

1530.³⁶ In the pontificate of Leo x, he had occupied the post of secretary of the chapel with the duty of reading the Constitutions to newly admitted singers, and he may have occupied other chapel offices as well.³⁷

Like all the Spanish singers, Escribano was an avid seeker of benefices, not all of which resulted in his taking possession of them. But he did take possession of the archdeaconry of Monleón in Salamanca Cathedral, a dignity that had been created especially for him by Leo x in 1515. At that time, Escribano

36 Llorens says he became dean in 1527 but provides no evidence (Llorens Cisteró 1957: 99). In fact, Fazanis is first in the list of singers in all extant chapel lists from 1525 to November 1530. In the list of December 1530, Fazanis's name disappears (presumably because of his death). Escribano was not in Rome at this time, so Bernardo Pisano became number one in the lists (and presumably acted as dean).

37 Chapter 19 of a fragmentary constitution of the College of Singers in Vatican City, Cappella Sistina, 687, fols 160r–166v, which may date from the pontificate of Leo x, refers to Escribano as secretary of the College of Singers; see Köhler 2001: 236. This is the only evidence for the post of secretary before the late sixteenth century. I have not found any evidence to support Stevenson's statement that Escribano was elected *abbas* of the chapel in 1514, but it is perfectly possible that he was; see Stevenson 1960: 174. In fact, the *Introitus est Exitus* records of payments to the chapel in 1513–15 list Escribano as the person who picked up the money, a job that would naturally have gone to the *abbas*.

was also a canon of the cathedral.³⁸ A year later, the pope had to threaten the chapter with ecclesiastical penalties as they were refusing to give Escribano possession of the benefice.³⁹ They must have obeyed since Escribano is often referred to as the archdeacon of Monleón from then on. Escribano enjoyed other papal favours. Both Julius II and Leo X elevated him to the rank of protonotary and Clement VII actually ennobled him by creating him Count of the Sacred Lateran Palace in 1527. He continued to collect provisions to benefices from Clement VII and Paul III. That a pope would create a position in a cathedral for him added to his appointment as protonotary and his elevation to the nobility, favours that were not bestowed on other singers, suggests that Escribano's services to the papacy may have gone beyond singing in the papal choir, and that he, like Troya, was a diplomatic agent of some kind. His long absences from the chapel in the 1530s, after which he was always reinstated with full seniority, also suggest that he was absent with papal permission and was perhaps doing papal business (see Appendix 1).⁴⁰ Escribano died in Spain in October 1557; on 19 November 1557, the singers heard about the death and began the process of claiming the archdeaconry of Monleón for the singer Francisco de Montalvo (Llorens Cisteró 1957: 110–12). A funeral Mass for Escribano was celebrated by the singers in the church of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli on 12 October 1558, which would have been the date of the first anniversary of his death.

There is some evidence that Escribano was very well-off financially. In November 1525, he rented a house from the Pia Unión de Santiago, which remained his residence in Rome until 1539 when he transferred his rights to the house to Francisco de Arficias (Llorens Cisteró 1957). That he could afford his own dwelling in Rome, whereas other singers had to find lodging in the palaces of cardinals or with other persons, testifies to a certain financial independence. Robert Stevenson discovered further that Escribano built a fine house in the town of Aldearrubia near Salamanca, which eventually became the possession of the bishop of Salamanca and was sold for one thousand two hundred

38 Vatican City, ASV, *Registri Vaticani* [RV] 1044, fols 276ff. copy of a bull dated 23 March 1515. See Llorens, 'Juan Escribano', 113, doc. XI. Escribano is first identified as a canon of Salamanca Cathedral in 1513.

39 ASV RV 1207, fols 391ff., copy of a bull dated 3 June 1516.

40 When Escribano returned to the chapel in November 1531, his name is first in the list, meaning that he had been reinstated in full seniority and was the official dean of the chapel. The same thing happened when he returned after a long absence in June 1539. In August 1539 he asked for a leave of absence and left Rome for good by September 1539, which suggests that his final return to Rome was merely to wind up his affairs.

ducats.⁴¹ This was presumably Escribano's retirement residence in what was probably his home town; he also endowed four Masses in a church in a nearby village.⁴² There are also traces of a household; Llorens refers to Diego de Vega as 'su criado y mayordomo' (Llorens Cisteró 1957: 101), and in a notarial document of 1550, one of the witnesses, Luís de Perlinus, cleric of the diocese of Oviedo, declared that he had been Escribano's servant during the pontificates of Leo X, Adrian VI and Clement VII.⁴³ There were undoubtedly more servants in his household. There are also traces of a family: at one point, Escribano resigned his canonry in Salamanca Cathedral to his brother Alonso Escribano under a strange but not unprecedented arrangement whereby Escribano kept the title, the income, and all of the privileges of the canonry as if he had not resigned it. Alonso was to be seated in the cathedral as a canon while Escribano remained in Rome, but if Escribano should return to Salamanca, then he was to be seated in place of Alonso without the consent of the chapter being needed. If both Escribano brothers wanted to be seated in the cathedral, then the consent of the chapter was required (Frey 1956: 52; Llorens Cisteró 1957: 120–21, doc.XXIV). And there is a curious reference in the documents to a 'Johannes Scribano Junior', possibly a nephew or an illegitimate son.⁴⁴

Johannes Escribano as Composer

Escribano can be credited with two secular Italian works published uniquely in Antico's *Canzoni Nove* (Rome, 1510).⁴⁵ A Magnificat sexti toni, a six-voice motet *Paradisi porta*, and settings of six of the readings of texts from the Lamentations of Jeremiah (one of these has a conflicting attribution to Costanzo Festa) are preserved in extant sources of the papal chapel and the

41 Robert Stevenson, 'Escribano, Juan', in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08977>> (accessed 5 December, 2014). Stevenson's source is Casaseca Casaseca 1982: 184: 'En Aldearrubia ay una cassa muy buena, que fundó un monseñor de Capilla del Papa, que se dice Juan Escribano, la qual cassa mandó a don Juan de Quiñones, Maestresquela de Salamanca, que la dexó al cabildo y el cabildo la bendió al señor don Pedro González, obispo de Salamanca, el qual la acavó y sus herederos la bendieron al presidente Liébana en mil y doscientos ducados.'

42 Stevenson, 'Escribano, Juan' and Casaseca Casaseca 1982: 172: church in Villanueva de Lugo: 'Aquí ay un vinculo que fundó Juan Escribano con quatro missas cada semana, es patrono Juan Perez, cumplen las missas'.

43 Vatican City, 703, no. 14: notarial document dated 27 March 1550.

44 ASV RV 1396, fols 78v ff.: copy of a bull dated 11 August 1533 (see Llorens Cisteró 1957: 120–21, doc.XXIV).

45 *Vola il tempo* and *L'huom terren*, numbers two and seven in the Antico publication.

Cappella Giulia.⁴⁶ According to Llorens, in March 1534 the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso paid Escribano for Lamentations and for 'the words of Christ in polyphony', which refers to the Spanish custom of chanting the Passion with sections in three-part polyphony mentioned previously. The actual entry Llorens published does not have a year, and Escribano's absence from the chapel list of 1534 suggests that he was not in Rome in that year (although I suppose the payment could have been made to him in any case) (Llorens Cisteró 1957: 122, doc.xxviii); Escribano's setting of the Passion text may survive anonymously in *I-Rc* 1671. The Lamentations commissioned by the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso are lost except for a short excerpt that appears in Ghiselin Danckerts's treatise (discussed below). If Escribano composed Masses or more motets, no trace of them has been found as of the time of writing.

Escribano's extant music reveals him as a competent yet conservative composer with a penchant for writing strict canons in long note values. The two Italian pieces set four-line stanzas of octosyllabic poetry (the standard *barzelletta* form) in four voices in the 'polyphonically animated homophony' used by many frottola composers. But there are glimmers of some originality. In *L'huom terren*, a *barzelletta* by Benedetto da Cingoli (d. 1495) entitled *La Fama*, Fame claims in the first stanza to be able to make men immortal by protecting their souls from Charon after death (that is, not allowing the souls to pass into the obscurity of Hades):

*Del sepulchro io rompo il sasso,
L'alma al corpo morto rendo,
Che dopo l'extremo passo,
Da Charonte la difendo.*

[I break the stone [cover] of the tomb, [tear] the soul from the dead body so that, after the final passage, I defend it [the soul] against Charon].⁴⁷

In his setting, Escribano breaks with the standard short-short-long rhythm of octosyllabic lines that he uses throughout, and suddenly introduces a fermata on 'rendo' followed by undifferentiated semibreves for the line describing the 'extremo passo', only to liven things up, even with a little imitation, at the line

46 The Magnificat is in *I-Rvat* CS 44, fols 52v–60r; the motet is in *I-Rvat* CS 46, fols 120v–121r; and the Lamentations are in *I-Rvat* CG XII. 3, fols 79v–101r.

47 Einstein labels this 'a mascherata—a "Trionfo della Fama" in frottola form'. He does not identify the poet; see Einstein 1951: 334.

describing defending the soul against Charon (Music Example 10.5). What he does not do is introduce any unusual harmonies or dissonances in order to express the idea of death and the final passage; but this is a frottola, not a madrigal.

Escribano's sacred music is all chant-based. To judge from the sources, two of the extant works were composed in the first decades of the sixteenth century and one may date from the 1530s.

The motet Paradisi porta

The six-voice motet *Paradisi porta* survives uniquely in *I-Rvat* CS 46, in a copy that can be dated c. 1518 (Dean 1986: Table B). The work demonstrates that Escribano had learned the lessons of the Josquin/Mouton generation on how to produce six-voice pieces. This motet is of the four-plus-two variety, the six-voice texture created by a strict canon at the space of two breves with Superius I as dux of the cantus firmus (the antiphon *Paradisi porta per Evam*, for the feast of the Assumption).⁴⁸ The canonic interval is easily determined to be either the upper fifth or the lower fourth (I prefer the lower fourth) (Music Example 10.6).⁴⁹ The cantus firmus is presented largely unornamented in breves and longs until b. 47 when it moves in semibreves, hinting at the diminution that was sometimes applied in strict cantus firmus works.⁵⁰ As often occurs in motets like this, there is a bit of 'false canon' at the beginning between Superius II (whose tessitura is usually higher than Superius I) and Superius I, which is soon abandoned.

The Bass often moves by leaps of fourths and fifths. Harmonies are somewhat plodding: every time there is an *f'* in the chant, it is harmonized with a *D* in the bass; *g*'s in the chant are harmonized either with *C* or with *G*. The counterpoint in the other free voices seems to have been inspired by the standard

48 Listed in the CANTUS database <<http://cantusdatabase.org/id/004214>> (consulted 14 December 2014). The mode 1 chant Escribano used can be found in *Antiphonarium ad usum Sancti Mauri Fossatensis*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms lat. 12044, fol. 178r. Stevenson discusses the motet and presents a transcription; see Stevenson 1986–87: 74–80. The motet has also been published in a transcription by Martyn Imrie, *Mapa Mundi*, Series A: Spanish & Portuguese Church Music, 8A.

49 Stevenson and Imrie assume that the canon is at the upper fifth. This seems unlikely to me since it produces a very high tessitura in the comes (reaching *e''*) and because the dux and comes often form unisons and fourths which become octaves and fifths if the comes is at the lower fourth.

50 As in Josquin's *Virgo salutiferi* / *Ave Maria*, a motet Escribano surely knew. But Escribano's 'diminution' does not correspond to a repeat of the cantus firmus.

19
Del se - pul - chro io rom - po el sas - so L'al - ma al cor -

23
-po mor - to ren - do Che do - po l'ex - tre - mo pas - so

29
Da Cha - ron - te la di - fen - do la di - fen - do.

EXAMPLE 10.5 *Escribano, L'huom terren, stanza, bb. 19–33*

figures of contrapunctus: it consists largely of repeated scalar figures of ascending and descending fourths which sometimes come close together to form little imitative modules. There is a little bit of Josquin-like *fuga ad minimam* at the octave and unison occurs in bb. 46–47 (Music Example 10.7A) just before the diminution in the cantus firmus and later in bb. 56–57 (Music Example

Superius 1

Superius 2
Pa - ra - di -

Altus
Pa - ra - di -

Comes

Tenor
Pa - ra - di -

Bassus
Pa - ra -

5

Pa - ra -

- si

si

por -

Pa -

- di - si -

EXAMPLE 10.6 *Escribano, Paradisi porta, opening*

46

S.1 i -

S.2 i - - - te - - - rum

A. - nem i - - - - -

C. - - - - -

T. Vir - - - - -

B. - - - - -

EXAMPLE 10.7A *Escribano, Paradisi porta, bb. 46-47*

56

S.1 - le - - - - -

S.2 Al - le - lu - - - - - ya -

A. Al - le - lu - - - - -

C. Al - - - - - le - - - - -

T. est Al - le - - - - -

B. Al - - - - -

EXAMPLE 10.7B *Escribano, Paradisi porta, bb. 56-57*

EXAMPLE 10.8 *Escribano, Aleph* from the *Danckerts Treatise* [Lockwood transcription with added *ficta*] (Lockwood 1965: 32)

10.7B). There is no use of syntactic imitation and the texture is uniformly full throughout (no duets or trios).

Paradisi porta can also shed some light on a curious dispute about accidentals that is reported in a treatise by Ghiselin Danckerts, a member of the papal chapel from 1538 to 1565 (Lockwood 1965). Danckerts was called to adjudicate a dispute between two singers in the choir of the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso concerning a setting of the Lamentations by Escribano that was copied in a choirbook in that church.⁵¹ The dispute concerned the desire of a bass singer to place a flat signature on the line of *B-mi* [*BB*] in his part because he wished to sing all *BBS* in his part as *BB* flat. Danckerts ruled against the bass singer because the Lamentation in question was in Mode 2 on D. Mode 2 was defined as a combination of the first species of fourth (*AA-D: TST*) plus the first

51 Presumably this is the Lamentation for which Llorens found a pay record.

species of fifth (*D-A*: TSTTT), therefore, by definition it could not have a flat signature on the *B-mi* of the lower tetrachord so the bass singer was wrong.⁵² If a flat was needed for contrapuntal or melodic reasons, then it should be added 'accidentally'. Danckerts supplies a music example to illustrate this, a setting of *Aleph* from an otherwise unknown Lamentation by Escribano (Music Example 10.8).

According to Danckerts, a flat was permissible in the Bass only in b. 8 where there is a clear *mi contra fa* situation. Not flattening the other *B-mis* probably would have inspired the cadencing voice to add musica ficta sharps as in the example, although this is not certain.⁵³ Danckerts states that this dispute took place during the pontificate of Paul III (1534–49). Lockwood determined that Danckerts's involvement in the case had to have taken place between 1538, when Danckerts entered the papal chapel, and 1544, when one of the named participants left Rome. Danckerts claimed to have consulted a number of singers in the papal chapel about this (Morales, Festa, Charles d'Argenti). He mentions the composer of the Lamentation, Escribano, only in passing as one of the 'many' who judged that the Lamentation was in the second mode. Lockwood notes this as curious, but it should be pointed out that Danckerts and Escribano were actually both physically present in Rome for only three months in 1539, which suggests that Escribano was not consulted more fully because he was not there when the dispute actually took place.

But there is evidence that Escribano would indeed have agreed with Danckerts's views about flat signatures and Mode 2. This evidence is the beginning of *Paradisi porta*, a motet that, as Stevenson has already observed, is clearly in Mode 1 on D (first species of fifth and first species of fourth) (Stevenson 1986–87). As Stevenson has also observed, the copy of the motet in *I-Rvat* CS 46, a copy made when Escribano was present in Rome, has no flat signature and contains a number of 'cautionary sharps' on the line *B-mi* in the Bass intended to prevent any bass singer from adding ficta flats at those spots. This is clearest in the opening, which in fact more or less mirrors the Danckerts example above. This was not the only time Escribano was consulted on the matter of modes and flats. According to Stevenson, Martín de Tapia in his *Vergel de música spiritual* cites Escribano, 'as his authority for always flattening the note B when singing plainchant in modes v and vi'.⁵⁴

52 And lost a considerable amount of money: he had made a wager for three gold cameral ducats.

53 Lockwood does not add this musica ficta.

54 Stevenson, 'Escribano, Juan'. I have been unable to consult this treatise.

A - ni - ma me - a do -

A - ni - ma me - a do -

A - ni - ma me -

A - ni - ma me - a do -

mi - num.

mi - num do - mi - num.

a do - mi - num.

mi - num.

EXAMPLE 10.9 *Escribano, Magnificat sexti toni, 'Anima mea'*

Escribano's Magnificat sexti toni and Lamentations

The other extant sacred works by Escribano are a setting of the Magnificat and a setting of verses from the Lamentations of Jeremiah. The Magnificat appears in *I-Rvat* CS 44, fols 52v–60r, in a copy that was created by conflating folios copied c. 1505–7 with folios copied c. 1510–12, providing the *terminus ante quem* for its composition as the middle years of the pontificate of Julius II (1503–13), therefore not long after Escribano joined the chapel (Sherr 1996: 185–86). The Lamentations were copied into *I-Rvat* CG XII. 3, fols 79v–101r, by the papal chapel scribe Federico Perusino in 1543, four years after Escribano left Rome for good, so its date of composition could be much earlier.

These works represent what might be called Vatican 'Gebrauchsmusik' and are united in and constrained by their reliance on reciting tones, which are

Si - cut e - rat in prin - ci - pi - o et nunc_

Si - cut e - rat in prin - ci - pi - o et nunc et

Si - cut e - rat in prin - ci - pi - o et

Si - cut

Si - cut e -

Si - cut e - rat

EXAMPLE 10.10 *Escribano, Magnificat sexti toni, 'Sicut erat'*

Quo - mo - do se - det so - la

Quo - mo - do se - det so - la

Quo - mo - do se - det so - la

Quo - mo - do se - det so - la

EXAMPLE 10.11 *Escribano, Lamentation, 'Quomodo sedet sola' (Ring 2000: 209)*

always made obvious in the polyphony. They are substantial compositions. The Magnificat for four voices, following papal chapel custom, sets all twelve of the verses of the canticle. The sixth Magnificat tone, on A with a final on F is present, usually in long notes, in various voices in every one of the verses (Music Example 10.9).⁵⁵

55 I am not aware of any published transcription. The Magnificat was performed by the ensemble Pomerium in a concert on 5 February 1999 as part of the Bonn exhibition (see n. 30).

In the 'Gloria patri', Escribano expands the number of voices to five (SATBB) through a canon at the lower fifth in the bass parts based on the reciting tone, and in the 'Sicut erat' the number of voices expands to six (SATBBB) through a double canon at the upper fifth and octave in the basses (the canonic voices are written out in both cases). The 'Sicut erat' also begins in imitation, which is not a technique Escribano uses frequently in this Magnificat or indeed in any of his extant works (Music Example 10.10).

The Lamentations are more complicated. Occupying twenty-three folios, they can be divided into six lessons setting texts drawn from Chapters 1, 2, 3, and 5 of the Lamentations of Jeremiah.⁵⁶ The Lamentations provided the texts of the first three lessons of the Tenebrae services on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday, but the order of the verses was open to much variation and was not codified until the Council of Trent.⁵⁷ Johannes Ring has transcribed the first lesson on fols 79v–82r of *I-Rvat* CG XII. 3, which would be the first lesson of the Tenebrae service on Maundy Thursday, setting Chapter 1:1–2 of the Lamentations followed by the text 'Jerusalem convertere ad dominum tuum' that was always added at the end of the lessons (Music Example 10.11). Ring points out that Escribano chooses to base this lesson on the Spanish reciting tone for Lamentations.⁵⁸ This tone is in the second mode on D, and it is interesting to note that, according to Ring's transcription, while there is no flat signature, ficta B flats are constantly required in all parts and particularly the Bass, very unlike the example of *Paradisi porta* above. However, the fact that there is no signature may confirm once again that Escribano wanted a Mode 2 piece to look as if it did not officially contain B flats. It should also be noted that the first lesson for Maundy Thursday in 1518 was, according to de Grassis, sung by Spanish singers in their typical lamenting manner.

While Hillanis and Escribano were perfectly competent composers (Escribano being perhaps a more interesting composer than Hillanis), it would appear that the establishment of a Roman music connection did not mean that the Catholic Monarchs allowed their best musicians to join the papal chapel. Major Spanish composers join the chapel only after their deaths: Peñalosa by 1517—although he did not stay long and none of his music appears to be extant in Vatican sources—and Morales in 1535.

56 The second of the lessons in *I-Rvat* CG XII. 3 ('He'-Facti sunt hostes'-Vau'-Egressus est'-Jerusalem'), fols 82v–85r is ascribed to Festa in *I-Rc* 1671).

57 This topic is too complicated to be treated here; see the discussion in Ring 2000.

58 Just as there were variations in texts, so were there variations in the reciting tone for the Lamentations, until the Council of Trent specified the 'Roman' reciting tone for all Lamentations.

The Roman Connection IV: An Omission

Before closing this chapter, I must admit to one musical connection that has not been explored. This, of course, is Juan del Encina, who has left quite a documentary trail of his time in Rome as I have reported elsewhere (Sherr 1982; and Sherr 1999, Chapter II and Addenda). He may have been the most important Spanish composer in Rome during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, but he was not a member of the Spanish Nation of the papal chapel and so is absent from this survey.

Appendix 1: Iberian Singers in the Papal Chapel 1492–1521 in Chronological Order

Dates of service (and date of death when known) ^a	Name (first name in Latin nominative)	Diocese	Comments
Pontificate of Innocent VIII (1484–1492)			
July 1492–1518 (d. 1522)	Johannes de Hillanis	Saragossa	Composer
Pontificate of Alexander VI (1492–1503)			
1497–1503 (as a singer); 1503–13 (as a <i>capellanus missarum</i> and subdeacon of the chapel) (d. 1516)	Alfonsus de Troya	Toledo	Composer
1499–1504; he is called a <i>cubicularius secretus</i> of Alexander VI	Marturianus Prats	Gerona	Composer
1499–1500 (as a singer); 1500–1502 (as a <i>capellanus missarum</i> of the chapel)	Martinus Scudero	Saragossa	
1502–c. 1516	Alfonsus de Frias	Toledo	
1502–16 (d. 1521)	Garsia Salinas	Toledo	
1502 or 1503–26	Johannes Palomares	Palencia	
1502 or 1503–c. 1527; November 1531–November 1533; June–August 1539 (d. October 1557)	Johannes Escribano	Salamanca	Composer
Pontificate of Julius II (1503–1513)			
1510–20	Petrus Pérez de Rezola	Tortosa	
1510–17	Ludovicus Forero	Evora	
1512–22	Martinus de Monteagudo	Burgo de Osma	
1512–19 (d. 1531)	Martinus Prieto	Ciudad Rodrigo	
Pontificate of Leo X (1513–1521)			
1517–21 (d. 1528)	Franciscus de Peñalosa	Seville	Composer
1519–c. 1522	Didacus Blasius	Braga?	
1520–June 1563 (d. 22 November 1563)	Blasius Nuñez	Segovia	
1520–before 1529	Antonius Ribera	Seville	Composer

Number of singers per year

1492	1493	1494	1495	1496	1497	1498	1499	1500	1501
1	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	4	3
1502	1503	1504	1505	1506	1507	1508	1509	1510	1511
5	7	6	5	5	5	5	5	7	7
1512	1513	1514	1515	1516	1517	1518	1519	1520	1521
9	9	9	9	9	7	7	7	9	8

a Dates of service are estimated by combining extant chapel lists with information from beneficial documents.

Appendix 2: References to Alonso de Troya and Letters from Troya to Cardinal Cisneros in Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional [AHN]⁵⁹

AHN, UNIVERSIDADES 745

Doc. 2: fol. 5r: no date: Copia bulle provisionis seu comende prioratus Sancte Balbine ordinis Sancti Guliermi de urbe in person bone memorie Antoniotti olim tituli Sancti Anastasie presbitri cardinalis, et deinde Sancte Praxedis postremo vero episcopi Prenestinensis extracte ab originali et cum eodem originali collationate per R. P. D. Alfonsum de Troia apostolicum prothonotarium S.mi D. N. subdiaconum

fol. 7v at the bottom: signature: Alfonsus de Troya prothonotarius appostolicus

fol. 8r: no date: Copia bulle provisionis prioratus Sancte Balbine de urbe ordinis Sancti Guliermi in personam quondam Christofori de persona civic Romani, olim dicti prioratus prioris collationate cum originali per R. P. D. Alfonsum de troia apostolicum prothonotarium et subdiaconum S.mi D. N.

fol. 9v: signature: Alfonsus de Troya prothonotarius Appostolicus

AHN, UNIVERSIDADES, 748

Doc. 146: fol. 182r–v: Letter of Cardinal Regino to Cisneros dated Rome, 17 April 1507
Mentions that: ‘(lo mas escrivira Troya a su relacion me remito)...’

Doc. 14: fol. 25r–v: Letter from Troya to Cisneros dated Rome, 18 May 1507

Announces Cisneros’s elevation to the cardinalate; signed: ‘El prothonotario A. de Troya’

⁵⁹ I would like to thank Luis Robledo for his invaluable assistance when I visited the AHN for the first time.

Doc. 139: fol. 174r–v: Letter of the Cardinal of Pavia to Cisneros dated Rome, 17 May 1507

Congratulates Cisneros on his cardinalate; mentions ‘R.dus D.nus Alphonsus de Troya apostolicus protonotarius eius procurator’

Doc. 140: fol. 175r–v: Letter of the Cardinal of Pavia to Cisneros dated Rome, 1 July 1507

Mentions that Cisneros will have received information ‘por relation del R.do prothonotario Alonso de Troya’

AHN, Carpetas

Car. 1, n. 36: fols 1r–4v: Breve of Julius II to Cisneros dated Rome, 5 July 1507

Troya, ‘notarius et subdiaconus capelle nostre’, has conveyed Cisneros’s thanks for the cardinalate to the pope.

AHN, UNIVERSIDADES, 748

Doc. 15: fol. 26r–v: Letter of Troya to Cisneros dated Rome, 15 April 1508

Sends a candle that has been blessed by the pope; signed: ‘El prothonotario Troya’

Doc. 198: fols 248r–249v: Receipt dated 1 July 1508

Matheus de Sertoriis confirms that he has received one hundred and fifty gold cameral ducats from Troya, ‘procuratore R.mi D. D.ni Car.lis Tholetanensis’.

Doc. 199: fols 250r–251v: letter from Troya to Cisneros dated Rome, 2 September 1511

Gives eye-witness account of the recovery of Julius II from a mortal illness and other news. Signature: ‘A. de Troya protho’ (summarized and partially transcribed in García Oro 1971, 1: 272–73, 274)

Doc. 200: fols 252r–253v: Letter from Troya to Cisneros dated Rome, 11 February 1512

Political news including a passage in cipher. Signature: ‘A. de Troya prothon.’ (summarized and partially transcribed in García Oro 1971, 1: 275–76)

Doc. 182: fols 225r–226v: Letter of Gabriel Merino to Cisneros dated Rimini, 1 May 1511

Mentions that he is writing because ‘S.or Troya’ has not.

Manuscripts of Polyphony from the Time of Isabel and Ferdinand¹

Emilio Ros-Fábregas

Higinio Anglés was the first to study as a group the sources of polyphony from the time of the Catholic Monarchs. In the first volume of the collection *Monumentos de la Música Española*, he presented a detailed study of musical activity and documentation related to the courts of Isabel and Ferdinand. This was followed by useful descriptions and inventories of polyphonic manuscripts found in Barcelona, Madrid, Montserrat, Seville, Segovia, Tarazona, Toledo and Valladolid, as well as sources from outside Spain with Spanish works in Bologna, Coimbra, Florence, Paris, Perugia, Rome, Trent and Uppsala.² The chronological span of the polyphonic sources presented by Anglés was broad, from approximately the mid-fifteenth century to the mid-sixteenth century, but I will discuss here only the manuscripts whose compilation could originally have taken place between approximately 1469, the date of the monarchs' marriage, and 1516, the date of Ferdinand's death. These manuscripts—for which the emphasis will be on previously unstudied codicological aspects—are: *E-Sco* 7-1-28 (Colombina Songbook), *E-Mp* 11-1335 (Palace Songbook), and *E-SE* ss (Segovia manuscript) (see Chapter 2). Three other manuscripts will be

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- 1 This essay forms part of the R+D Project 'Libros de polifonía hispana (1450–1650): catálogo sistemático y contexto histórico-cultural' (HAR2012–33604; Spanish Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad of the CSIC, Institució Milà i Fontanals, Barcelona). Descriptions and inventories of the polyphonic choirbooks discussed will appear in <<http://www.hispanicpolyphony.eu>>. I would like to thank the people who over the years have facilitated the consultation of the original manuscripts: Nuria Casquete de Prado Sagrera, Director of the Institución Colombina in Seville; María Luisa López-Vidriero, Director of the Real Biblioteca in Madrid; Bonifacio Bartolomé, Archivist at Segovia Cathedral (earlier consultation of the Segovia manuscript took place when the archivists were fathers Hilario Sanz, first, and Benedicto Cuesta, later); (†) Josefina Sastre, Montserrat Bergardà and Marta Grassot, Librarians at the Biblioteca de l'Orfeo Català; (†) Joana Crespi and Rosa Montalt, Head Music Librarians at the Biblioteca de Catalunya; and Miguel Antonio Franco, Archivist at Tarazona Cathedral.
 - 2 Anglés 1941/60: 95–136; Anglés 1947–51; Romeu Figueras 1965. See also: Stevenson 1960; Lee 1980; Knighton 1989, 2001; Kreitner 2004b; Aguirre Rincón 2003; Gómez [Muntané] 2012b. On the transmission of the repertory, see: Ros-Fábregas 1992 and Knighton 1996–97.

discussed—*E-Boc* 5, *E-Bbc* M454 and *E-TZ* 2/3—with a degree of chronological flexibility in the case of the last two, since they were probably compiled partly or entirely after 1516, but their compilation process nevertheless poses interesting questions regarding the music composed for court circles and performed by royal musicians (see Chapters 1 and 7).

No extant polyphonic manuscript (or printed book) has any external evidence—such as a coat of arms or scribal inscription—to connect it directly with the courts of either Isabel or Ferdinand. It is highly implausible that such books never existed, and sixteenth-century inventories show that indeed they did, but have been lost.³ Since the surviving Spanish sources of polyphony from the period contain works by composers who at some point worked for one or both monarchs, it has been assumed that the extant manuscripts would have originated at their chapels or courts.⁴ However, establishing the exact origins and dates of these manuscripts has proved controversial, since arguments based on the repertory they transmit or the incomplete biographies of composers can justify different, but equally plausible, hypotheses. Moreover, the peripatetic character of the monarchs' courts, the musical activity of the nobility, and the mobility of musicians throughout the Iberian Peninsula make it difficult to pinpoint the exact place and date in which the manuscripts were copied, and so the regional, cultural or institutional context from which they emerged. Thus the diverse and conflicting hypotheses about the origins of

3 The 1573 inventory of Juana de Austria's music books includes a small book of polyphony 'with the letters F and Y and a crown of Ferdinand and Isabel, which must have been property of the Catholic Monarchs', and in the 1602 inventory of Philip II's music books, six books of motets printed in Venice, with the royal coat of arms and a portrait of King Ferdinand, are listed (Ros-Fábregas 2001a, 2001b and 2002a, item 51/33: 'Un libro pequeño de canto d'organo... con una F y una Y de cifra y una corona encima de Fernando e Ysabel, que debía de ser de los Reyes Católicos...'; Knighton 2000b: 385 (no. 64): 'Seis libros de vn tamaño en quarto grande ympressos en Venecia en papel de motetes y luminada en la segunda hoja las harmas Reales y en la quinta el Retrato del Rey don Fernando enquadernado en Cuero colorado y papelon con escudo de las harmas Reales doradas. No. 68'. These books have disappeared, but there are extant choirbooks of Gregorian chant with the coats of arms of the Catholic Monarchs at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (MPCANT/23 and MPCANT/35), and at Granada Cathedral, see Álvarez del Castillo 1979. Another chantbook with music for Christmas and Holy Week described in Philip II's inventory as having a portrait of King Ferdinand can be identified with the manuscript *I-Rvat* Chigi C.vii. 205; see Knighton 2000b: 381 and Knighton 2008a.

4 There is only one fifteenth-century polyphonic work in Spanish preserved in a source predating the Colombina Songbook: the romance *Lealtad, ¡jo lealtad!* found in the 'Chronica del Condestable Dn. Miguel Lucas' (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 2092, fols 249v–250r), probably composed c. 1466 for the Constable in Jaen; see Gómez Muntané 1996b and Knighton 1997 (see Chapter 4). For other early works, see Fallows 1992a.

these manuscripts should be understood not as a competition among scholars to determine who is right and who is not, but as a collective, international effort to understand the past and pave the way for future generations to continue the inquiry about music history in the Iberian Peninsula.

The Colombina, Palace and Segovia manuscripts—the three main sources of secular polyphony from the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries—have received much scholarly attention but, to my knowledge, no one since Anglès has been able to examine all three *in situ*. Either these manuscripts were not available for consultation as they were being restored or close examination was not permitted.⁵ As a result, in comparison with Italian musical sources, the basic codicological studies of these three main Spanish manuscripts are uneven, incomplete or the combined evidence of all three has not been brought together to support hypotheses about their origins. Therefore, the present discussion will emphasize codicological aspects, particularly the hitherto unpublished watermarks of these manuscripts, in order to inquire about the implications of their compilation process for our idea of musical activity in Spain at that time.⁶ This codicological study questions some of the previous assumptions about the compilation process of the three main music manuscripts from late fifteenth-century Spain. The new evidence of watermarks, gathering structures and foliations indicates an extremely fragmentary process of compilation that contradicts the idea of the songbooks as planned and unified collections. Since none of the three manuscripts can be connected directly with the courts of either Isabel or Ferdinand, knowledge about the secular polyphonic repertory performed there is based only on these fragmentary and, to a certain extent, peripheral manuscripts.⁷ While Anglès's landmark study of 1941 emphasized a centralized vision of musical activity in Spain focused on the royal courts, the compilation process of the Colombina, Palace and Segovia songbooks tells a different story.

Before reviewing basic aspects of the compilation process of each manuscript, a brief general comment about the paper format used in these three

5 It is generally forbidden in Spanish archives and libraries to trace watermarks and the technology of beta-radiography is unavailable, making it difficult to trace the watermarks presented here. Model watermark studies of fifteenth-century music manuscripts are: Fallows 1995; Bent 2008; and Wright 2003.

6 I gave a paper entitled 'Origins of the *cancioneros* Colombina, Palacio and Segovia: the codicological evidence in the context of the compilation process in late fifteenth-century Spain' at the Congress of the American Musicological Society in Philadelphia (12–15 November 2009).

7 Recently, fragments (two voices) of four secular pieces have been found in a parchment bifolio that was reused as a cover at the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Orense (Gómez Muntané 2014b; Knighton 2015b).

manuscripts and the watermarks is necessary. Figure 11.1A illustrates a sheet of paper of about 29/30cm \times 40/41cm or 30.5cm \times 44cm used in the three *cancioneros* with the approximate position of the watermark centered on one side of the sheet (the watermark shown here is Segovia W₁).⁸ The dotted line indicates the division of the sheet at the binding, constituting folio format as in Segovia or quarto format as in the Colombina and Palace Songbooks; in the latter two, the watermark appears divided into two at the binding (the watermark shown in Figure 11.1B is that of Colombina W_{2a/b}).⁹ Most of the watermarks (twenty-four out of twenty-seven) found in these three manuscripts represent a wide variety of 'hand with flower or with star'.¹⁰ Most of the marks—twenty—are in Palace, with Segovia (four) and Colombina (three) well behind.¹¹ Hopefully, these images may contribute in the future to further refining the possible dates of compilation of these manuscripts.

8 The pages of the Colombina Songbook measure 22cm \times 15cm. Since the manuscript is in quarto format, the folio used before folding it measured approximately 30cm \times 22cm, and thus the entire sheet was approximately 30cm \times 44cm. The pages of Palace measure 19cm \times 14cm (also in quarto format) and thus the entire sheet measured about 28/30cm \times 38/40cm. The pages of Segovia (folio format) measure 29cm \times 21.5cm and thus the entire sheet measured about 30cm \times 44cm. According to Oriol Valls i Subirà, at that time the four standard sizes for an entire sheet of paper were: a) 28/29cm \times 46/47cm; b) 25/27cm \times 43/45cm; c) 29/30cm \times 40/41cm; and d) 30.5cm \times 44cm (Valls i Subirà 1970: 18). Only size d) could have been used in the case of Colombina and Segovia, and type c) or d) for Palace.

9 I will designate watermarks with the name of the manuscript where they are found (Colombina, Segovia or Palace) with 'W' and the corresponding number of watermark. When the watermark of the hand with flower or star is divided into two (as in Colombina and Palace), I will refer to the part of the watermark with the wrist as section (a) and that with fingers as section (b), as in Colombina W_{2a/b}. The presence of variants of the same watermark—known as twin watermarks—has been taken into account, and, whenever visible, I have incorporated sewing dots in the tracings.

10 The only exceptions are Colombina W₁ (a 'Bull' with initials 'vs') in the first and final fly-leaves of Colombina, and Palace W₁₈ and W₁₉ ('Bull's head') found on paper of a separate small *cancionero* added at the end of Palace.

11 For illustrations of the watermarks, see Figures 11.2, 11.3, 11.4–11.9 and Appendix 11.3; Appendix 11.4 contains a list of all the watermarks in Colombina, Segovia and Palace with their measurements.

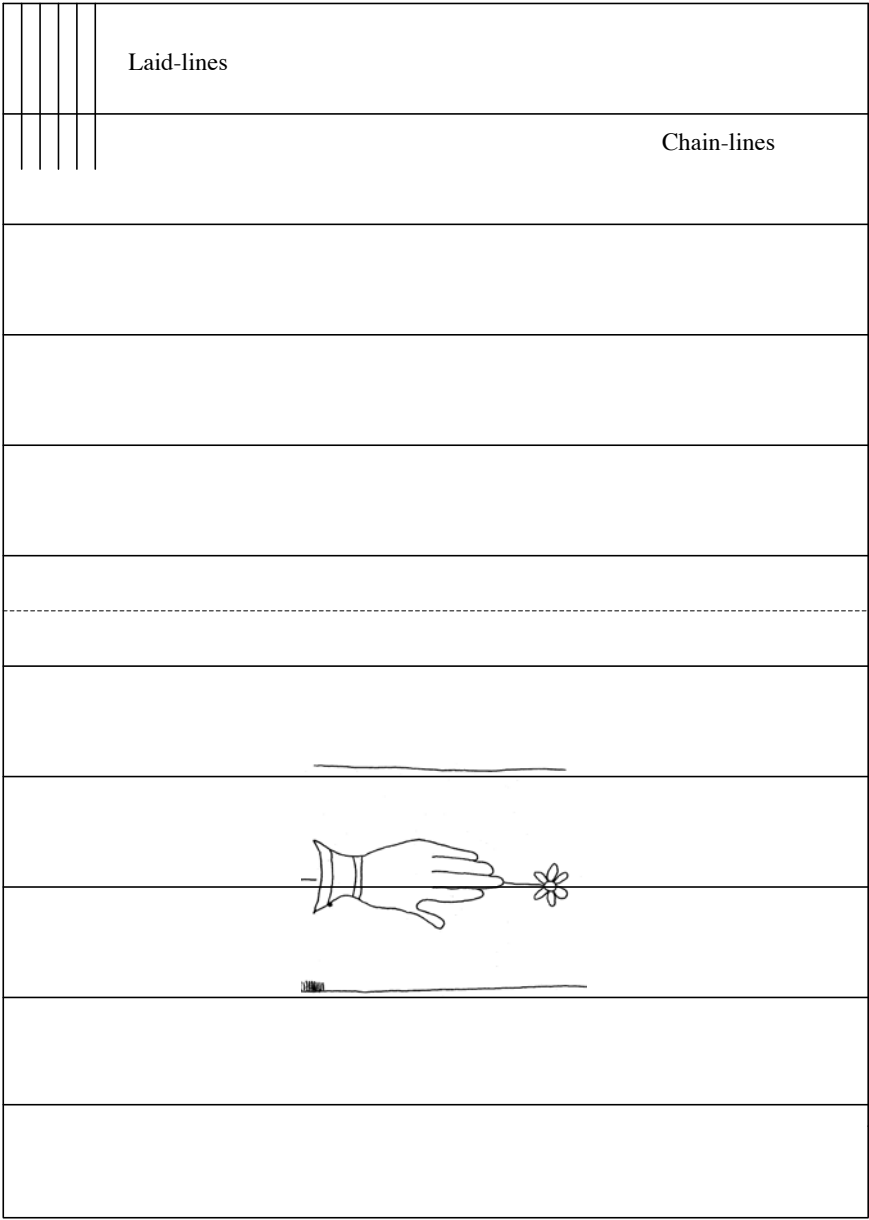


FIGURE 11.1A *Sheet of paper of about 29/30cm × 40/41cm or 30.5cm × 40/44cm used in Colombina, Palace and Segovia*

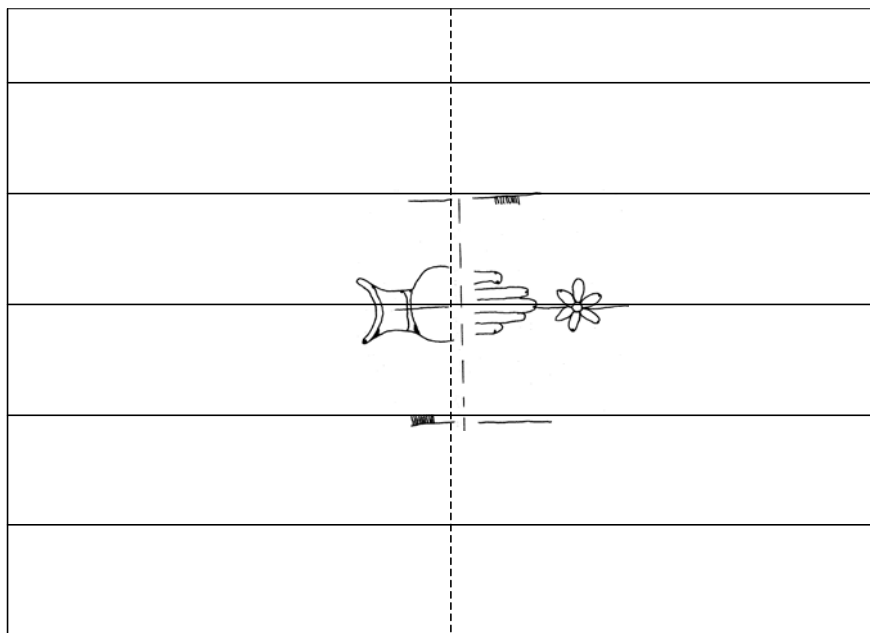


FIGURE 11.1B *Quarto format of the Colombina and Palace Songbooks*

Cancionero Musical de la Colombina

Colombina, the earliest of the so-called *cancionero* manuscripts, contains ninety-five polyphonic works, most of them secular, and given that the best represented composer is the Spaniard Juan de Triana, there is consensus that he was closely related to its compilation in or near Seville.¹² According to Kenneth Kreitner, the earliest layer was copied between c. 1475 and c. 1485, and a later layer c. 1492, the approximate date of one of the pieces.¹³ He suggested that ‘Colombina seems to represent a single long-term copying job interrupted by some years in the middle’ (Kreitner 2001: 127–28; Kreitner 2004b: 42–43). David Fallows placed the compilation date in the early 1490s and pointed out that the original collection of Colombina contained a group of fifteen works,

12 There is a facsimile edition (Colombina 2006), and three modern editions of the Colombina Songbook, which do not, however, study the codicology of the manuscript: Lawes 1960; Haberkamp 1968; and Querol Gavaldá 1971. The repertory of the Colombina Songbook is discussed in Stevenson 1960: 206–49; Kreitner 2004b: 42–61; and Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 222–26.

13 *Olvida tu perdiçion* (fols 71v–72r) refers indirectly to the conquest of Granada in 1492.

most of them in French, with three by Du Fay, Busnoys and Basiron; these folios are now part of the manuscript *F-Pnm* 4379 (Fallows 1992b). Juan Ruiz Jiménez states that ‘The new biographical information on Triana would support a date towards the end of the 1460s for the earlier part of the CMC [Colombina]’; and, following Maricarmen Gómez, he points out that the phrase ‘in the century to come’ (‘en el siglo que esperamos’) in *Merçed, merçed le pidamos*, refers to ‘the New Year of 1500, giving a new *terminus post quem* for the manuscript as a whole’ (Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 225).¹⁴ Ruiz Jiménez discusses the connection of three sacred pieces in Colombina with the performance of sacred plays at Seville Cathedral and links the inscriptions ‘Doña Ana mi señora’ (on fols 7r, 19r, 34r) with Ana de Aragón (d. 1477), wife of the First Duke of Medinaceli (Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 225–26).¹⁵ Ruiz Jiménez states that his hypothesis ‘is essentially compatible with those put forward by Fallows and Kreitner’, but the range of dates he is considering—from ‘towards the end of the 1460s’ to ‘the New Year of 1500’—considerably widens previous suggestions about Colombina’s possible period of compilation.

The pastedown of Colombina has a small, modern label with the printed inscription indicating that the book was donated to Seville Cathedral by the bibliophile Ferdinand Columbus, son of the navigator.¹⁶ The handwritten inscription on the flyleaf of Colombina, ‘Cantinelas vulgares puestas en música por varios españoles’ (‘Secular songs written by various Spaniards’), could be in

14 For Ruiz Jiménez’s discussion of Juan de Triana, in which he places Triana’s period of activity at Seville Cathedral between 1467 and the date of his death on 28 January 1494, see Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 217–19; see also Gómez Muntané 2001: 80.

15 Having documented musical activity at the Duke of Medinaceli’s court in 1485, Ruiz Jiménez suggests that ‘it is highly plausible that this manuscript was at some time used in such circles’. He presents a further document to the effect that on 11 April 1483, Juan de Triana was paid 120 maravedís by the Seville Cathedral chapter to visit the duchess of Medina Sidonia to discuss an allowance with her (Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 223).

16 The printed inscription reads: ‘Don Fernando Colon, hijo de / Don Cristóbal Colon, primer Almi / rante que descubrió las Indias, dejó / este libro para uso é provecho de / todos sus próximos, roga á Dios / por él (Cláusula 49 del testamento / del mismo Don Fernando, cum/plida por el cabildo Metropoli-/tano de Sevilla)’. On the lower, left corner of fol.ii, the register number ‘3031’ refers to Ferdinand Columbus’s library (entry 13173 of the *Abecedarium B*, column 245, and *Supplement*, 57: ‘Cantionum Cancionero antiguo de canciones de mano 13173’ [Registrum B]); see the Colombina Catalogue online. There is no date for Columbus’s acquisition, but Ruiz Jiménez, who reviews thoroughly the acquisitions in the *Registrum B* and the *Abecedarium B*, suggests that the Colombina Songbook was acquired shortly before May of 1535 (Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 208–9, 211). This would confirm the approximate date (1534) proposed in Rosa y López 1904: 70, a date that had been questioned in Stevenson 1960: 196.

the hand of Diego Alejandro de Gálvez (1718–1803), a prominent librarian at the Colombina library during the second half of the eighteenth century; it was probably he who crossed out the old signature in the manuscript, added the new one and incorporated these changes to the extant *Index* of codices kept in that library, where the old signature was also crossed out.¹⁷ The entry ‘Cantinelas vulgares m.s.’ appears in a previous inventory completed by the Seville canon Juan de Loaysa in 1684 (Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 209), indicating that the inscription could possibly be much older. It may well have been a librarian who separated the folios with texts in French from the rest of the manuscript before it was trimmed and bound. If so, Gálvez or any previous librarian at the Colombina institution, would have had a direct impact on the original collection as it was compiled in the fifteenth century. Possibly he intended separating the Spanish repertory from the French pieces—as suggested by the inscription he added on the flyleaf—or simply, the manuscript’s original binding fell apart and, at an early stage, the separate folios of Colombina had an independent life until they were acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1885, when they were rebound with the other three independent sections of *F-Pnm* 4379 (*Census-Catalogue*, 3: 29–31).¹⁸

Figure 11.2 shows the three watermarks of Colombina. The first, representing a ‘bull’ with the initials ‘vs’, is found only twice—in the first and final flyleaves of the manuscript—and given the probability that a Colombina librarian wrote the inscription on the first flyleaf, these two pages could have been added when the volume was bound.¹⁹ The regular presence of only two water-

17 I am grateful to Nuria Casquete de Prado Sagrera, Directora Gerente of the Institución Colombina, for her indication that Gálvez could have been the author of the inscription; she suggested consultation of Gálvez’s *Index librorum*. The full title of this 1783 *Index* (signature B-360/1) is: ‘INDEX / LIBRORUM OMNIUM / QUI CONSERVANTUR IN / BIBLIOTHECA / SANCTAE ECCLESIAE PATRIARCHALIS / HISPALENSIS / ILL. D. DECANI ET CAPITULI / JUSSU / ELABORATUS SUBDIRECTIONE / D. D. DIDAC ALEXANDRI DE GALVEZ / MERITISIMI PORTIONARII BIBLIO- / THECAE QUE PRAEFECTI / TOMUS PRIMUS / INDECEM MSS COMPREHENDENS / Hispali scriptis B. Raphaël Tabares / ANNO DOMINI / MDCCLXXXIII.’ This volume contains an ‘INDEX / CODICUM MSS. / PARS PRIMA’, with pagination 1–65, and another ‘INDEX CODICUM MSS / PARS SECUNDA’, with a second pagination [i] + 1–26. On p. 22 of this second part is found, added at the bottom of the page, the entry that corresponds to Colombina: ‘Cantinelas Vulgares puestas en música por varios Españoles’; the previous signature has been crossed out (~~AA. 141.27~~) and next to it appears the new one: 7.28; see also Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 208–9.

18 The slightly larger size of the leaves now preserved in *F-Pnm* 4379 would suggest that they were removed before the Colombina manuscript received its present binding.

19 There are early fifteenth-century watermarks representing a ‘bull with horns consisting of two lines’ (see <<http://www.piccard-online.de/struktur.php?sprache=en>>), but I have found none with initials.

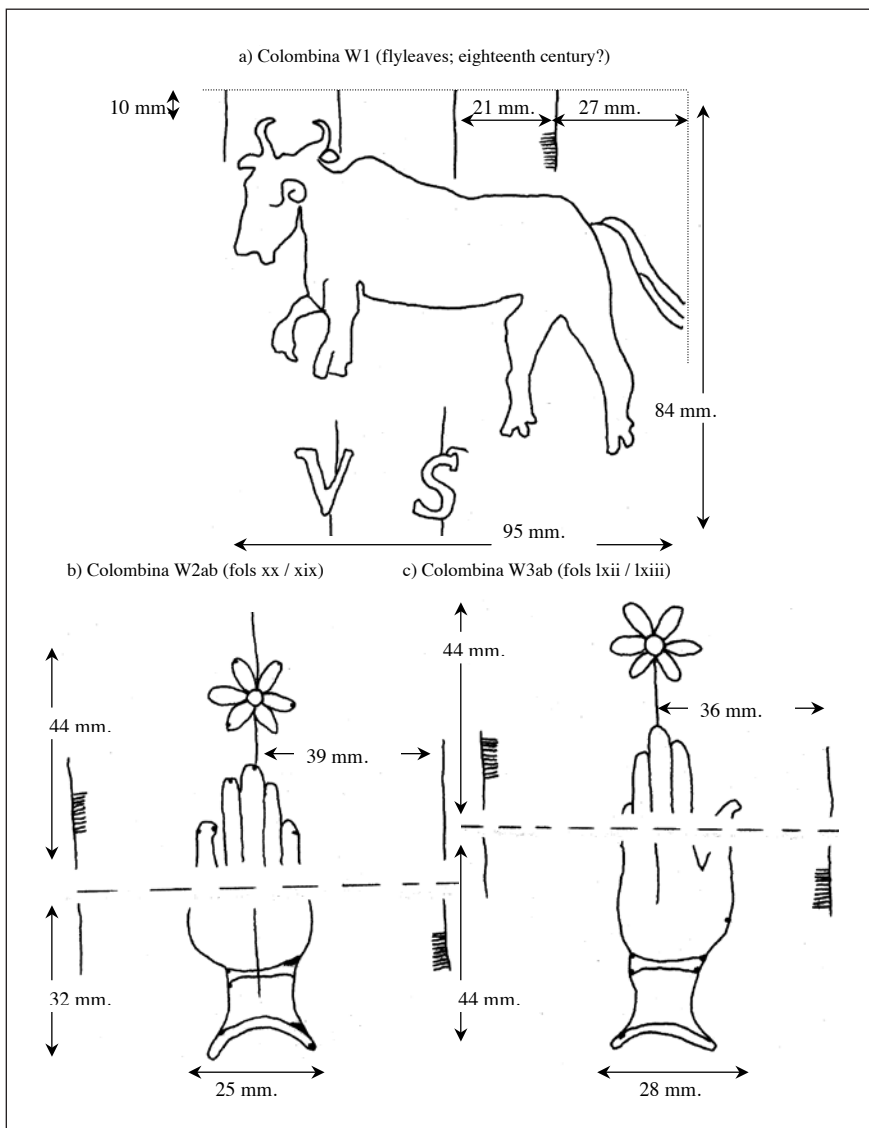


FIGURE 11.2 *The three watermarks in Colombina*

marks of the hand with flower type throughout this substantial manuscript (W2a/b by itself in gatherings 1, 3, 6, 9, 10 and 11, or in combination with W3a/b—probably a twin watermark—in the other gatherings) suggests that *Colombina* was not compiled over an extended period of time, since in that case there would almost certainly have been a greater variety of watermarks

(as is the case with Palace and Segovia). Although I have not been able to date these two watermarks with precision, in the late 1470s the most frequent type of watermark in Sevillian incunabula was not the hand with flower, but the scissors, and thus it is difficult to push back the earlier part of the manuscript to the late 1460s or the 1470s as has been suggested.²⁰

Appendix 11.1a shows the gathering structure of Colombina with the distribution of watermarks, old foliations, scribes, repertory and the presence of ornamented initials (the latter indicated with an asterisk and the piece title in bold). There is one main scribe (S1a and S1b), who copied music from the beginning of the manuscript through Gathering VI; his hand reappears sporadically, especially at the end. Both the uninterrupted work of one scribe and the presence of ornamented initials up to piece no. 30 would suggest that this section of the manuscript constituted a unified single layer. However, there are two striking features: 1) the voice designation 'Tenor' after the first few folios of the manuscript is substituted by a capital 'T' or by the word 'Tenor' with a different design, which suggests a slightly different layer; and 2) the placing of the foliation: sometimes the folio numbers are written in the upper margin and sometimes in the upper right corner of the recto folios. Both changes—ornamentation and foliation—seem to have occurred during the very early stages of the compilation, since they begin to be found in the second gathering. Moreover, Colombina has no two consecutive gatherings copied entirely by the same scribe in which the folio number is written in the same place (either in the upper margin or in the upper right corner). This is a clear sign not only of refoliation, but also of a very fragmented compilation process. Gatherings probably used separately would at some point have been brought together and foliated, but the successive addition of gatherings provoked the need to reorganize and refoliate them, using some of the previous numbers or erasing them to add new ones. After piece no. 30, in Gathering VI, the ornamented initials disappear, and in Gathering VIII, *Olvida tu perdición*, the anonymous work related to the conquest of Granada in 1492, is found, together with *Merçed, merçed le pidamos* (with a text referring to the new century), both works

20 Since the hand with flower/star is a very common type of watermark, an exact identification is difficult to confirm; it would require finding both Colombina W2a/b and Colombina W3a/b in another dated manuscript or incunabulum. Palace and Segovia share a less frequent watermark of the glove/gauntlet type that I have been able to identify thanks to the online collection of Watermarks in Incunabula Printed in España (WIES; <<http://www.ksbm.oew.ac.at/wies>>). In addition to other standard reference catalogues of watermarks, I have consulted Gayoso Carreira 1994, 3: 193ff.; Orduna 1987; and Hidalgo Brinquis 2004. I have also documented in Toledo diverse watermarks of the hand dated between 1488 and 1492.

without ornamented initials. However, later in the manuscript, in Gathering x, there are three sacred pieces (nos 80 to 82) with ornamented initials, surrounded by works without initials. These sacred pieces were probably originally closer to the first gatherings of Colombina with ornamented initials, but with the insertion of secular repertory, were relegated to the final section of the manuscript.

The compilation process of Colombina must take into account the separate folios now constituting the final section of manuscript *F-Pnm* 4379, fols 69v–92v (see Appendix 11.1b). An examination of these twenty-four folios confirms that the two watermarks described by Fallows correspond to Colombina W2 and Colombina W3, but it is not possible to establish the exact position of these folios with respect to the gathering structure of Colombina, largely because of their restoration on being rebound.²¹ These folios share some of the same characteristics found in the main part of the manuscript: 1) they contain non-Iberian repertory—eleven pieces, five of which are by Urreda (two), Busnoys, Basiron and Du Fay, and six anonymous works, five of which are unica—as well as Iberian pieces (four works, two by Madrid and two anonymous unica, possibly by a Spanish composer) (Fallows 1992b: 39–40); 2) they combine secular pieces, in French, with sacred repertory; 3) five works have ornamented initials (three French chansons and two sacred pieces by Madrid and Urreda), and thus probably belong to the earliest stages of compilation, but they are also interspersed with pieces without initials; and 4) several scribes were responsible for copying the music, using different colours of ink. The only foliation visible is found in the upper right corner of each folio and corresponds to the continuous foliation of the entire manuscript *F-Pnm* 4379, but it is clear that the compilation process of these twenty-four folios was as fragmented as the rest of Colombina.

In sum, the compilation of Colombina would have followed a process similar to that described by Charles Hamm in his landmark study of manuscript structure in the time of Du Fay (Hamm 1962). It seems clear from the codicological evidence that the main scribe of Colombina could not have had a large manuscript in mind when he started to copy music. It seems more plausible to consider a narrower period of copying—albeit very fragmented—between approximately the late 1480s and 1494, the date of Juan de Triana's death, or shortly afterwards; that *Merçed, merçed le pidamos* refers to the new century

21 David Fallows described the two watermarks of the hand with flower in the separate folios of Colombina (Fallows 1992b: 29); his type (a), with the length of the flower's stem being more than 13mm, corresponds to Colombina W3, and his type (b), with the length of the flower's stem being less than 12mm, corresponds to Colombina W2.

does not necessarily mean that it was composed two weeks before New Year's Eve of 1500, since preoccupation with the change to a new century probably started a few years earlier. Given that Triana was active in Seville, the manuscript probably originated there, and future findings about other *Kleinmeistern* present in Colombina may shed more light on its history. Recent research by Lucía Gómez Fernández on the music patronage of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia associates them very closely with Colombina through their musical connection with Triana and their close relationship with Seville Cathedral. The direct maritime commerce with the Low Countries controlled by the duke would also have facilitated the diffusion of Franco-Flemish music and musicians to the city.²² Enrique de Guzmán (c. 1440–92), Second Duke of Medina Sidonia after 1468, appointed General Captain of Andalusia by the Catholic Monarchs in 1474, hosted them during their visits to Seville; these opportunities would have contributed to the exchange of repertory between the royal and ducal courts.²³

The Palace Songbook²⁴

The *Cancionero Musical de Palacio* (the Palace Songbook), with four hundred and fifty-eight works, is the largest source for secular Spanish music of all time.

22 For a detailed study of the music patronage of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia, see Gómez Fernández 2016. Lucía Gómez-Fernández's research suggests that the inscription 'Doña Ana mi señora' may well refer to Ana de Aragón y Gurrea (c. 1500–56), Duchess of Medina Sidonia after 1515 and an avid music patron, rather than the Duchess of Medinaceli who died in 1477 as proposed by Ruiz Jiménez.

23 Gómez Fernández 2016, Chapter 1, documents the music books inventoried after the death of the Third Duke of Medina Sidonia in 1507, among which were: a 'Cancionero de tabla quebrada de canto de organo', and two 'Cancioneros viejos'. Since these *cancioneros* do not appear in a later inventory dated 1556, Gómez Fernández suggests that one of them could possibly have been the Colombina Songbook.

24 Known as the *Cancionero Musical de Palacio*, the manuscript E-Mp 11-1335 was found in the library at the Royal Palace in Madrid by Gregorio Cruzada Villaamil in 1870. The Palace Songbook was first edited in Asenjo Barbieri 1890, and later in Anglés 1947–51 (music) and Romeu Figueras 1965 (texts). Romeu Figueras also discussed the codicology, date and origins of the manuscript. Stevenson described Palace and presented extensive biographical and stylistic commentaries about composers (Stevenson 1960: 249–305), while Carolyn Lee also discussed it at length, provided a complete annotated catalogue of first lines of secular songs from 1460 to 1535, and corrected Anglés's transcriptions of nos 59, 102, 151, 177, 197, 276, 283, and 437 (Lee 1980). The composer distribution of the works in the Palace Songbook according to the *Census-Catalogue*, 2: 135 is: Ajofrín–1, Alba–1, Aldomar–3,

It reached its present location from the Count of Gondomar's library—originally in his Valladolid palace, known as Casa del Sol—in whose 1623 inventory it appears as 'Libro de cantos y tonos diferentes'; the inscription 'Libro de cantos' and Gondomar's library signature ('Sal[a] 3, Est[ante] 12, Cax[ón] 2') appear on fol.[4r] of the Palace Songbook. In 1806, Gondomar's library was sold to Charles IV and since then the Palace Songbook has remained in Madrid's royal library.²⁵

There are two basic hypotheses about the origins of the Palace Songbook and I hope that the codicological evidence presented here will contribute both to solving this dichotomy and to emphasizing the fragmentary nature of what has usually been considered its earliest layer.²⁶ The first hypothesis, advanced by Francisco Asenjo Barbieri when he published his edition in 1890, states that the compilation of the manuscript was initiated at Alba de Tormes in Salamanca, at the court of don Fadrique de Toledo, Second Duke of Alba, in the last decade of the fifteenth century. Barbieri's conclusion was based mainly on the fact that the best-represented composer in the manuscript, Juan del Encina (1468–1529/30), worked at the Duke's court from 1492 through 1498, the most

Almorox–3, Alonso–11, Anchieta–4, Badajoz–8, Borote–1, Brihuega–2, (G. Brocco)–1, A. Contreras–2, Córdoba–2, Cornago–3, Encina–63 + 17?, Enrique–2, Enrique/(Morton)–1, Escobar–17 + 1?, Espinosa–2, D. Femoselle–1, D. Fernández–2, (L. Fernández)–1, P. Fernández [P. F.]–1, (G. Fogliano)–1, Garcimuñoz–3, Gijón–2, Josquin [Jusquin d'Ascanio]–1, Lagarto–4, León–1, Lucas–1, (Lurano)–1, Madrid–3, L. Martínez–1, Medina–2, G. Mena [Gabriel]–18, Milarte–6, F. Millán–23, Mondéjar–11, Moxica–2, Peñalosa–10, Ponce–12, A. Ribera–2, Román–1, Salcedo–1, Sanabria–2, Sant Juan–1, Sedano–1, Tordesillas–1, A. Toro–2, F. Torre–15, (Triana)–2, (Tromboncino)–1, Troya–3, Vaena–7, Valera–1, Vilches–1, Wreede–2, Wreede/(Enrique)–1, Anon.–150. See also www.hispanicpolyphony.eu.

25 See the Real Biblioteca Catalogue: <http://www.realbiblioteca.es:8080/Gondomar/view?docId=tei/11_1335.cat.xml;query=cancionero%20musical%20de%20palacio;brand=default>. On the recent history of the manuscript, see: Olmos Sáez 2012: 45–48. José Sierra has pointed out that since Barbieri used the diplomatic copy of the Palace Songbook commissioned from José Cobeña in 1870, his transcriptions have some errors unique to this copy; Anglés's edition also shares some of these copying mistakes (Sierra Pérez 1996).

26 Earlier versions of this discussion were presented in my paper 'Un problema por resolver: la fecha de la "redacción primitiva" del Cancionero de Palacio', (Simposio Musical Internacional: *El Cancionero de Palacio* (Madrid, Palacio Real, 14 December 1990)), and in Ros-Fábregas 1992, 1: 196–205. I have since examined the codicology of Palace twice, and from a study of the watermarks am able to substantiate my hypothesis regarding its original layer.

productive period of his career.²⁷ Moreover, the text of Juan de Urreda's *Nunca fue pena mayor*, the song that opens the manuscript, is believed to have been written by the First Duke of Alba, García Álvarez de Toledo (d. 1488), and the composer was in his service before 1477.²⁸ Stevenson agreed with Barbieri regarding the origin of the Palace Songbook, stating in a different context: 'Millán was therefore an outlander to the aristocratic Alba de Tormes circle for which the Palace Songbook nucleus was originally formed' (Stevenson 1960: 272).²⁹ Finally, Barbieri suggested that the manuscript may have reached the library at the Royal Palace in Madrid together with other books from the Colegio Mayor of Salamanca.³⁰

The second hypothesis, presented by Anglés and Romeu Figueras, argues that the Palace Songbook was compiled for the court of Ferdinand (Anglés 1941/60: 95; Romeu Figueras 1965, 1: 23).³¹ After Isabel's death in 1504, many of her musicians entered Ferdinand's service, and Romeu states that the fusion of the two chapels coincided with the redaction of the first layer of Palace, even though the two composers best represented in Palace, Encina and Millán, did not serve the Catholic Monarchs (Romeu Figueras 1965, 1: 23). Romeu, as part

27 Asenjo Barbieri 1890: 7; Subirá 1927: 7ff., 7ff; see also: Haberkamp 1968: 15. Lee lists sixty-one works attributed to Encina in *E-Mp* 11-1335, and points out that Stevenson includes still another, *Remediad señora mía*, since the text is included in Encina's *Cancionero* (Salamanca, 1496) (Lee 1980, 1: 55; Stevenson 1960: 263). Millán, with twenty-three works, and Escobar and Gabriel, with eighteen each, follow well behind.

28 Curiously, *Nunca fue pena mayor* is among the forty-four canciones that were not listed in the *tabula* of the Palace Songbook (see below). Since *Nunca fue pena mayor* was not included in the *tabula*, its position as the opening piece in the manuscript may mean that it cannot be used as evidence to link the Palace Songbook with the House of Alba (see Chapter 5).

29 Barbieri claimed, without giving a reference, that Francisco Millán was a chaplain and singer at the Castilian court in 1501-2 (Asenjo Barbieri 1890: 40), but Tess Knighton states that 'Millán's name has not come to light in the archive at Simancas' ('el nombre de Millán no ha salido a la luz en el Archivo de Simancas') (Knighton 2001: 338).

30 Dámaso García Fraile stated, without documentary support, that the Palace Songbook originated at the Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé de Anaya at the Universidad de Salamanca, and suggested that the manuscript's name should be changed to 'Cancionero de Anaya' (García Fraile 2000: 54-59).

31 In another edition of the texts, Joaquín González Cuenca adopts Romeu Figueras's chronology, refers to him for the codicological study, and affirms without documentation: 'Es evidente, por fechas, que el cancionero se gesta en y para la corte de los Reyes Católicos, como repertorio de sus capillas' ('It is clear, owing to the dates, that the songbook originated in and for the court of the Catholic Monarchs, as repertory for their chapels') (González Cuenca 1996: 14).

of his impressive edition of the song texts, presented a detailed codicological study in which he distinguished eight scribes and eleven layers in the manuscript, these encompassing a period of compilation from 1505 to 1520. He suggested that, after the death of Ferdinand in 1516, the Palace Songbook may have been completed at the court of his daughter, Juana, at Tordesillas.³²

The *Census-Catalogue* follows the Anglés/Romeu hypothesis, while *The New Grove* sits on the fence and states that the manuscript 'may have been copied for the court of King Fernando of Spain, or for the Duke of Alba in the late 15th and early 16th century' (*Census-Catalogue*, 2: 136; *New Grove II*, 23: 910). Ángel Olmos has suggested that, since the Palace Songbook was in the Count of Gondomar's library in Valladolid in 1623 and his family traditionally held the titles of Admiral of Castile and Count of Medina de Rioseco, the manuscript was conceived in the circle of a previous admiral, Fadrique Enríquez, in whose service was the poet-musician Gabriel Mena, who wrote his will in Medina de Rioseco. However, as Olmos himself indicates, in a previous inventory of the Count of Gondomar's library dated between 1598 and 1600 (*E-Mp* II-2222, fols 131v–133v), there is no trace of any book resembling the Palace Songbook, and the Count of Gondomar probably acquired the manuscript after that date (Olmos Sáez 2012: 46, 52).³³

Even though the layers of the Palace Songbook as established by Romeu have not been contested, there is an intriguing problem concerning the relationship between Romeu's first layer of the manuscript and the opening *tabula*, which may call into question both Romeu's suggested layers and his earliest

32 For a description of the structure, scribes and chronology of Palace, see Romeu Figueras 1965, 1: 3–24. Lee provides helpful tables that clarify Romeu's study; she agrees with the hypothesis offered by Anglés and Romeu, and points out that the canción *Damos gracias a ti, Dios*, which appears in the earliest layer, 'supports the opinion that [the Palace Songbook] was not begun until after Isabel's death, because while the [Segovia] version credits Isabel's "castellanos" with the victory of Granada, the version in [Palace] shows a diplomatic alteration, giving all praise to "Don Fernando"' (Lee 1980, 1: 49–79, 58). However, since the canciones, including *Damos gracias a ti Dios*, were not entered in the original *tabula*, they cannot be used to date the original layer of the manuscript. Lee further speculates that since the text of *Françia cuenta tu ganancia* was changed to commemorate a 1521 military victory by Charles V, Palace may have later belonged to Isabel of Portugal, the emperor's wife and herself a granddaughter of the Catholic Monarchs.

33 Olmos's further speculations about the relationship between the village of Medina de Rioseco and the Palace Songbook are irrelevant as far as the origin of the manuscript is concerned, since the works by Gabriel Mena were added well after the original layer was compiled. See also: Michael & Ahijado Martínez 1996: 187.

TABLE 11.1 *Subsections of the Palace Songbook which, according to Romeu, constitute its first layer*

First layer	Folios ^a	Contents
Subsection 1	fols [x verso]–49r	44 canciones ^b
Subsection 2	fols 51v–87v	40 romances ^c
Subsection 3	fols 99v–258v	158 villancicos ^d
Subsection 4	fols 260v–274v	15 ‘villancicos omnium sactorum’

a Pieces were added on blank folios and other empty spaces later, thus altering the clear distribution of repertory.

b All except no. 38 belong to the canción genre.

c One, no. 461, is now lost.

d Most of the works included in this section, by far the largest in the manuscript, are by Encina; forty-two pieces, though, are now lost.

date for the manuscript.³⁴ According to Romeu, the first layer of the manuscript is divided into the following four subsections (see Table 11.1):

Romeu's subsections follow the order in which the works appear in the manuscript from beginning to end, in sections devoted to canciones, romances, villancicos and sacred villancicos, respectively. Yet the *tabula* of the Palace Songbook, which lists the works alphabetically under four headings, omits the forty-four canciones that, according to Romeu, constitute the earliest subsection of the manuscript (see Table 11.2).³⁵

34 Lee, 'Spanish Polyphonic Song', I, 52, stated that after examining Palace she found no reason to question Romeu's distribution of layers and scribes. She did, however, object to Romeu's dates for Layer 6 and Layer 8; see below.

35 The ten—originally unnumbered—folios preceding the music of Palace have been more recently foliated with Arabic numerals; the 'Tabula per ordinem alphabeticum' occupies nine folios starting on fol. 2r. As watermarks and other evidence show, these folios are independent of each other, do not form gatherings, and their order was at some point altered, since Gondomar's library signature and the inscription 'Libro de cantos' appears on what must have once been the opening page of Palace, but is now fol. 4r (the third page of the villancico section of the *tabula*). According to Romeu, the original redaction of the *tabula* took place only after a second layer of works had been added to the manuscript; the incipits of works in the remaining layers were added later to the *tabula* (Romeu Figueras 1965, 1: 10). Besides the forty-four canciones, the works not listed in the *tabula* were: poetic texts without music; no. 441 in Layer 6; no. 19 in Layer 9; all the works in Layer

TABLE 11.2 *Headings in the tabula of the Palace Songbook*

Tabula per ordinem alphabeticum (fol. 2r)

Villançicos (fol. 2r)

Estranbotes^a (fol. 8r)

Romances (fol. 8v)

Villançicos omnium sanctorum (fol. 1or)

-
- a According to Romeu, this section is a later addition to the *tabula* and includes all the pieces in Italian copied in Layer 6 of the manuscript (Romeu Figueras 1965, 1: 10).

Romeu found the absence of incipits for the canciones puzzling, and his explanations are not convincing.³⁶ Moreover, whereas the romances are listed after the villançicos in the *tabula*, the subsection with romances appears in the manuscript before the one devoted to villançicos. If Romeu's four earliest subsections constitute a single layer, why would the same scribe have entered a table of contents that (1) omits the earliest subsection, but includes pieces from a later layer, and (2) disregards the order of subsections in the manuscript? A codicological detail, noted by Romeu himself, which may point to earlier stages in the process of compilation, further suggests that his hypothesis about the earliest date (1505) for the Palace Songbook based on the structure of the first layer of the manuscript may be faulty: the black ink used in the first layer is very intense at the beginning, paler later on, and dark again after fol. 118v.³⁷

10, which itself constituted a small cancionero that was added to the main corpus of Palace; and nos 292 and 457 in Layer 11.

36 Romeu conjectured that since the genre of the canción is difficult to classify, perhaps the scribe reserved the canciones for a more general heading that was later abandoned (Romeu Figueras 1965, 1: 8). Romeu also suggested that since the heading 'Tabula per ordinem alphabeticum' was written in small letters and squeezed above the larger heading for the 'Villançicos', the original heading for the *tabula* along with the incipits for the canciones were entered on previous folios that are now missing.

37 'La redacción primitiva, trazada por la primera mano ... usa de una tinta negra bastante intensa al principio, pero que se va haciendo más pálida después, para volver a su antigua intensidad a partir del fol. 118v' (Romeu Figueras 1965, 1: 7).

Romeu did not offer a detailed description of either watermarks and paper types or gathering structure.³⁸ Curiously enough, the section of the Palace Songbook mentioned by Romeu where he noticed pale black ink (in comparison to the surrounding sections) coincides with the beginning of the sections ‘Romances’ (fol. 51v) and ‘Villancicos’ (fol. 99v), and precisely in these same gatherings a different type of watermark (Palacio W8 and Palacio W12) is found that does not appear in the rest of the manuscript. Figure 11.3 shows the approximate distribution of the many watermarks in the different sections of Palace that I have been able to trace.

The type of watermark Palacio W8 and W12 occurs at the beginning of the sections devoted to romances and villancicos—where the black ink is paler—and is a characteristic hand with a wavy wrist, known as a glove or gauntlet watermark. This type of watermark seems to be less frequent in comparison with other hand watermarks; there are only four similar watermarks in the entire online WIES collection of watermarks in Spanish incunabula and they are dated 1498–99. Figure 11.4 compares the two glove watermarks in Palace and a strikingly similar one in an incunabulum printed in Salamanca in 1499;³⁹ these two sections (fols 51v–60v and 99v–113v) probably represent the earliest layer of the manuscript.

The three gatherings of the Palace Songbook with pale black ink (see Figure 11.5), besides having a different watermark to the rest of the manuscript, contain two inscriptions indicating the close connection between a piece from the romance section and another piece from the villancico section. In the lower part of fol. liiii (Encina’s romance *Mi libertad en sosiego*), a hand different to that of the original scribe added the following inscription: ‘Si amor pone las escalas / a / cviii’, which indicates that Encina’s villancico *Si amor pone las escalas* goes to or has been moved to or, more likely, is found at fol. cviii. Indeed, the piece with that title is found at that opening, as well as another inscription related to the other piece: ‘Romance / My libertad en sosiego / a / liiii’, that is, Encina’s romance *My libertad en sosiego* goes to or has been moved to or, more

38 Romeu did point out that there are two kinds of paper in Palace: one type from the beginning of the manuscript up to fol. 291, and another for fols 293–304 (Romeu Figueras 1965, 1: 3). He described—though vaguely—several watermarks found in the first type of paper: a hand (with and without glove) supporting a flower (sometimes a star) of five (sometimes six) petals, the flower protruding from the middle finger. Romeu stated that the gatherings of the manuscript are usually quaternions.

39 This incunabulum (IBE 0460) is: Aelius Antonius Nebrissensis, *Introductiones latinae* (with Spanish commentary) (Salamanca: [Printer of Nebrissensis, ‘Gramática’], 12 August 1499. WIES collection of incunabula printed in Spain (Gerard van Thienen, <<http://www.ksbm.oew.ac.at/wies/folder1/IBE%200460.24.jpg>>).

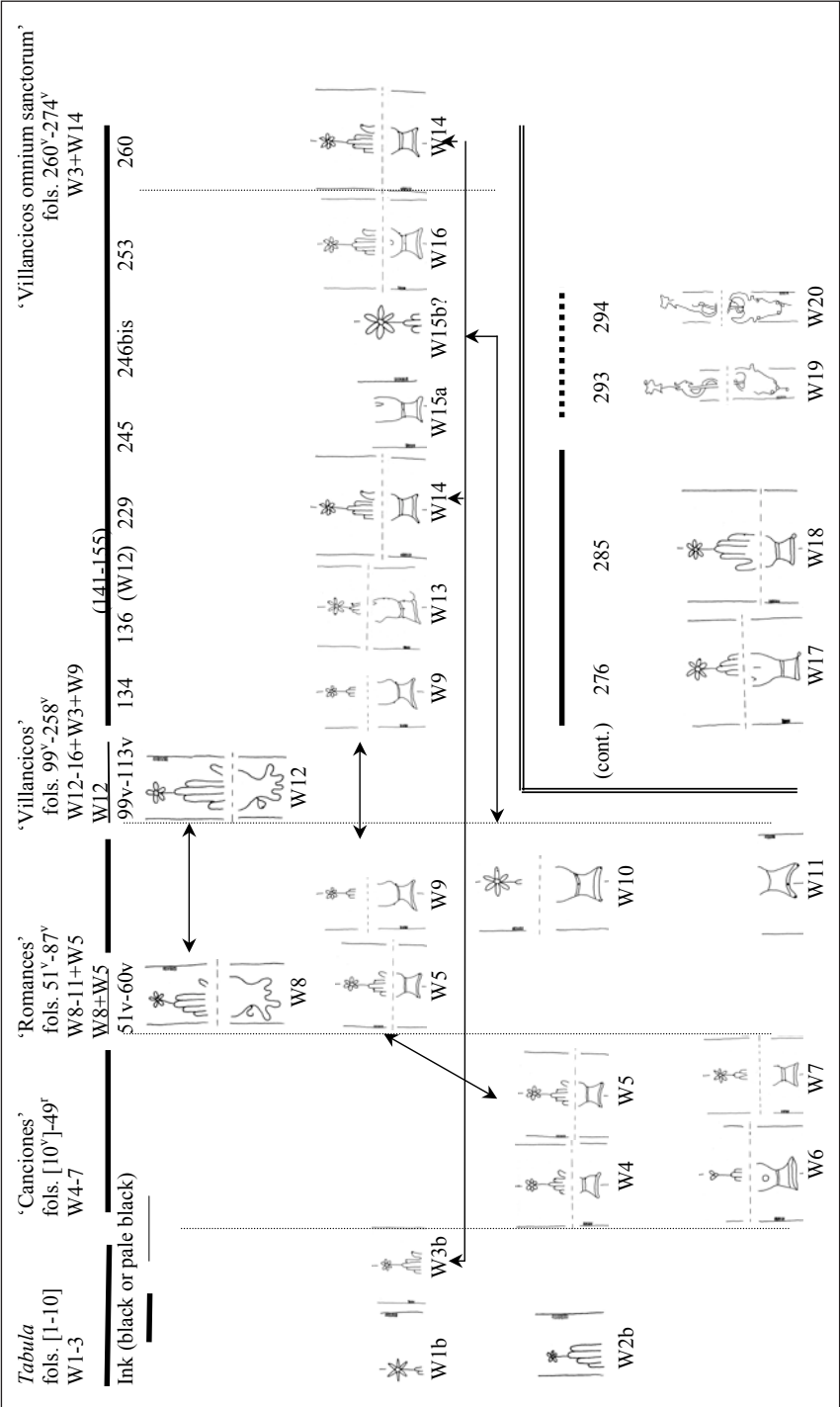


FIGURE 11.3 Distribution of watermarks in the Palace Songbook. [The beginning of the sections 'Romances' and 'Villancicos' (pale black ink) have a different watermark (W8 and W12, probably twins) that probably signals the earliest layer of the manuscript. Arrows indicate similarities between watermarks. Foliation of the Tabula appears in brackets and Roman foliation in the manuscript is presented here with arab numerals.]

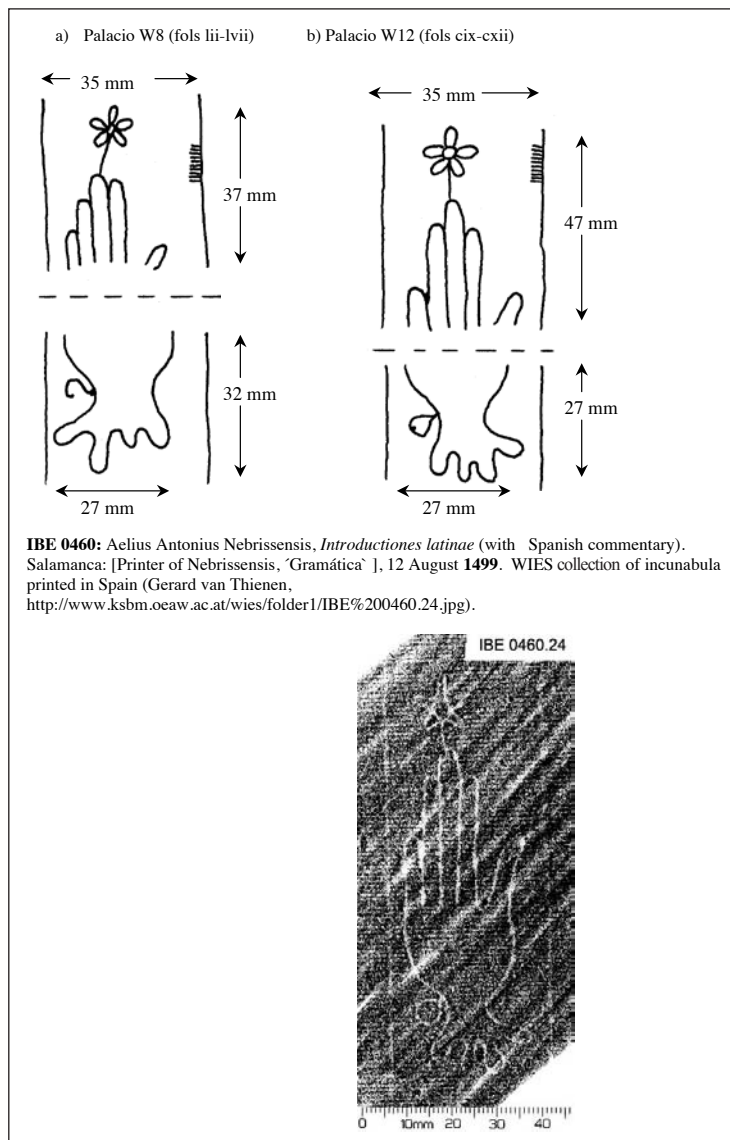


FIGURE 11.4 Glove or gauntlet watermarks (Palace W8 and W12, probably twins)

likely, is found at, fol. liiii, the place where, in fact, it is. The poems of these two pieces, the romance *My libertad en sosiego* and the villancico *Si amor pone las escalas*, appear consecutively in Encina's literary *Cancionero* published in 1496 (Jones & Lee 1975: 93–95), and that is probably the way in which these two works were originally transmitted and performed, the romance immediately

followed by the villancico. These inscriptions also suggest that these gatherings were probably originally closer together and that during a refoliation process it was decided to separate villancicos from romances to create two independent sections, out of which the Palace Songbook began to take shape. By that time, the compiler had already assembled a considerable amount of music copied by the same scribe, but in gatherings that previously seem to have had an independent life and organization. This would represent the earliest layer of the Palace Songbook and suggest that Encina's villancico *No tienen vado mis males* was the first piece to be copied; the rest of Palace grew out of this central portion.

Numerous traces of changes of foliation, both in the music and in the table of contents of the manuscript, would seem to corroborate the hypothesis that the process of compilation was very fragmented even in what Romeu considered the first layer of the Palace Songbook. And what appears to be a table of contents for the entire manuscript may have originally been intended only for an independent collection of villancicos now found in the middle. The accretion of other genres would have forced the expansion of the manuscript and of the *tabula* to the point where there was no space for a lengthy separate section devoted to canciones, though it was still possible to add or squeeze in incipits under other headings.

Among the works found in these earliest gatherings of the Palace Songbook are three villancicos belonging to Encina's theatrical eclogues performed at the court of the Dukes of Alba between 1492 and 1496, and the well-known song *Triste España sin ventura*, probably written after the death in 1497 of Prince Juan, eldest son of Isabel and Ferdinand; however, *Triste España* was copied using paper with a different watermark. In sum, the codicological evidence suggests that these three gatherings now found in the middle of the Palace Songbook constituted the earliest layer of a manuscript with a very fragmented process of compilation. Since the type of watermark found in this section was also used in four Spanish incunabula printed in 1498–99, this evidence, as well as the significant presence of works by Juan del Encina, would support the hypothesis that the Palace Songbook originated while Encina was in Salamanca in the service of the Duke of Alba in the 1490s, as originally suggested by Barbieri, and not at Ferdinand's court after Isabel's death in 1504, as suggested by Anglés and Romeu.

Although Romeu's chronology for the layers of the Palace Songbook has generally been accepted, Lee objected to his dates for Layer 6 (1515) and Layer 8 (1516). A brief discussion will illustrate the difficulty of dating the different layers of the manuscript. Romeu dated Layer 6 from 1515 on the basis of the presence of Encina's villancico *Si a todos tratas, Amor*, which appears in his

Beginning of the section “Romances”			
	li	“J. del enzina”	No. 74. Ques de ti desconsolado
	lii	“J. del ensina”	No. 77. Yo mestava reposando
	liiii	“J. del ensina”	No. 79. Mi libertad en sosiego ←
	liiii	[Fol. liiii ^r says: “J. del ensina”	“Si amor pone las escalas / a / cviii”]
	lv	“J. del ensina”	No. 81. Señora de hermosa
	lvi	“J. del ensina”	No. 83. <u>Triste España sin ventura</u> (after 1497)
	lvii	Anon.	No. 85. Por mayo era por mayo
	lviii	“fermoselle”	No. 88. Amor por quien yo padezco
	lix	“Lagarto”	No. 90. Quexome de ti ventura
	lx	Anon.	No. 93. La congosa que partio
	lxi	Anon.	No. 95. Enamorado de vos
Beginning of the section “Villancicos”			
	xcix	“J. del enzina”	No. 162. No tienen vado mis males
	c	“J. del ensina”	No. 163. Los sospiros no sosiegan
	ci	“J. del ensina”	No. 165. Gasajemonos de huzia
	cii	“J. del ensina”	No. 167. Ninguno cierre las puertas
	ciii	Anon.	No. 169. Contar te <i>quiero</i> mis males
	ciii	Anon.	No. 171. Pues que nos doleis del mal
	cv	“J. del ensina”	No. 174. Oy comamos y bebamos
	cvi	Anon.	No. 176. Carillo muy mal me va
	cvii	“J. del ensina”	No. 178. Sy amor pone las escalas ←
	* cviii	[Fol. cviii ^r says: “Romance” / “My libertad en sosiego / a / liiii”]	
	cix	“J. del ensina”	No. 179. Si abra en este baldres
	cx	[Fol. cix ^r : “esta en dar y el tal baldres, quare <i>quam</i> indisulubile. Fray A. de Baltanas”]	
	cx	“J. del ensina”	No. 181. <i>Vuestros</i> amores e señora
	cx	“J. del ensina”	No. 184. Levanta pascual levanta
	cx	“J. del ensina”	No. 186. Partistesos mis amores
	cxii	“badajos”	No. 189. Quien te hizo juan pastor
	cxiii	“J. del ensina”	No. 191. Pues <i>que</i> mi triste penar
	[cxiv] lost		
	[cxv] lost		
	[cxvi] lost		

FIGURE 11.5 Gatherings of the Palace Songbook with the works in pale black ink coinciding with a different type of watermark W8 and W12

eclogue entitled *Plácida y Vitoriano*, believed to have been performed in Rome in 1513 and supposedly published there a year later (Romeu Figueras 1965, 1: 20).⁴⁰ Although Romeu assumed that the villancico was composed for the occasion of the 1513 Rome performance, Lee contended that this may not necessarily have been the case (Lee 1980, 1: 54).⁴¹ Lee's questioning can be supported on at least the following grounds: (1) the name of the eclogue performed at Rome in 1513 is not mentioned in the contemporary accounts by either of the two parties for which it was supposedly performed;⁴² (2) the notion that *Plácida y Vitoriano* was presented in Rome is based entirely on a 1514 Roman edition (presumed lost) of the work which is not extant;⁴³ (3) in at least one instance—the *Representación de Amor*—the time that elapsed between composition and publication was a decade, as the *Representación* was

40 The music of *Si a todos tratas, Amor* is lost, but the *tabula* places the piece on the now missing fols 83v–84r. According to Ana Rambaldo, Encina's first eight eclogues were published with a dedication to the Dukes of Alba in 1496; they were reprinted at Seville (1501), Burgos (1505), and, with the addition of two more, at Salamanca (1507); another edition in 1509 incorporated two further plays (Rambaldo 1978–87, 1). All ten were reprinted in 1516. The *Égloga de Cristino y Febea* and *Plácida y Vitoriano*, however, were never included in these collections; they are known only through separate, undated editions; see below for a discussion of the problematic date of publication for *Plácida y Vitoriano*.

41 Ricardo Espinosa pointed out that the Portuguese scholar Carolina Michäelis had already questioned the identity of the play performed in Rome in 1513, suggesting Encina's *Representación de Amor* as a plausible alternative (Espinosa Maeso 1923: 403). Unfortunately, Espinosa did not give the exact reference in Michäelis's early works (Vasconcellos 1912–22), and a later edition of her *Notas Vicentinas* (1949), does not raise the issue, even though she refers to *Plácida y Vitoriano*.

42 One account appears in a letter written by Stazio Gadio to Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, in which he describes the supper given by the Cardinal of Mantua in Rome on 10 August 1513. He says that on the previous Thursday another party had taken place at the home of Jaime Serra, the Valencian Cardinal of Arborea, 'donde se había recitado en español una comedia de Juan del Encina, asistiendo a ella *piu puttane spagnuole che uomini italiani*' ('where a comedy by Juan del Encina was recited in Spanish, and there were more Spanish prostitutes than Italian men') (Menéndez Pelayo 1903–28, 3: 227) [author's emphasis]. Stevenson refers to another occasion on which *Plácida y Vitoriano* was apparently performed in Rome—6 January 1513, at the home of Jaime Serra; the guests included Julius II and Federico Gonzaga (Stevenson 1960: 257). However, the work performed on that occasion is also referred to as a *commedia* (Luzio 1887: 550).

43 Menéndez Pelayo refers to the dramatist and poet Leandro Fernández de Moratín (1760–1828), who, in his *Orígenes del Teatro Español*, affirms: 'Esta obra, de la cual solo queda la noticia, se imprimió en Roma en el año 1514' (Fernández de Moratín 1838: 181; Menéndez Pelayo 1903–28, 2: 228).

first performed for Prince Juan (d. 1497), but published only in 1507;⁴⁴ and (4) that *Plácida y Vitoriano* was not included in the earlier editions of Encina's works may point not so much to a late date of composition, but to difficulties that it may have encountered with the censors, something that is further suggested by its inclusion in the 1559 *Index* of works forbidden by the Inquisition.⁴⁵

There are thus several reasons to question Romeu's use of *Plácida y Vitoriano* to date Layer 6 of the Palace Songbook. A more plausible, though less precise, date for Layer 6 would be the one that Romeu himself gives as its *terminus post quem*, that is, after 1506, the date being based on the date of publication of the Italian frottole in this layer (Romeu Figueras 1965, 1: 20), though whether Italian frottole could have reached the Iberian Peninsula before their publication remains open to question. Regarding the date of Layer 8, Lee pointed out that Romeu's dating of after the death of Ferdinand (1516) on the basis of the scribe's haste and carelessness is not convincing (Lee 1980, 1: 54). Since Romeu offers no other evidence for his date, one can hardly disagree with Lee's objections. Romeu suggested that the compilation of the Palace Songbook lasted until about 1520, and that the manuscript would have passed to Ferdinand's daughter Juana, secluded in Tordesillas (Romeu Figueras 1965, 1: 24).⁴⁶ Although there is no evidence to support it, his hypothesis about the later ownership of the Palace Songbook may be as good as any other; Tordesillas is very near Valladolid, where the manuscript appeared in the 1623 inventory of the Count of Gondomar's library.

The Palace Songbook occupies a central place in the history of Spanish music, but, notwithstanding the frequent performances and recordings of many works, its music could be more fully explored by performers, in particular with regard to the poetic context of the period (Valcárcel 1999; Ros-Fábregas

44 That this work was performed before Prince Juan is stated in the title itself: *Representación por Juan del Enzina ante el muy esclarecido y muy illustre príncipe don Juan...*

45 *Plácida y Vitoriano* includes a 'Vigilia de la enamorada muerta' ('Vigil for the dead beloved'), a parody of the prayers for the dead that had a precedent in both the *Misa de Amor* by Suero de Ribera and the *Liciones de Job apropiadas a sus passiones de amor* by Garci Sánchez de Badajoz (c. 1460–c. 1526); Sánchez de Badajoz, as noted by Stevenson, was also a renowned vihuela player (Stevenson 1990: 22). Curiously enough, among the scribbles and annotations on the last folio of *E-Bbc* M454, a scribe wrote the first lines of Encina's 'Vigilia': 'Circunderunt me dolores de amor y fe ay circunderunt me / venite los que os doleis de mi pena desigual / para que sepais mi mal yo os ruego que' (Ros-Fábregas 2003).

46 There were seventeen music books in the inventory of Juana's possessions at the time of her death in 1555, but it is not possible to ascertain whether one of her 'libros de canto' could have been the Palace Songbook; see Ros-Fábregas 2002a: 18–19.

2012a and Fiorentino 2013b). Romeu's critical edition of the texts continues to be a rich source of comments and inspiration for further research. Brian Dutton's formidable edition of the entire corpus of fifteenth-century Spanish poetry offers further insight into the range of the repertory of the poet-musicians of the time (Dutton 1990–91) (see Chapter 2).

Segovia, Archivo de la Catedral, ss (Segovia)⁴⁷

Segovia, even though it is known as the 'Cancionero Musical de Segovia', contains mostly sacred repertory by Franco-Flemish composers—as well as by Juan de Anchieta⁴⁸—but with some sections devoted to secular music; the modest Spanish secular portion occupies only three incomplete gatherings at the end of the manuscript. The original ownership of Segovia is a matter of controversy, and the dates of compilation suggested until now by different scholars cover a period from after 1495 to c. 1508. It has been proposed that the manuscript was compiled at the court of Queen Isabel between 1500 and 1504, or for her son, Prince Juan (after 1495, when Anchieta became his chapel master), or for her daughter Juana (between 1504 and 1508) (Ros-Fábregas 1992: 1, 206–23; Kreitner 2004b: 81).⁴⁹ However, the evidence provided by the

47 This manuscript without signature was discovered by Anglés at the archive of Segovia Cathedral in 1922. He first published an inventory of its contents in 1936 (Anglés 1936), with a corrected version five years later (Anglés 1941/60: 106–12). The most complete study is by Norma Klein Baker, who reviewed the extensive literature, and included a detailed inventory and an edition of the unpublished works (Baker 1978). A facsimile edition of Segovia—now out of print—was published in 1977 by the Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Segovia, with a preface by Ramón Perales de la Cal, F. Albertos and Hilario Sanz. A description and abbreviated inventory appears in the *Census-Catalogue*, 3: 137–38, emended in 4, 475. Curiously enough, the catalogue of the music at Segovia Cathedral published by José López Calo does not include Segovia among the polyphonic choirbooks (López Calo 1988–89). Víctor Lama de la Cruz, who reproduced Baker's watermark, presented a study of the texts (Lama de la Cruz 1994). For a recent discussion of the manuscript and its Spanish sacred repertory, see Kreitner 2004b: 80–103. A volume of collected essays about this manuscript is forthcoming, and I refer to it for the latest research and bibliography on this manuscript (Urchueguía & Fuhrmann forthcoming).

48 For an edition of Anchieta's works, see Rubio 1980.

49 Recently, Ángel Olmos has linked Segovia's section of Spanish secular pieces with one Andrés de Resenero, member of Isabel's chapel in 1502–3, on the basis of an erroneous reading of the inscription on the lower margin of fol. 209v, which he reads as 'Rsenero' (Olmos Sáez 2012: 56–57); however, Dutton reads it as 'Señora' which provides no clue as to the date or ownership of the manuscript (Dutton 1990–91, 4: 279).

watermarks suggests a narrower chronological period. Moreover, a new reading of two inscriptions on the last folio of the Segovia manuscript, which connects the manuscript to a Castilian noble family with strong ties to the royal family, opens a new perspective regarding the ownership of Segovia.

Baker, in her study of the paper used for the copying of this manuscript, reproduced the watermark on fol.v and stated the following:

A single watermark appears throughout Segovia, indicating that the same paper was used throughout the manuscript and suggesting that the manuscript was copied in one place and completed within a relatively short span of time. (Baker 1978, 1: 67)

A closer inspection of Segovia, however, reveals that there are four watermarks with their respective twins; moreover, Segovia W₁, the one reproduced by Baker, is not the watermark most frequently found in the manuscript. In fact, it appears only on fol.v of the incomplete first gathering, and it does not reappear (with its twin Segovia W₁*) until gatherings XIX, XX, XXII, XXIII and XXIV; in two of these gatherings (XX and XXII) it is found together with another watermark (Segovia W₃). See the four pairs of twin watermarks of Segovia in Figures 11.6 through 11.9.

The watermarks that bear close resemblance to those in Segovia can be found in the online collection of Watermarks in Incunabula Printed in España (WIES <<http://www.ksbm.oew.ac.at/wies>>).⁵⁰ Note, for instance, that the most frequent watermark in Segovia (Segovia W₂) is of the glove or gauntlet type, similar to the watermark in the oldest gatherings of the Palace Songbook. Appendix 11.2 shows the gathering structure of Segovia with the distribution of watermarks. Many gatherings were originally numbered by the compiler of the manuscript with Roman numerals in the upper right corner of the first folios of the gathering, and I have included that Roman numeral in quotation marks. The distribution of all the watermarks in the Segovia gatherings is shown in an abbreviated form in Table 11.3. The presence of four different watermarks (with their twins) and their distribution in the manuscript indicates that the compilation of Segovia did not proceed straightforwardly from beginning to end, even if this is suggested by the organization of the repertory. The process of compilation seems more fragmented than previously thought, and the collection probably expanded from the centre of the manuscript with additions—signalled by change of watermark—placed before and after a

50 Spanish incunabula are identified with an IBE number according to García Craviotto 1989–90.

[Below are two watermarks in the WIES collection (reduced size) similar to Segovia W1 and W1* found in the incunabulum IBE 6090: Enrique de Villena, *Los doze trabajos de Hércules*. Add. Juan de Lucena, *Vita beata* (Burgos: Juan de Burgos, 8 Aug. 1499).]

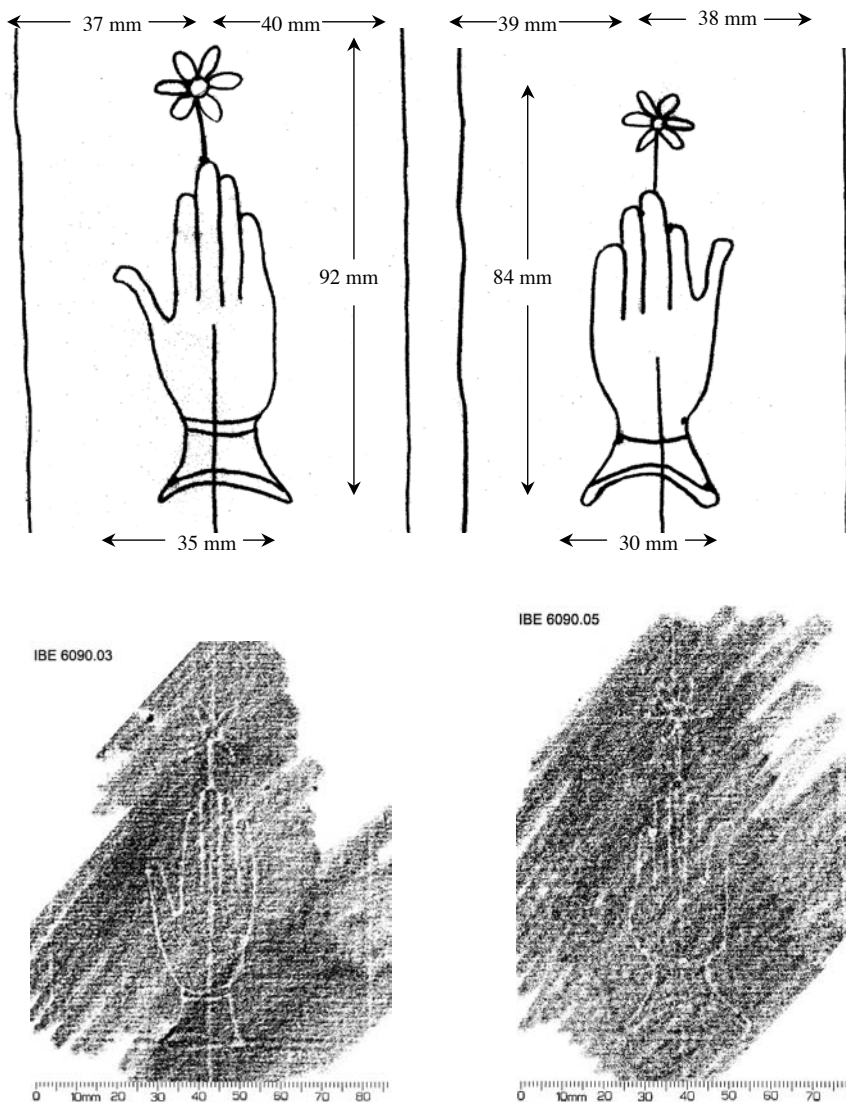


FIGURE 11.6 Watermarks Segovia W1 and its twin W1* (E-SE ss, fols v and cxlviii)

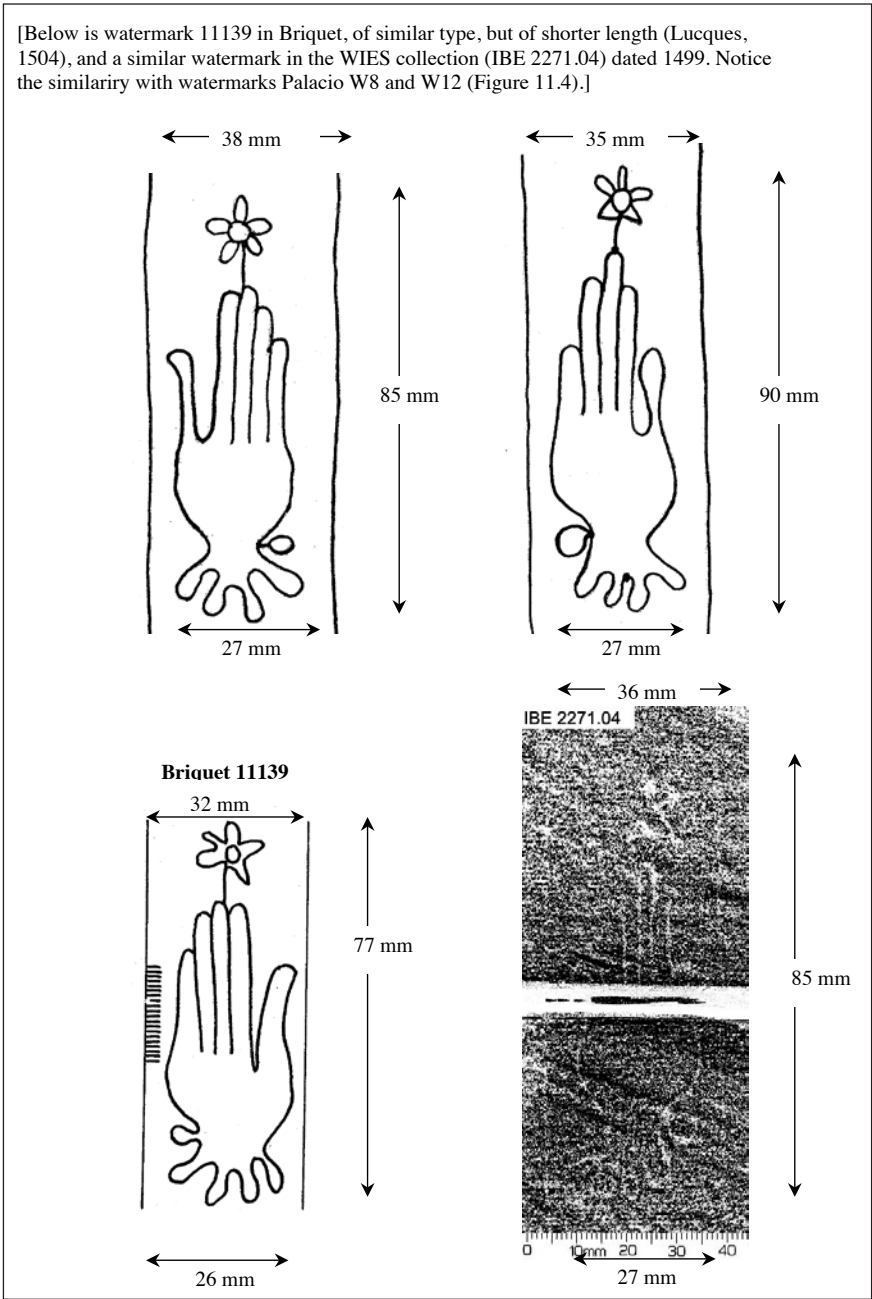


FIGURE 11.7 Watermarks Segovia W2 and its twin W2* (E-SE ss, fols lvii and cxxiii)

[Next to them is the only similar watermark in Briquet (No.11137, Provence 1498), of smaller size.]

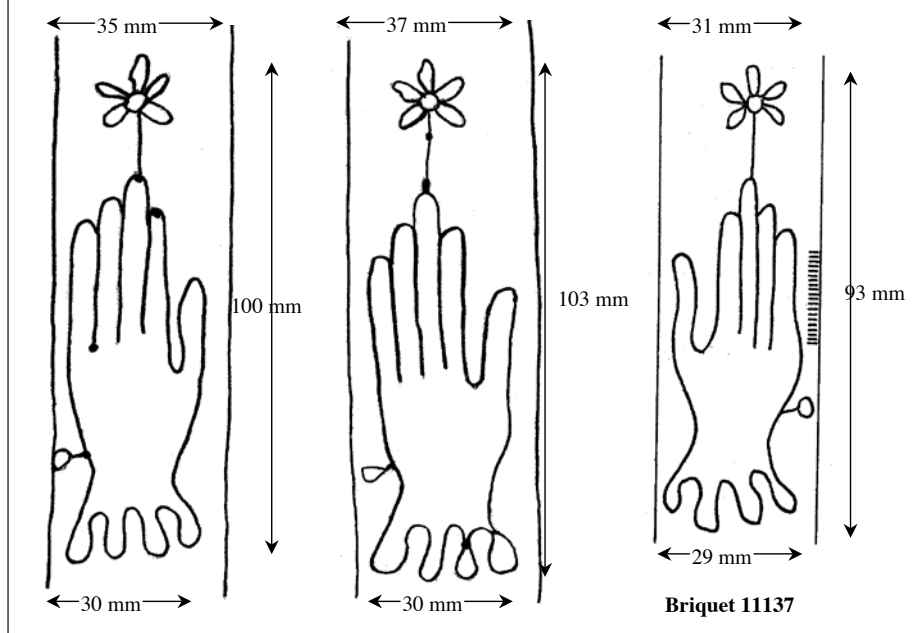


FIGURE 11.8 Watermarks Segovia W_3 and its twin W_3^* (E-SE ss, fols cxxxix and cxli)

central portion of the manuscript (with Segovia W_3 and W_1); as will be discussed below, even the section of the manuscript with only Segovia W_2 (gatherings II through XVII) could have been in turn the result of a previous, independent process of copying and expansion (starting on the present gathering IV with old fol.[i]), before being joined to the section with watermarks W_1 and W_3 .

The fragmentary nature of the compilation of Segovia is not only suggested by the distribution of different watermarks, but also by certain irregularities regarding gatherings and foliation. Table 11.3 shows that a comparison of the old gathering numbers with the present position occupied by the gathering reveals the following: 1) of the eighteen numbered gatherings in Segovia, fifteen numbers coincide with the present position of the gathering; 2) gatherings numbered in the manuscript as 'xv', 'xvi' and 'xvii' are misplaced, since they are now gatherings XVI, XVII and XVIII, respectively; 3) as can be seen in Table 11.3, between old gathering numbers 'xiii' and 'xv' there are now two gatherings, instead of one, and clearly one of these must have been inserted after the

[Below are two other similar watermarks in the WIES collection dated 1498 and 1499, respectively.]

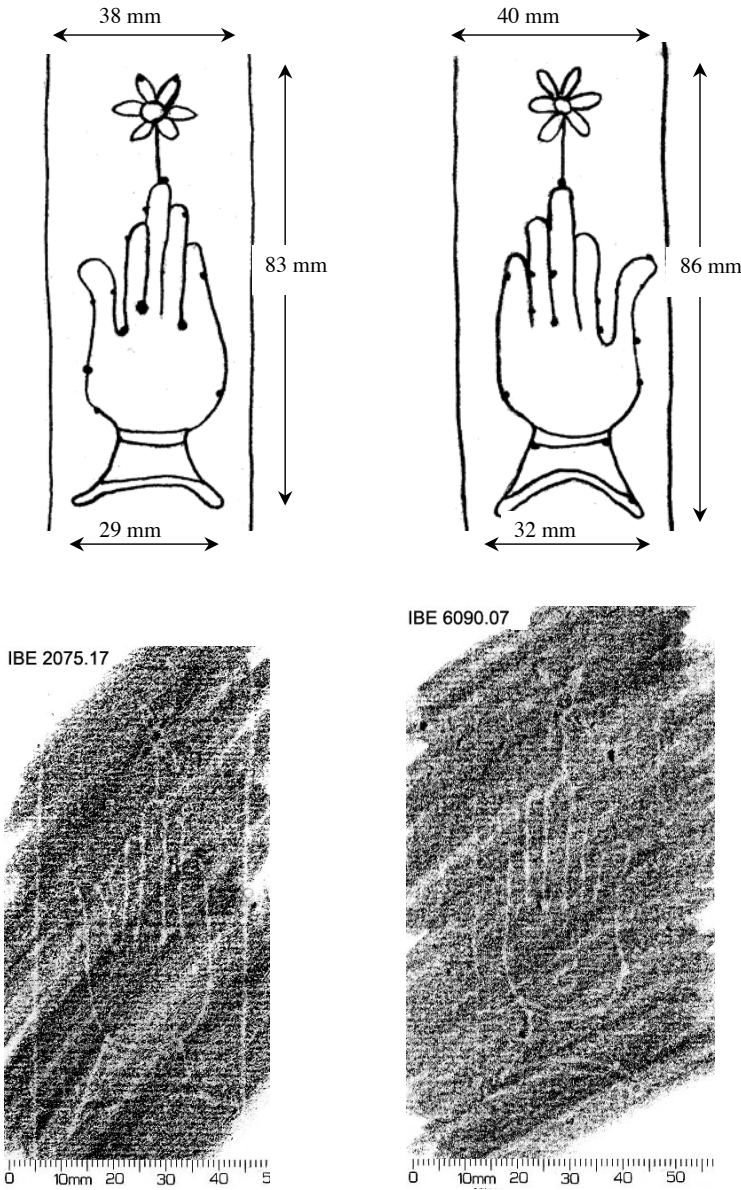


FIGURE 11.9 Watermarks Segovia W_4 and its twin W_4^* (E-SE ss, fols ccxii and ccviii)

TABLE 11.3 *Distribution of watermarks in Segovia by gathering; comparison between the gatherings of Segovia and the old gathering numbers found in the upper right corner of the first folio of eighteen gatherings*

[Braces and arrow indicate expansion/continuation of the collection from the central section (with watermarks Segovia W3 and W1) to the first gathering of the manuscript; this incomplete first gathering contains part of an Isaac's Mass (with W1) that ends in gathering II (with W2).]

Gatherings	Old gathering numbers found in Segovia		Watermark	Comments
I (incomplete)	—		W1	Isaac's Mass (W1+W2) (6vv)
II	—		W2 + W2*	
III	—		W2 + W2*	
IV	—		W2 + W2*	<u>contains old fol. li</u>
V	—		W2 + W2*	
VI	"vi"	(fol. xli ^r)	W2 + W2*	
VII	"vi[i]"	(fol. xlvii ^r)	W2 + W2*	initials up to fol. lii ^r
VIII	"vi[ii]"	(fol. lv ^r)	W2 + W2*	
IX	"ix"	(fol. lxiii ^r)	W2 + W2*	
X	"x"	(fol. lxxi ^r)	W2*	
XI	"xi"	(fol. lxxix ^r)	W2 + W2*	
XII	"x[ii]"	(fol. lxxxviir)	W2*	
XIII	"x[iii]"	(fol. xcvi ^r)	W2	initials: fols. xciv ^r -xcvi ^r
XIV (incomplete)	—	(fol. ciii ^r)	W2*	
XV	—	(fol. cx ^r or cxi ^r)	W2 + W2*	initials: fol. cx
XVI	"xv"	(fol. cxix ^r)	W2 + W2*	
XVII	"xvi"	(fol. cxxvii ^r)	W2 + W2*	initials: fol. cxxxiv ^r
XVIII	"xvii"	(fol. cxxxv ^r)	W3 + W3*	Agricola Mass (3vv)
XIX	["xviii"]?	(fol. cxliiir)	W1 + W1*	
["xix"]? [Perhaps the missing old gathering was moved to the front of Segovia (Gathering I) to initiate a sacred section of Masses for more than 3 vv]				sacred
XX	"xx"	(fol. cli ^r)	W1 + W1* + W3	
XXI	"x[xi]"	(fol. clix ^r)	W3 + W3*	secular
XXII	"xx[ii]"	(fol. clxvii ^r)	W3 + W3* + W1 + W1*	
XXIII	"xxiii"	(fol. clxxv ^r)	W1 + W1*	
XXIV	"xxiiii"	(fol. clxxxiii ^r)	W1 + W1*	
XXV	"xx[v]"	(fol. cxci ^r)	W4 + W4*	
XXVI (incomplete)	—	(fol. [excix ^r])	W3	
XXVII	"xxv[ii?]"	(fol. ccvii ^r)	W4 + W4*	["aquí comienzan..."]
XXVIII (incomplete)	—	(fol. [ccxv ^r])	W4	
XXIX (incomplete)	—	(fol. [cxxxiii ^r])	W4 + W4*	

gatherings were originally numbered; and 4) between gatherings numbered 'xvii' and 'xx' there is only one gathering, instead of two (gathering numbers 'xviii' and 'xix' do not appear). Although it is difficult to reconstruct how these irregularities may have occurred, it is clear that even when the copyist had a plan regarding the order of gatherings, this order was altered.

As to the approximate dates of the watermarks in Segovia, Table 11.4 shows a chronological distribution of Spanish incunabula (by their IBE number in the WIES collection) with watermarks similar to the types of watermarks found in Segovia. While the types of watermark W1 and W4 are found over a broad period of time between the 1480s and 1500, types W2 and W3 appear in a very narrow chronology. Moreover, there are only four incunabula (marked in bold in Table 11.4) which share with Segovia three or more types of watermarks, and they are dated between 1498 and 1500.⁵¹ Until an exact identification and dating of the Segovia watermarks becomes possible, the coincidence of three or four Segovia watermark types in these Spanish incunabula and the narrow chronology of the Segovia W2 type constitute the best codicological evidence we have to date the manuscript; this new evidence would support the hypothesis that Segovia could have been compiled c. 1498–1500.

Regarding the foliation in Segovia, there is clear evidence that some folios have been renumbered, but in most cases it is not possible to ascertain the previous number. However, in one instance the copyist did not erase the old folio number, and thus on fol.xlviii a hitherto unnoticed old folio number 'xviii' that had been entered by a previous scribe can be seen. See Figure 11.10 and notice the different Roman numeral 'x'; all the Roman numerals 'x' in the foliation of Segovia are of the same type, except the 'x' in this old folio number 'xviii'. Counting backwards from this old folio 'xviii', old folio [i] would correspond exactly with the beginning of Obrecht's *Missa Rose playsante* in

51 The four incunabula that share with Segovia three or four types of watermarks are: 1) IBE 2216: Domingo Marcos Durán, *Glosa sobre Lux bella* (Salamanca: [Printer of nebrissensis, 'Gramática'], 17 June 1498; watermark type W1: 2216.09+; type W2: 2216.07; type W3: 2216.06); 2) IBE 1584: Gaius Julius Caesar, *Commentarii* [Spanish]. *Los comentarios de Gayo Julio Cesar*, trans. Diego López (Toledo: Peter Hagembach, for Melchior Gorricio, 14 July 1498; watermark type W1: 1584.15+; type W3: 1584.12; type W4: 1584.17); 3) IBE 6090: Enrique de Villena, *Los doze trabajos de Hércules* with Juan de Lucena, *Vita beata* (Burgos: Juan de Burgos, 8 August 1499; watermark type W1: 6090.03+; type W1*: 6090.05*; type W3: 6090.18; type W4: 6090.07/21/23); and 4) IBE 2087: Fernando Díaz de Toledo, *Notas del relator* (Salamanca: [Printer of Nebrissensis, 'Gramática'], 15 May 1500; watermark type W1 2087.10+; type W3: 2087.01; type W4: 2087.15). Illustrations of the watermarks in these incunabula can be found, by IBE number, at <http://www.ksbm.oew.ac.at/_scripts/php/wies.php>; see also Ros-Fábregas forthcoming.

TABLE 11.4 *Chronological distribution of Spanish incunabula with watermarks similar to the types of watermarks found in the Segovia manuscript*

Dates of Incunabula	Watermark types of Segovia				Coincidence of watermark type
	W ₁ -W ₁ *	W ₂ -W ₂ *	W ₃ -W ₃ *	W ₄ -W ₄ *	
c.1479–84				3921.03	0
c.1480–85				1184.05	0
12/11/1482	5668.31			5668.04/07/27	2
9/4/1485	6258.02/20*				0
c.1485				5688.08/09	0
1489	4839.04+				0
1/1490				6147.09	0
1/3/1491				2055.03	0
16/11/1494	4899.03			4899.18/19	2
11/4/1495				2060.03	0
29/12/1495				1084.08	0
20/6/1496	2276.07*		2276.08		2
1497			1133.08/13		0
1498	2075.12/21+			2075.04/06/07/22/24	2
17/6/1498	2216.09+	2216.07	2216.06		3
14/7/1498	1584.15+		1584.12	1584.17	3
30/7/1498		2284.05/07	2284.04/10		2
20/12/1498				2584.21/22	0
28/1/1499		2271.04			0
8/8/1499	6090.03+/05*		6090.18	6090.07/21/23	4
12/8/1499		460.24			0
c.1499			462.01		0
29/3/1500	2076.02+			2076.01/03	2
12/4/1500	3500.01+				0
15/5/1500	2087.10+		2087.01	2087.15	3
5/12/1500			2180.01		0
c.1500	2373.01+				0
c.1500	3510.01+				0
c.1500–1503	2184.01+				

The incunabula with three and four types of watermarks found in Segovia are in bold; they are dated between 1498 and 1500. I have indicated with a cross (+) those watermarks similar to Segovia W₁ with the characteristic second finger shorter than the fourth and with an asterisk (*) those watermarks similar to Segovia W₁*.

Gathering IV; see Figure 11.11. I believe this Mass, which started on a folio [i], marks the beginning of an early stage in the compilation process of Segovia. However, the question remains as to how this old folio [i] appears towards the end of gathering IV and not, as might be expected, at the beginning of a gathering. Figure 11.11 illustrates a hypothetical origin of the present gathering IV through VII after the division in two of two independent septernions which could have constituted an early stage of Segovia. This hypothetical origin would explain both the anomaly of having an old folio [i] at the end of a gathering and why the Masses *Adieu mes amours* and *Fortuna desperata* by Obrecht in this section are incomplete. If the hypothesis is correct, these two Masses were probably not copied in the same order in which they appear, but after the works that followed them, and thus there was not enough space left to finish copying them.

The fragmentation in the compilation process of the Segovia manuscript is particularly true of the last three gatherings of the manuscript with Spanish secular pieces, since only one of the three gatherings is complete, which illustrates the fragmentary way in which Spanish secular music of this period has survived. With this new perspective, some of the problems regarding the transmission of the repertory in Segovia could be explained, and some of the contradictions reconciled, since distinct sections of the manuscript may reflect different provenance of the sources used at different stages of the compilation process.

The last folio of Segovia has two inscriptions that are relevant to the ownership of this manuscript, but until now they have been incorrectly read, and have thus not received the attention they deserve; they read 'Don Rodrigo' and 'Muy manyfico señor don *Rodrigo* manrique', respectively (Figure 11.12).

The Manrique de Lara lineage is one of the most illustrious of the Spanish nobility, and Table 11.5 presents an abbreviated family tree with the names in bold of three possible Rodrigo Manrique candidates for the Rodrigo mentioned in Segovia. All three were entitled to use the style 'don' and they were also referred to as 'magnífico' (as in the Segovia inscription) in documents of the period.⁵² The first Rodrigo Manrique (1406–76), First Count of Paredes and *Maestre* [head] of the powerful military Order of Santiago, distinguished himself in many battles against the Moors;⁵³ he married three times, and his third

52 For a detailed biography of the members of the Manrique de Lara family, see Salazar y Castro 1696.

53 For a biography of Rodrigo Manrique, First Count of Paredes, see Salazar y Castro 1696, 2: 283–321; according to Salazar y Castro, his gravestone at the Convent of Uclés (Cuenca) reads as follows (the underlining is mine): 'AQVI YACE EL MAGNIFICO SEÑOR DON

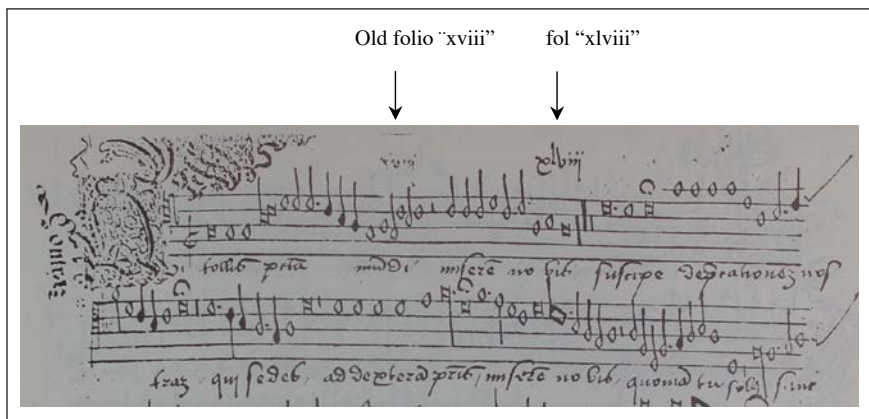


FIGURE 11.10 Double foliation in the Segovia manuscript

wife, Elvira de Castañeda, as an elderly widow, served Queen Juana after 1510. Although he died well before the compilation of Segovia, it is relevant to mention him here, since one of his sons, the poet Jorge Manrique (d. 1479), wrote the well-known *Coplas por la muerte de su padre*, a kind of 'Ubi sunt' poem, in his memory. That the section of Spanish secular pieces in Segovia opens with a work (*Justa fue mi perdiçion*) with text attributed to Jorge Manrique may be more significant than previously thought, and it reinforces the possible connection of the manuscript with the Manriques, a lineage with multiple links to the royal family.

The second candidate, Rodrigo Manrique (d. 1518), known as Comendador de Yeste, was a son of the previous Rodrigo and accompanied Juana as 'mayordomo mayor' for her first journey to Flanders in 1496 to marry Philip the Fair, Archduke of Austria (Salazar y Castro 1696, 2: 390). Domínguez Casas, describing the duties of Queen Isabel's 'mayordomo mayor'—the tip of the hierarchical pyramid of court officials—stated that his signature was indispensable in the 'libro de asientos' (book of entries) (Domínguez Casas 1993: 238). The same status would have applied to this Rodrigo Manrique as Juana's 'mayordomo

RODRIGO MANRIQUE MAESTRE DE SANTIAGO, HIJO DEL ADELANTADO DON PEDRO MANRIQUE, Y DE DOÑA LEONOR DE CASTILLA: EL QVUAL VENCIO XXIV BATALLAS DE MOROS Y CRISTIANOS. MVRIÒ AÑO DE M.CCCC.LXXVI. A XI DE NOVIEMBRE' ('Here lies the magnificent lord don Rodrigo Manrique, Master of (the Order of) Santiago, son of the 'Adelantado' don Pedro Manrique and of doña Leonor of Castile; he won twenty-four battles between Moors and Christians. He died on 9 November 1476') (Salazar y Castro 1696, 2: 316).

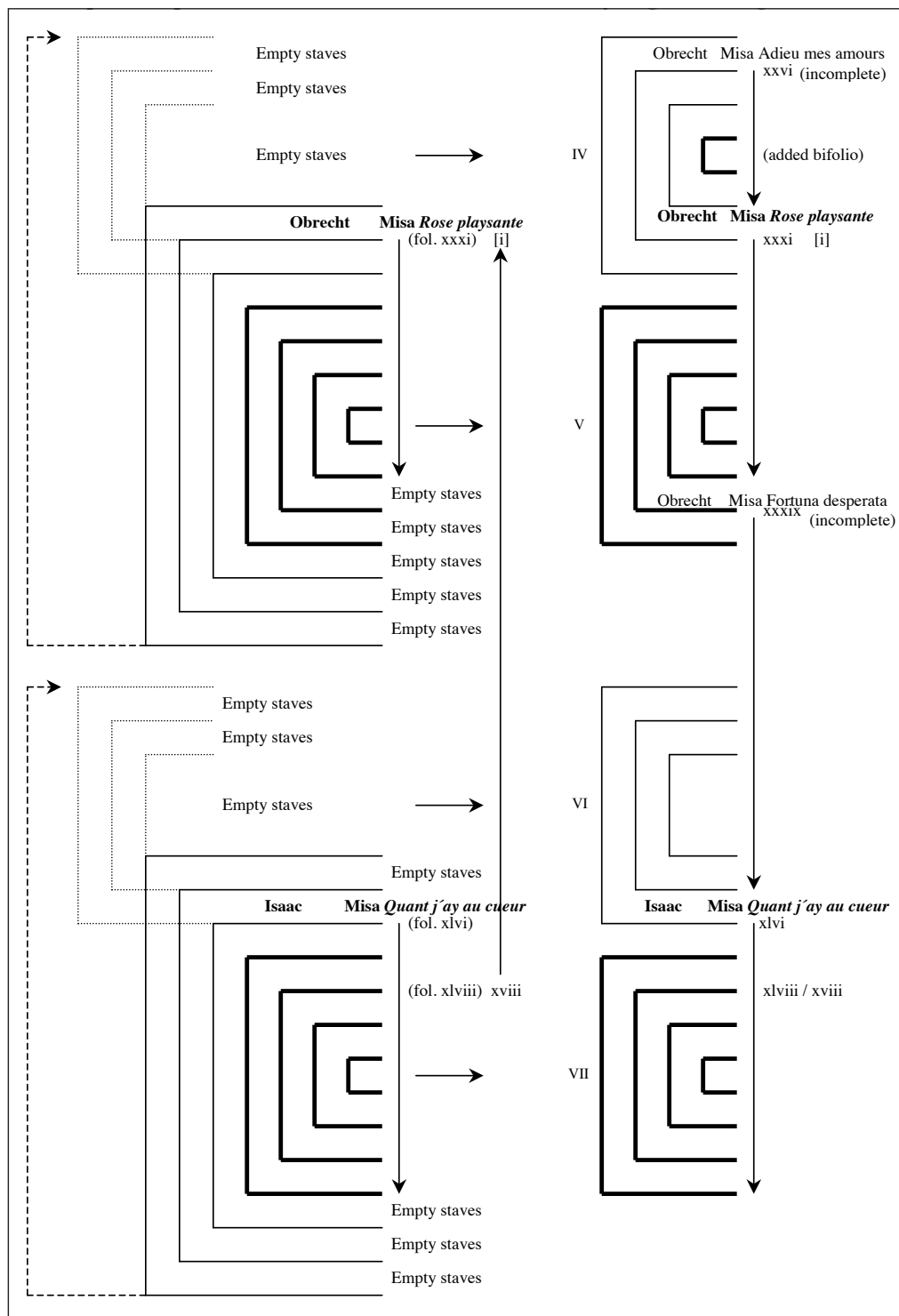


FIGURE 11.11 *Hypothetical origin of the present gatherings IV through VII after the division in two separate septernions which could have constituted an early stage of the Segovia manuscript*

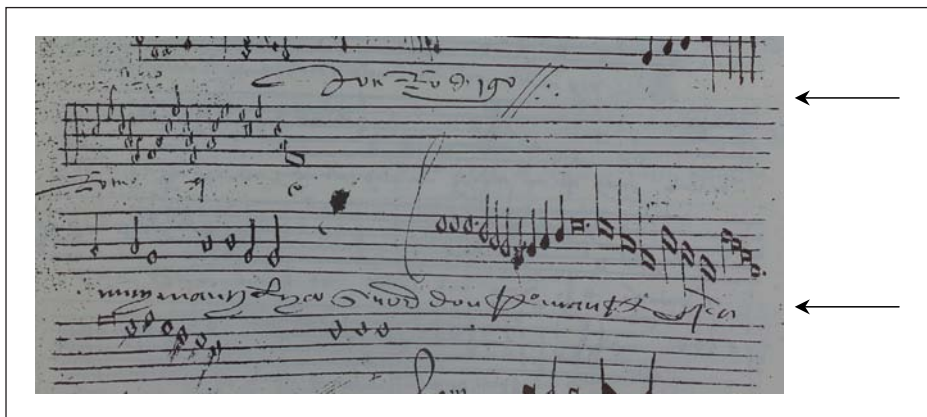


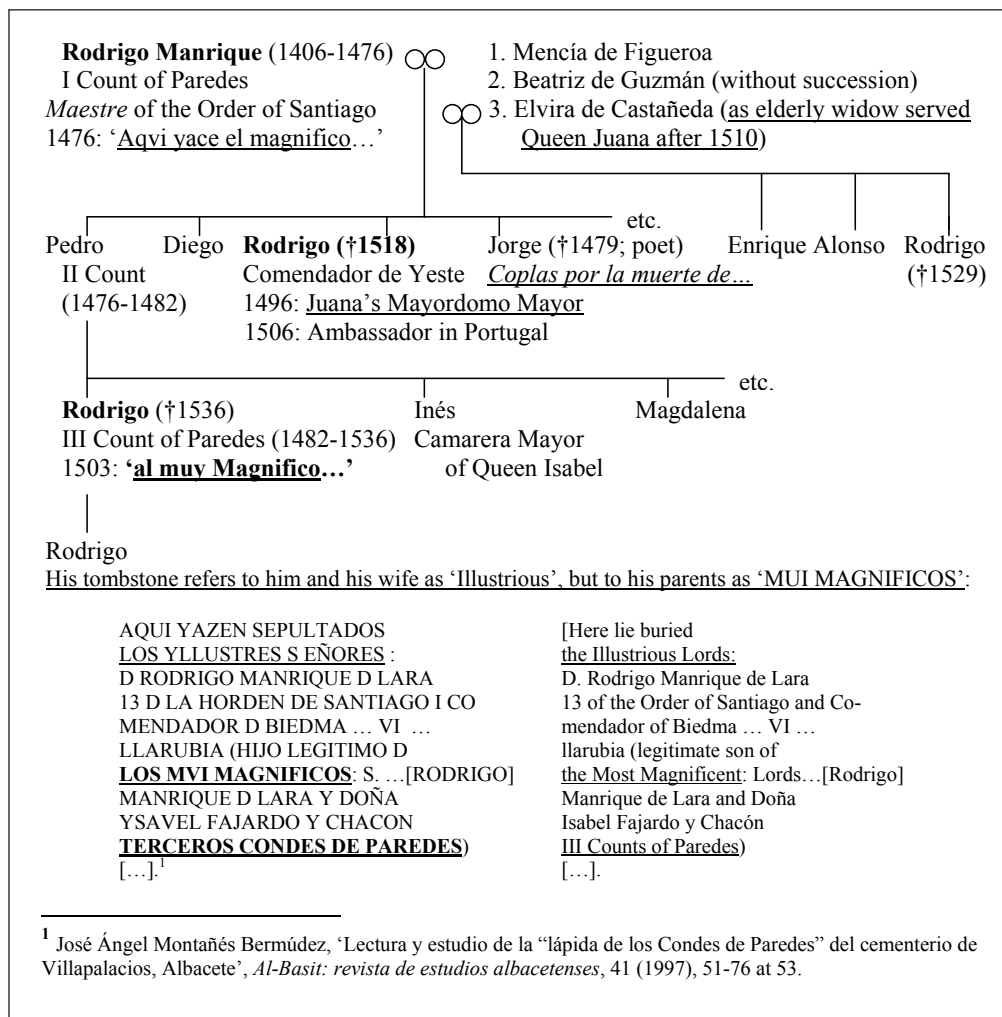
FIGURE 11.12 *The two inscriptions 'Don Rodrigo' and 'Muy manyfico señor don Rodrigo manrique' on the last folio of the Segovia manuscript*

mayor', and perhaps the inscription 'Don Rodrigo' in Segovia—even though it is not a 'libro de asientos'—had something to do with his duties in that position. He did not return to Castile with the fleet in early 1497 and remained with Juana as ambassador until 1498. His journey to the Low Countries provides the kind of international contact that would explain the presence of his name in a manuscript with abundant Franco-Flemish repertory.⁵⁴

The third and perhaps most likely candidate, Rodrigo Manrique, as Third Count of Paredes (from 1482 to 1536), would have been at the time of the compilation of Segovia the head of the branch of the Manrique family (Table 11.5).⁵⁵ Prince Juan, son of the Catholic Monarchs, confirmed some of this Rodrigo's

54 In 1506, King Ferdinand sent this second Rodrigo Manrique as ambassador to Portugal to inform Manuel about the arrangement with Archduke Philip concerning the government of Castile; later, Ferdinand appointed him Governor of the province of Leon (a position he had held previously) and later, *corregidor* of Baza and other towns in Andalusia. He died in the castle of Yeste (province of Albacete) on 8 April 1518. A document dated 10 December 1515 refers to this second Rodrigo as 'magnifico'; see Salazar y Castro 1696, 2: 391: '...Lugarteniente (assi dice) de Corregidor de la dicha Ciudad, y su tierra por el Magnifico Señor el Señor D. RODRIGO MANRIQUE Corregidor, y Justicia Mayor de Baza, Guadix, Almeria, Purchena, Vera, y sus tierras' ('Deputy (so he says) of the Corregidor of the said town and its land by the magnificent lord the lord don Rodrigo Manrique Corregidor and 'Justicia Mayor' of Baza, Guadix, Almería, Purchena, Vera and their lands').

55 According to Salazar y Castro, in 1491 this Rodrigo was still under the tutelage of his mother (Salazar y Castro 1696, 2: 339, 356). His first marriage, though, took place shortly afterwards in 1493, and—according to his father's will—it should have been arranged by his mother and his uncle Rodrigo, later to become Juana's 'mayordomo mayor'.

TABLE 11.5 *Abbreviated family tree with the three Rodrigo Manrique candidates (in bold)*

possessions on 30 October 1496, and in another document dated 16 February 1503 the exact same words ('muy magnifico') that appear in the Segovia manuscript are found: 'al muy Magnifico Señor D. RODRIGO MANRIQUE Conde de Paredes...' (Salazar y Castro 1696, 2: 357). This Rodrigo married twice, and his first wife, Isabel Fajardo, was the eldest daughter of Juan Chacón, 'Contador mayor' (highest official, together with 'mayordomo mayor') at the court of Queen Isabel. Since this don Rodrigo seems to have been only slightly older than Prince Juan, perhaps the education he received, especially in music,

would have been modelled after that of the prince (Knighton 2014; Knighton & Kreitner forthcoming; Kreitner forthcoming).

The inscriptions in Segovia point to a possible connection of the manuscript with a particularly distinguished branch of the Manrique family: the Counts of Paredes. Further archival research into this family could clarify whether the manuscript fell into the hands of one of the two Rodrigos (uncle or nephew)—given their close ties with the royal family and given that someone simply entered his name—or whether the manuscript was the result of this family's hitherto unknown independent musical activity. Perhaps this activity, connected with the Third Count of Paredes, benefited from the contact with repertory performed by the royal chapel and the Franco-Flemish music that his uncle could have brought with him after the journey to the Low Countries as Juana's 'mayordomo mayor'.

Finally, the main scribe of Segovia, after copying the Spanish secular pieces without ascription, entered—as his final work in the manuscript—a sacred piece, the *Pange lingua* with the ascription 'Johanes Vrede'. Perhaps this final attribution to the Flemish composer Johannes Wreede/Juan de Urreda, who worked in Castile, bears some connection with the identity of the scribe and the milieu in which he copied this manuscript. A subsequent addition to Segovia by a different copyist of a sacred piece ascribed to Alonso de Mondéjar may signal the arrival of the manuscript at a milieu different to that in which it originated or the arrival of Mondéjar himself to the Castilian court in 1502, from where his music would have been disseminated more widely. The key figure in the compilation process of Segovia, though, could have been Juan de Anchieta, given his prominent presence in the manuscript, and since among the composer's possessions at the time of his death in 1523 there was a music book with vellum covers whose description is close to Segovia, perhaps the manuscript ended up in Anchieta's hands.⁵⁶

56 Stevenson cited Anchieta's 1523 will in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 14020.170, p. 40: 'Yten, dos libros encuadernados de canto, y otro libro de canto cosido en pergamino' ('two bound song-books, and another parchment-bound song-book') (Stevenson 1960: 132). For a transcription of inventories of music books related to Segovia, such as the 1503 royal inventory of music books at the Segovia Alcázar, see Ros-Fábregas 2001a: 58–60 and Ros-Fábregas 2001b: 34–36, and the section 'Documentation' in www.hispanicpolyphony.eu.

Other Manuscripts with Repertory from the Time of Isabel and Ferdinand

It is difficult to imagine that the Castilian and Aragonese royal chapels at the time of Isabel and Ferdinand would not have had large polyphonic choirbooks of sacred repertory comparable, at least to some extent, with those brought to Spain by Philip the Fair, such as *B-Br* 9126, with the coats of arms of Philip and Juana, or that owned in Italy by the Cardona-Fernández de Córdoba family early in the sixteenth century known as the 'Chigi Codex' (Kellman 1999; Ros-Fábregas 2002b). *E-Boc* 5 is a manuscript with twenty-two sacred works compiled entirely during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, but its compilation seems to have nothing to do with their chapels (Ros-Fábregas 2001c, 2011: 305–11). Part One (fols 1r–52r) contains five Masses (one each by Josquin and Obrecht, and three by Isaac),⁵⁷ and on fol. 52r the following inscription was entered by the scribe: 'Scriptum per me Desiderium Johannis/Clericum AEseteñ'. The last word of the inscription—Aeseteñ—most likely refers to the scribe's place of origin, and could refer to Aesernia, the Latin name for Isernia (Lewis & Short 1980: 61), a small town slightly southeast of the abbey of Montecassino in the Kingdom of Naples. Part Two (fols 52v–69v), copied by several hands, combines Franco-Flemish repertory with works by such minor Catalan composers as Cots and Marturià, as well as pieces by the otherwise unknown Spaniards Alonso de la Plaja and Milans; there is one Kyrie by Peñalosa, but otherwise none of these composers seems ever to have worked for the royal courts of Castile or Aragon.⁵⁸ Associations of both Catalan composers represented in this section—Cots and Marturià—with Gerona (although with different institutions and at different times) may point to Gerona as a possible place of compilation for this second section.⁵⁹ Gerona, an important city close to the French border, was on the main or 'royal' road ('camino real') used

57 The Masses are: Josquin's *Fortuna desperata*, Obrecht's *Salve diva parens*, and Isaac's *Comme femme, Sobre Castile* ('la Spagna') and *Argentum et aurum*. Only the Masses by Isaac bear an ascription, and *E-Boc* 5 is the only complete source for *Missa Argentum et aurum*.

58 A *Conditor alme siderum* by Marturià appears in *E-SE* ss, implying that his music was known in Castilian court circles. The non-Spanish works in Part Two are: Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé* (incomplete), which follows immediately after the five Masses of Part 1, and his motets *Ave Maria* and *Domine non secundum*; Richafort's *Quem dicunt homines* (Superius and Tenor only, the other two voices are missing, most likely owing to the loss of a folio); and the motet *O bone Jesu* variously attributed to Anchietta, Compère, Peñalosa and Ribera. Of these, only Josquin's Mass bears an ascription in the manuscript.

59 Josep M^a Gregori i Cifré, 'Cots, Bartomeu', in *DMEH*, 4: 151.

by travellers on their journey to the Iberian Peninsula. When Bartomeu Cots was *maestro de capilla* at Gerona Cathedral between 1472 and 1480, the bishop, Juan Margarit (1421–84), occupied the highest administrative position (*cancelarius*) in Ferdinand's chancellery.⁶⁰

The strict division of the manuscript—implicit in Anglés, explicit in the *Census-Catalogue*—into two unrelated sections, and the seemingly unproblematical Spanish/Catalan place of origin of Part Two must be questioned, however, on the following grounds: firstly, one type of paper was used for the entire manuscript; secondly, the watermark that runs through the entire manuscript (a 'fleur de lys' within a circle) may point to the paper having been manufactured in Italy;⁶¹ thirdly, the scribe of Part One may have come from Italy; and lastly, the same scribe also copied Josquin's *Domine non secundum* in Part Two (fols 67r–68r). Possibly the history of this manuscript is associated with the activity of the singer, organ builder and composer Marturià Prats to whom a textless *unicum* is attributed in the second part of the manuscript. He appears in 1466 as 'fadrí chantrè' (boy singer) at the Aragonese royal chapel, and was a singer (1484) and later chapel master (1497) in the chapel of Enrique de Aragón, Count of Empúries. Marturià also worked, often together with his brother Antoni, as an organ builder, in Valencia (1483–85), Barcelona (1492), and Tortosa (1497–99), before leaving for Rome, where he is documented at the papal chapel from 1 February 1501 until 1503 (see Chapter 10). Later he returned to Catalonia, where in 1514 he worked on the organ at the church of Santa María del Mar in Barcelona.⁶² It seems reasonable to assume that while at the papal chapel he had access to Franco-Flemish works circulating at that time in Italy. Prats himself—or someone close to him at the papal chapel—could have been responsible for transmitting the international repertory in *E-Boc* 5 to Spain. Certainly, the strong presence of Spanish singers at the papal chapel during the sixteenth century would have provided many opportunities for the circulation of music and musicians between Rome and the Iberian Peninsula (see Chapter 10).

60 Francisco Sevillano states that during Ferdinand's reign the title of chancellor became an honorary title, sometimes shared between the Archbishops of Tarragona, and the Bishops of Urgell and Gerona, as was the case in 1480 (Sevillano 1955: 222–24); even so, Margarit, who was the most famous of Ferdinand's chancellors, seems to have predominated over the other two.

61 For a reproduction and commentary of the watermark in *E-Boc* 5, see Ros-Fàbregas 2001c: 144–45. A similar watermark is found in *I-Rvat* CS 49 and *I-Rvat* CS 63, compiled between c. 1492–c. 1507 and c. 1480–c. 1507, respectively; see Sherr 1975: 138, 253, 256, and *Census Catalogue*, 4: 50, 54.

62 Josep M^a Gregori, 'Prats, Marturià', in *DMEH*, 8: 931.

It is difficult to establish the exact date of *E-Boc* 5, but the second section must be dated from no earlier than the beginning of the sixteenth century, since it includes the motet *Quem dicunt homines* by Richafort (c. 1480–1547), the youngest composer in the manuscript. Although this motet seems to be an early work, it is unlikely that it would have been composed before about 1500.⁶³ Finally, whatever the precise origins of *E-Boc*, the manuscript shows that the Franco-Flemish Mass repertory was known even in those Catalan music circles which apparently had no direct connection with the royal chapels.

E-Bbc M454 contains one hundred and twenty-seven works by Franco-Flemish and Iberian composers from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Ros-Fábregas 1992). It is a composite manuscript which, on the grounds of independent foliations, scribal distribution and repertory, can be divided into four distinct sections: 454/A, 454/B, 454/C and 454/D. 454/A, now comprising gatherings x–xvi of the manuscript, was an independent collection, the earliest of the four, and still carries its own foliation (1–65). 454/B originally began with a new foliation system; this collection now appears divided into two parts (gatherings iii–viii and xvii–xix) that surround 454/A. The reason for treating 454/C as an independent collection is the evidence of a *tabla* that is not a table of contents for the entire manuscript, but a list of all the works copied by a single scribe throughout it; this Scribe C is the most important of the scribes, and the one responsible for its present structure. Finally, 454/D consists of a distinct group of Spanish secular pieces, most of them added at the end of the manuscript.

E-Bbc M454 was most likely compiled in a process of accretion over a shorter period than previously thought. The *terminus ante quem* for the greater part of the manuscript (454/A–C) can be placed at about 1525, with the earliest section, 454/A, probably having originated during the first decade of the sixteenth century; this is suggested by the codicology of 454/A and the presence of music by royal composers such as Joan Aldomar, Lope de Baena, Gabriel Mena, Francisco de Peñalosa, and especially by Alonso de Mondéjar, interspersed with Franco-Flemish works copied by non-Iberian hands.⁶⁴ Scribe C was

63 According to Howard Mayer Brown, 'many parody Masses were based on the motet *Quem dicunt homines* (Howard Mayer Brown and John T. Brobeck, 'Richafort, Jean (c. 1480–after 1547)', *New Grove II*, 21: 329–31 at p. 330); according to this entry on Richafort, 'The two earliest of these masses by Divitis and Mouton may have been composed in competition and possibly for performance before Francis I and Leo X at Bologna in 1516'.

64 Among the villancicos in 454/A, the *unicum* *Aquel pastorcico, madre* by Gabriel Mena stands out, since it was based on a popular tune with which sacred poetry commissioned by Queen Isabel from her confessor Ambronio Montesino was sung at court and, in private, by women of the Castilian nobility (Ros-Fábregas 1993, 2008).

responsible for bringing together the once independent sections 454/A and 454/B around 1520; the comparison of a previously unnoticed inscription dated 1520 with the two extant *tablas* containing the repertory added by Scribe C shows that he copied 454/C from about 1520 to 1525. It is not possible to determine with precision when 454/B was compiled, since it has connections with both 454/A and 454/C. The presence of Busnoys's *Missa L'homme armé* in 454/B could be related to the ceremonies of the Order of the Golden Fleece celebrated in Barcelona in 1519. The visits to Barcelona of the Flemish ducal/royal chapel, first that of Philip the Fair in 1503, and then that of Charles v in 1519, serve as possible points of reference for the compilation of *E-Bbc* M454.⁶⁵ Philip's visit may signal the beginning of the compilation process, and Charles's long stay may have served as a catalyst for the integration of the three main sections of the manuscript into a single volume circa 1520; 454/D, with works by Mateo Flecha and Pedro de Pastrana, could have been copied sometime after 1525.⁶⁶ Several inscriptions in *E-Bbc* M454 indicate that the manuscript was compiled in Barcelona, and it was possibly associated with Archbishop Pere Folch de Cardona (d. 1530), who played a leading role in the city's cultural life at the time of its compilation. *E-Bbc* M454 ranks alongside the Segovia manuscript as one of the richest Iberian sources of Franco-Flemish music from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The Spanish works in its earliest section, 454/A, suggest direct contact with the royal chapels of Isabel and Ferdinand, and its repertory in general reflects the diverse musical influences that flowed through Barcelona.

The manuscript *E-TZ* 2/3 is the largest source of Iberian sacred music from the early sixteenth century (see Chapters 1 and 7).⁶⁷ Because of its large size, it

65 On the visits of Philip the Fair and Charles v to Barcelona, see Ros-Fábregas 1992, 1: 103–14; and Ros-Fábregas 1995. For an analysis of Busnoys's *Missa L'homme armé*, see Taruskin 1986; see also Prizer 1985b. For a discussion of the theological and musical symbolism of *L'homme armé*, see Wright 2001: 159–205.

66 The dates 1530, 1532 and 1534, found in the works copied by Scribe C before 1525, are later additions and show only that the manuscript continued to be used during the third decade of the sixteenth century.

67 The first description and inventory of *E-TZ* 2/3 was that by Anglés 1941/40: 122–24. Jane Hardie described the manuscript, reproduced one of the two watermarks (an eagle), and studied Peñalosa's repertory (Hardie 1983: 42–52). She refers to the eagles catalogued as nos 455 and 457 in Bofarull y Sans 1959: 28; however, none of the eagles reproduced in Bofarull's study allows for an identification. Tess Knighton discussed the repertory and its association with the royal chapels of Isabel and Ferdinand, provided biographies of composers and a complete inventory of *E-TZ* 2/3, reproducing, in addition to the eagle, another unidentified watermark (an orb) (Knighton 2001: 246–70). I have discussed

was divided in two and refoliated in the sixteenth century to make it more manageable for use at Tarazona Cathedral; the two parts were restored and bound together again in 2002.⁶⁸ As the opening *tabla* of the manuscript immediately makes clear, the arrangement of its contents was carefully planned before the copying of the manuscript was begun; this resulted in a systematic arrangement by genre of the one hundred and forty-five works, which appear in the following order: hymns (twenty), Magnificats (three for three voices and twelve for four voices), Asperges (four), three-voice Masses (three), four-voice Masses (fourteen), Responsories (two), Salves (two), Alleluias (nine), three-voice motets (nine), four-voice motets (thirty-five), Lamentations (four), and Deo gratias (one). Many of the composers represented in *E-TZ* 2/3 worked at some point for the royal chapels of Isabel and Ferdinand, and, since among them Francisco de Peñalosa (c. 1470–1528), with forty works, emerges as the main figure, he seems to have been closely related to the manuscript (see Chapter 1).⁶⁹

The precise date and place of compilation of *E-TZ* 2/3 are not known. There have been different hypotheses about the date of compilation encompassing a broad period between 1500 and 1550. Since Peñalosa and other composers in the manuscript worked in Seville, it has been suggested that most of its repertory probably originated in that city (see Chapter 7).⁷⁰ A distinction should be

different hypotheses about the origin of *E-TZ* 2/3 and the stemmatic relationships of the concordances with *E-Bbc* M454 (Ros-Fábregas 1992, 1: 237–44, 249–346). For an overview of the contents of the manuscript, bibliography and music editions, see Esteve Roldán 2006. On the links between *E-TZ* 2/3 and Seville, see Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 226–36.

68 The manuscript uses four folios for the *tabla* and the music occupies two hundred and ninety-nine numbered folios, measuring 46.6cm × 32.6cm. The missing fols lviii–lxi now form *E-Bbc* M1167, so that of the original manuscript, only fol.ccc is missing.

69 All the works but two bear an ascription in the table of contents and/or in the body of the manuscript, although one of these anonymous pieces has been attributed to Peñalosa; the composers represented are: Juan [Álvarez] de Almorox; Alonso Pérez de Alva; Juan de Anchieta; Loyset Compère; Josquin Desprez; Pedro Díaz de Aux; Pedro Escobar; Pedro Fernández de Castilleja or Pedro Hernández de Tordesillas; Juan Illario; Antonio Marleth; Rodrigo Morales; Francisco de Peñalosa; Pietriquin (probably Pierrequin Therache); Pedro de Porto; Quixada; Antonio de Ribera; Juan Rodríguez de Sanabria; Juan de Segovia; Alonso Hernández de Tordesillas/Pedro Hernández de Tordesillas; Francisco de La Torre; Pere Vila and Juan de Urreda.

70 Another early sixteenth-century manuscript associated with Seville is *E-Sco* 5–5–20 with thirteen works: Anchieta–2, Anchieta/(Peñalosa)–1, Anonymous–1, Brumel–1, Escobar–1, Escobar/(Peñalosa)–1, Medina–1, Peñalosa–1, Ponce–1, and Rivaflécha–3. I have described the manuscript, including its watermark, and dated it to after the time of the Catholic Monarchs (Ros-Fábregas 1992, 1: 224–36) on the basis of the italic style of handwriting

made, though, between the repertory transmitted in *E-TZ* 2/3 and the problem at hand of identifying the actual owner who commissioned such a formidable collection and the church or chapel for which it was compiled. Curiously, no trace of *E-TZ* 2/3 is found in the abundant documentation about the compilation of music books at Seville Cathedral and in the many inventories of the cathedral music books; if such a valuable manuscript was originally compiled for the cathedral, it would surely have remained there, or there would have been records about the expenses of producing the volume. Juan Ruiz Jiménez—who has made an enormous contribution to knowledge about music books and musicians in Seville—affirms that there was no other known place where the works found in *E-TZ* 2/3 would have been available, and proposes that the city was a centre for dissemination for this repertory (Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 37–38; Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 226–36). Among the arguments for the Sevillian provenance of the repertory, and that of *E-TZ* 2/3, Ruiz Jiménez states:

In their settings of *Beata nobis gaudia*, both Alva [in *E-TZ* 2/3] and Guerrero [later on] use the chant melody preserved in a [Seville] cathedral hymnal. This chant is a variant of that found in the *Intonarum Toletanum*, and different from that sung in Tarazona Cathedral. It is thus highly improbable that Alva's setting would have been used in the liturgy at Tarazona (Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 236).

Since Ruiz Jiménez proposes that Seville was the centre for dissemination of this repertory, it seems contradictory to deny the possibility that repertory emanating from Seville was sung in Tarazona. Although it is clear that cathedral choirs sang Gregorian chant according to their own books, it is questionable to infer that only polyphony based on local variants of the chant was allowed to be copied and/or performed in Tarazona, especially if there was no polyphonic alternative composed by a local chapel master. Thus—without denying the role of Seville as a clearly major musical centre, where most of this repertory would have been performed—the questions remain open as to who

found in its second section, characteristic of documents during the reign of Charles v (1516–56) (Millares 1983, 1: 216). Suárez Martos proposed 1517 as a *terminus ante quem* for the entire manuscript; he mistakenly stated that I had associated *E-Sco* 5–5–20 with Barcelona and the Duke of Cardona, but that is incorrect since I compared the style of italic handwriting found in both *E-Sco* 5–5–20 and *E-Bbc* M454/C to propose a possible date for *E-Sco* 5–5–20, not its provenance (Suárez Martos 2010: 22, 31–32). Recent restoration of the manuscript has allowed Suárez Martos to document that *E-Sco* 5–5–20 was acquired by Ferdinand Columbus in 1532 (Suárez Martos 2010: 32). On this question, see also Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 209–11; and for a possible connection with the bishop and royal ambassador Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, see Knighton 2009 and 2012b.

commissioned *E-TZ* 2/3 and for which institution, its compilation date, and how the manuscript reached Tarazona Cathedral in the sixteenth century where it was divided into two to make it more usable. Although there are no answers as yet for these questions, it might be useful to start by looking for them in Tarazona.

Three sixteenth-century inventories of polyphonic choirbooks at Tarazona Cathedral attest to the richness of the repertory in this magnificent cathedral which, after a long period of restoration, opened again to the public in 2011 (Calahorra [Martínez] 1992; Ros-Fábregas 2002a: 35). A unique characteristic of these inventories is that, for each manuscript, the scribe entered not just a brief description but the entire contents of the polyphonic book with the corresponding foliation for each piece and the attribution. These inventories are therefore very useful for the firm identification of extant books and the documentation of lost polyphonic choirbooks. The first of these inventories (Inventory 1) has no date, but the paper watermark suggests its use in the 1550s.⁷¹ The description in this inventory attests to the fact that by the time it was compiled, *E-TZ* 2/3 had already been divided in two, but curiously enough, the list of works in the inventory begins with Urreda's *Pange lingua* (found on fol.x of *E-TZ* 2/3), without listing the previous seven hymns, and proceeds with the rest of the titles that constituted *E-TZ* 2 alone.⁷² The contents of *E-TZ* 3, in which Peñalosa's Masses dominate, does not appear in this Inventory 1. However, towards the end of Inventory 1, the scribe incorporated the following entry: 'Item un libro de tablas viejo de missas de Peñalosa que no sirve' ('item an old book of wooden boards with Masses by Peñalosa which is of no use'). Could this refer to the section of *E-TZ* 2/3 with Peñalosa's Masses whose detailed contents does not appear in the inventory? If not, where was *E-TZ* 3?

71 Inventory 1, an unfoliated folio-size, independent quaternion, has on its first recto the inscription: 'Inventario de los libros de música que [h]ay en la yglesia de Taraçona / y de las obras que [h]ay en ellos con los nombres de los auctores / Ar. L. cax. 2. lig. 7. n^o 1'; the inventory occupies fols [2r–10r] and the contents of *E-TZ* 2 only is listed on fols [4v–7r]. The paper watermark of Inventory 1 is the same as the watermark found in a *Libro de caja y cuentas* of 1552; since the previous and following *Libros* (from 1550 and 1562, respectively) have a different watermark, this means the inventory could date from the 1550s. I have seen the paper used for all the *Libros de caja y cuentas* for this period at Tarazona Cathedral, which are dated: 1535, 1538, 1550, 1552, 1562, 1563, 1565–67, 1571–78, 1574–1582 and 1600–1618. There is, however, a later reference, probably from 1591, to an inventory dated 29 May 1570, which could perhaps refer to Inventory 1 or, more likely, to a slightly later, lost inventory (with this date), but with similar contents.

72 In addition to the seven hymns missing in the inventory, the *Salve* by Anchieta, which should be the last item in the list, is also missing.

A 1591 inventory of polyphony at Tarazona Cathedral has two main sections: the first incorporated the transcription of a previous inventory (Inventory 2) originally dated 29 May 1570; the second section continues with descriptions of more books.⁷³ In this Inventory 2, the complete contents of both *E/TZ* 2 and *E-TZ* 3 were listed with the new independent foliation for each volume. The following inscription at the end of Inventory 2 is highly informative, not only about the date of the original exemplar from which it was copied, but also about the reasons for including more works in Inventory 2 than those listed in the original 1570 inventory.

Up to here is what there was in an old inventory drawn up on 29 May 1570 and more things have been found than there were [in the inventory] which Joan Arnalte, almoner, asked to be copied in order to fill in empty pages in some old books, and *also some other things that are here which owing to being very old and badly written cannot be used and have been copied in other books.*⁷⁴ [my emphasis]

The inscription indicates that Juan Arnalte, composer and chapel master at Tarazona Cathedral, had had copied into new books ‘very old’ things that, owing to deterioration, were ‘of no use’ (‘no pueden servir’). Thus since the expression ‘que no sirve’ is found also in Inventory 1 to refer to a book of Peñalosa’s Masses, it is tempting to suggest that among the ‘very old’ things that Arnalte ordered to be recopied in new books was that ‘useless’ book of Peñalosa Masses, whose contents were not listed in Inventory 1. This would

73 This document, a single folio-size gathering foliated 1–20 after the first recto, has on its title page the inscription: ‘Ar. L. cax. 2. lig. 7. n° 1 / Inventario de los libros de música. / Inventario de los libros de / musica que [h]ay en la yglesia de / Taraçona’. Inventory 2 occupies fols 1r–12r and the contents of *E-TZ* 2 and *E-TZ* 3 are listed on fols 3v–5v. After Inventory 2, the descriptions of polyphonic choirbooks continue until fol. 17r, starting on fol. 12v with the following inscription: ‘In addition to what there is above, there are in the said Church the books and works that follow which have been done after the time Juan Arnalte, almoner, had served there’ (‘[A]demás de lo de arriba ay en la sobredicha Iglesia los libros y obras infrascriptos las quales se [h]an hecho despues que sirviera en ella J[uan] Arnalte limosnero’). The document bears no date, but it can probably be identified with the inventory written by canon Joan Blasco in February 1591, as mentioned in the two inscriptions found in *E-TZ* 2 and *E-TZ* 3.

74 Inventory 2 fol. 12r: ‘[H]asta aquí es lo que habia en el inventario viejo que se hizo en 29 de mayo 1570 y se [h]an hallado algunas otras cossas mas de lo que había quien las [h]a hecho poner Joan Arnalte limosnero por in chir [henchir] papel blanco que sobraba en algunos de los libros viejos y también algunas cossas de las que estan aqui que por ser muy viejas y estar malescriptas no pueden servir las [h]a hecho sacar en otros libros.’

explain why the contents of *E-TZ* 3—mainly Peñalosa Masses—as well as the other pieces from *E-TZ* 2 not listed in Inventory 1, appear in Inventory 2; these works would have been copied in the interim from deteriorated exemplars. This hypothesis raises the question about the copying process of *E-TZ* 2/3 being done at Tarazona in the second half of the sixteenth century, and about the origin of the deteriorated manuscript that was used.⁷⁵ A further discussion of the codicology of *E-TZ* 2/3 to support this hypothesis is beyond the scope of the present contribution.⁷⁶

The evidence presented here suggests that Juan Arnalte's interest in 'very old things' being recopied and sung at Tarazona Cathedral may have had a direct effect on the survival of the most important collection of Spanish sacred repertory produced at the time of Isabel and Ferdinand. The concentration of such an important repertory in a single manuscript as *E-TZ* 2/3—as in the case of the Palace Songbook for secular music—should remind us of the fragile evidence on which our view of the music of that time is based and the necessary caution with which our findings should be presented.

In conclusion, contrary to the idea of unity provided by the application of the term *cancionero* to Colombina, Palace and Segovia, a detailed codicological study of these manuscripts reveals that their compilation process was very fragmented, and that the scribes started to copy music without having in mind substantial, highly organized manuscript collections; this may well account for why they were never properly completed. This means that most of the extant secular Spanish repertory of the period was copied by only three main scribes, and it is difficult to imagine that the rest of the Iberian Peninsula would not have produced a single manuscript of secular polyphony; this important

75 I have previously proposed that 'A book of Peñalosa, covered with cardboard and brown leather' ('Un libro de Peñalosa, cubierto de cartón y cuero leonado'), found among books donated by the Dukes of Calabria to the Monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes, near Valencia, may have reached Tarazona Cathedral through Pedro de Pastrana (c. 1480–after 1559), a chaplain of Charles V from 1527, who became *maestro de capilla* of the Duke and Abbot of San Miguel de los Reyes (Ros-Fábreas 1992, 1: 243–44); since other manuscripts with Pastrana's music ended up in Tarazona, the same could have happened with the book of Peñalosa's works. This argument was dismissed by Ruiz Jiménez on the basis of the different colour of the cover described for the Tarazona books (Ruiz-Jiménez 2010: 229); however, since the manuscript was divided in two, the original cover would have been changed. For a detailed study of music at the monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes, see Vicente Delgado 2010, 1: 531–610.

76 The codicological study of *E-TZ* 2/3 in the context of the polyphonic music and documentation preserved at Tarazona Cathedral is currently being undertaken as part of the R+D Project mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.

lacuna should be taken into account. Likewise, it is striking to realize that most of the sacred repertory by composers of the royal chapels of Isabel and Ferdinand is found in only one well-organized manuscript, *E-TZ* 2/3, that survives in a copy made after their time. The compilation process and the structure of Colombina, Palace and Segovia, as well as the extant manuscripts with sacred repertory by royal composers, suggest that these collections—withstanding their importance—afford a limited panorama of musical activity of that period in the Iberian kingdoms of Castile, Aragon and Navarre, and that our understanding of ‘La Música en la Corte de los Reyes Católicos’ has been based on fragmentary musical sources that were, at least to a certain extent, peripheral to their courts.

Appendix 1a: Gathering structure of Colombina with the distribution of watermarks (W₁-W₃), old foliation (1a: folio numbers appear in the upper margin; 1b: foliation appears in the upper right corner), scribes (S_{1a}/b-S₄, following Kreitner) and repertory [Asterisk and titles in bold indicate presence of ornamented initials (Nos. 1-30, 45-47 and 80-82); also in bold are ascriptions to composers found in the manuscript.]

Gatherings	Cover	Foliation 1a	Watermarks	Foliation 1b	Scribes	Title	Composer	
N. 27 CÂTI V								
	Pastedown and flyleaf (18th c.)					W1	“R.471” “Don Fernando Colon...” “Cantinelas vulgares / puestas en música por varios españoles” / [and new 18th-century signature underlined:] “ <u>7...1...28</u> ”	
I		[i]	S1a	*No. 1. Amor de penada gloria (inc.)	[Anon.]			
		ii		[old signature crossed out:] “...AA. Tab. 141. N ^o 27”				
		iii		*No. 2. Pues con sobra de tristura	[Enrique]			
		iiii						
		v		*No. 3. Canten todos boz en grito (inc.)	[Anon.]			
II		[vi]		*No. 4. Gentil dama non se gana	[Cornago]			
		vii						
		viii						
		ix						
		[x]		*No. 5. O pena que me combates (inc.)	Triana			
		xi						
		xii		*No. 6. Mvy crueles bozes dan (inc.)	[Anon.]			
		[xiii]						
		xiii		*No. 7. Señora non me culpeys (inc.)	[Anon.]			
				*No. 8. Donzella por cuyo amor	[J. Rodríguez]			
III		xvi		*No. 9. Nunca fue pena mayor	J. Vrede			
		xvii		*No. 10. Donde estas que non te veo	[Cornago]			
		[xviii]						
		xix		*No. 11. Muy triste sera mi vida	[Wreede]			
IV		xx						
		xxi						
		xxii		*No. 12. Oya tu merçed y crea (inc.)	[Anon.]			
		[xxiii]						
		xxiii		*No. 13. Tanto quanto me desplace	[Anon.]			
		xxv		*No. 14. Qve’s mi vida preguntays	[Cornago-Ockeguem]			
		xxvi		*No. 15. Non puedo si non querer	[Anon.]			
		xxvii						
		xxviii		*No. 16. Mis tristes tristes sospiros	[Anon.]			
		xxix		*No. 17. Ay que non se rremediarne	J. de Leon			
		[xxx]		*No. 18. Pues que dios te fizo tal	Cornago			

V		xxxi	*No. 19. Con temor biuo ojos tristes	Triana
		xxxii	*No. 20. Siempre creçe mi serviros	Madrid
		xxxiii		
		xxxiiii	*No. 21. Quanto mi vida biuiere	[Anon.]
		xxxv		
		xxxvi		
		xxxvii	*No. 22. Señora qual soy venido (with "Infante nos es nascido")	Cornago-Triana
		xxxviii	*No. 23. De mi perdida esperança	Triana
		xxxix		
		xl	*No. 24. Pues mi dicha non consiente	Belmonte
		xli	*No. 25. Biue leda si podras	[Anon.]
		xlII		
		xlIII		
		xlIIII	*No. 26. Dama mi grand querer	[Moxica]
			*No. 27. Porque mas sin duda creas	Cornago
			*No. 28. Non puedes quexar amor	Triana
			*No. 29. Lavdate eum omnes angeli , f.48	[Anon.]
			*No. 30. Mi querer tanto vos quiere	[Enrique]
VI		S2		
		S1b		
		xlIX		
		l	No. 31. [M]irando dama hermosa	[Anon.]
		li		
		lii	No. 32. De vos y de mi quexoso	[Wreede]
		liii	No. 33. Andad passiones andad, f.63	[Lagarto]
		liiii	No. 34. Quien vos dio tal señorío	Triana
		lv	No. 35. [Y]a de amor era partido	Triana
		lvi		
			No. 36. De uida <i>que</i> tanto enoja (inc.)	[Anon.]
		[lvii]		
VII		S3	No. 37. Pues no mejora mi suerte (inc.)	[Anon.]
			No. 38. Al dolor de mi cuidado (inc.)	Gijón
		S2		
		S3	No. 39. Omnipotentem senper adorant	[Anon.]
			No. 40. No tenga nadie speranza	Hurtado de Xerez
		S2		
		S3	No. 41. [Textless, f.62r]	[Anon.]
			No. 42. Con temor de la mudança	Hurtado de Xerez
			[empty staves, f.64r]	
		S1b	No. 43. No consiento ni me plaze	Triana
		S2	No. 44. Quanta gloria me dio veros (inc.)	[Anon.]
			*No. 45. [Textless; Kyrie?]	[Anon.]
			*No. 46. Agnus Dei	[Anon.]

VIII	W2a	lxviii	*No. 47. Sanctus , f.68'-69	[Anon.]
	W2b	lxix	No. 48. Dime triste coraçon, f.69'	Francisco de la Torre
	S1b	lxx	No. 49. Amar y servir, f.70	[Anon.]
	W2b	lxx	No. 50. Mortales son los dolores, f.70'	[Anon.]
		lxxi	No. 51. Pensamiento ve do vas, f. 71	[Anon.]
			No. 52. Oluida tu perdigion, f.71'	[Anon.] [after 1492]
	lxixii	W2b	No. 53. Quien tiene vida, f.72	[Anon.]
	W2a	S4	No. 54. Niña y viña peral y havar, f. 72'	[Anon.]
	lxixv	W2b	No. 55. O gloriosa domina, f. 73	[Anon.]
	lxixvi	W2a	No. 56. Es la vida que cobre, f.73'-75	[Anon.]
	lxixvii	S1b		
	lxixviii	W2a	No. 57. Propiñan de melynor [sin texto]	[Anon.]
	lxixix	W2a	No. 58. Aquellotrate domingo	[Anon.]
	lxxx	W2b	No. 59. Nuevas te traygo Carillo	[Anon.]
		S2	No. 60. [Sin texto]	[Anon.]
			[empty staves, f.78]	
			No. 61. [L]os hombres con gran plazer	[Anon.]
IX	lxxxix	W2a	No. 62. Merçed merçed le pidamos	[Anon.] [late 1490s]
	lxxxix	W2b	No. 63. Salve sancta parens	[Anon.]
	lxxxix	S1b		
	lxxxixii		No. 64. Reyna muy esclareçida	[Anon.]
	lxxxixiii	W2a	No. 65. Buenas nuevas de alegría	[Anon.]
	lxxxixv	W2b	No. 66. [D]eus in adiutorium...fija, f.85'-86	Triana
	lxxxixvi	W2b	No. 67. Tu valer me da gran guera, f.86'-86bis	Juanes
	lxxxixvi bis		No. 68. In exitu israel de egipto, f.86bis	[Anon.]
	lxxxixvi ter		No. 69. Maravyllome del, f.86bis-86ter	Triana
	lxxxixvii	W2a	No. 70. Pinguele rrespinguete, f.86ter	Triana
	lxxxixviii	W2b	No. 71. La moça que las cabras cria/D'amores son	Triana
	lxxxixix	W2b	No. 72. [A] los maytines era, f.87'-88	[Anon.]
	lxxxx	S2	No. 73. Juyzio fuerte sera dado, f.88	[Anon.]
	lxxxxi	S3	No. 74. Vyrgen dina de honor	[Anon.]
	lxxxxii	S1b	No. 75. Que bonito niño chiquito	[Anon.]
	lxxxxiii		No. 76. [Sin texto, f.90'-91]	[Anon.]
	lxxxxiii	S1a	No. 77. Qui fecid celum et terram, f.91	[Anon.]
X	lxxxxiii	W2b	No. 78. Ay santa maria, f.91'-93	[Anon.]
	lxxxxiv	W2b	No. 79. Dic nobis maria, f.93	[Anon.]
	lxxxxv	W2b	*No. 80. Benedicamus domino [I]	Triana
	lxxxxvi	W2b	*No. 81. Benedicamus domino [II]	Triana
	lxxxxvii	W2b		
	lxxxxviii	W2b	*No. 82. Jvste judex ihesu xpriste	Triana
	lxxxxix	W2a	No. 83-85. [Magnificat]	[Anon.]
	e	S1b		
	ei	W2a	No. 86. Querer vieja yo/Non puedo dexar/ Que non se filar	Triana
	eii	W2a	No. 87. De la momera je nestay/Petit le camiset	[Ockeguem]
	eiii	W2a	No. 88. Por beuer comadre	Triana
	eiiii	W2a	No. 89. Aquella buena muger	Triana
	ev	W2a	No. 90. Dinos madre del donsel	Triana
	evi	W2a	No. 91. Juysio fuerte sera dado	Triana
	evii	W2a	No. 92. Commo no le andare yo	[Anon.]
			No. 93. Pues que non tengo señora	[Anon.]
			No. 94. Le poure amant qui est	[Anon.]
XI			No. 95. Non tenga con vos amor	[Anon.]
Pastedown and flyleaf (18th c.)				

Appendix 1b: Separate folios of Colombina now constituting the last section of ParisBNN 4379, fols 69v-92v [Asterisk and titles in bold indicate the presence of ornamented initials; also in bold are ascriptions to composers found in the manuscript. Owing to restoration of the folios on binding, it is not possible to reconstruct the original gathering structure. The combination of the two parts of watermarks Colombina W2a/b and Colombina 3a/b, though, helps to suggest some possible gatherings, marked with dotted lines.]

Watermarks Colombina W2 and W3	Foliation ParisBNN 4379	Title	Composers
	69r	Empty staves	
W2a			
W2b	69v-70r	Jamais per amors / La la vende, 4vv	[Anon.; unicum]
W2a	70v-71r	* Bien le conoys ha ha ha ha , 3vv	[Anon.; unicum]
W3a	71v-72r	* Se n'ay secours , 3vv	Anon.
W3a	72v-73r	[M]on senle set, 3vv	[Busnoys]
W3b	73v-74r	* Tan fort me tarde , 3vv	[Basiron]
W3b	74v-75r	Mille bonours vous, 3vv	[Du Fay]
W2b	75v-76r	Au retour de maladie, 3vv	[Anon.; unicum]
W2a	76v-77r	Se ge ne vous voy, 3 vv	[Anon.; unicum]
W2a	77v-78r	Que je puisse sans votre grace, 3vv	[Anon.; unicum]
W2a	78v-81r	Domine non secundum, 3/4 vv	Madrid
Without W		79v-80r (Domine ne memineris)	
W3a		80v-81r (* Qui pauperes)	
W3b	81v-83r	Et in terra, 3/2 vv	Madrid
Without W	82v-83r		
W2b	83v-84r	Benedicamus 3 vv / 84r Empty staves [unicum]	
W2b	84v-86r	[Nunc dimitis] Secundum, 3 vv	j.urrede [unicum]
Without W	85v-86r		
W3b	86v-92r	* Magnificat	[Urrede]
W2a		87v-88r (* Quia fecit)	
Without W		88v-89r (* F[ecit potentiam])	
Without W		89v-90r (* Esurientes)	
W2b		90v-91r (* Sicut locutus)	
W3a		91v-92r (* S[sicut erat])	
	92v-[93r]	[Textless] 1 vv / [93r] Blank	[Anon.; unicum]

Appendix 2: Gathering structure of the Segovia manuscript with the distribution of watermarks (W1, W1*, W2, W2*, W3, W3*, W4, and W4*), foliations, original gathering numbers included in the manuscript, and ascriptions to composers [After the restoration of the manuscript, a new foliation (1-207) in pencial has been added in the upper right corner of each recto, starting on fol v.]

[illegible]

IX		lxiii	Johanes anxeta	XIII		xcv	Johanes ancheta
		lxiii				xcvi	
		lxv	Johanes anxeta			xcvii	Johanes ancheta
		lxvi				xcviii	
		lxvii	Ysaac			xcix	
X		lxx		XIV		c	Johanes ancheta
		lxxi	Jacobus hobrecht			cii	Jacobus hobrecht
		lxxii				ciii	Jacobus hobrecht
		lxxiii	Alr agricola			[ciiii]	
		lxxiiii				[cv]	
XI		lxxv	Josquin du pres	XV		[cvi]	
		lxxvi	Josquin du pres			[cvii]	
		lxxvii				[cviii]	
		lxxviii	Jacobus hobrecht			[cix]	
		lxxix				cx	Johanes Martini
XII		lxxx		XVI		cxii	Anthonius busnoys
		lxxx				cxiii	alexander agricola
		lxxx	Jacobus hobrecht			cxiiii	Caron
		lxxxii				cxv	Ysaac
		lxxxiii	Josquin du preß			cxvi	Johanes tinctoris

XVII	“xvi”	cxxvii	Jacobus Hobrecht	“x[xi]”	clix	Petrus elinc
		cxxviii	Loysette compere		W3 clx	Alexander agricola
		cxxix	Josquin du preß		clxi	Alexander agricola
		cxxx	Jacobus Hobrecht		clxii	Alexander agricola
XVIII		W2*cxxxi	Jacobus Hobrecht	XXI	W3*clxiii	Scoen heyne
		W2 cxxxi	Jacobus Hobrecht		W3*clxiii	Scoen heyne
		W2*cxxxii	Jacobus Hobrecht		W3*clxiii	Petrus elinc
		W2*cxxxiii	Jacobus Hobrecht		clxv	Jacobus Hobrecht
XIX		W2*cxxxiii	Jacobus Hobrecht		W3*clxvi	Petrus elinc
		W2*cxxxiii	Jacobus Hobrecht		W3*clxvi	Jacobus barbireau
		W2*cxxxiii	Jacobus Hobrecht		W3*clxvi	Alexander agricola
		W2*cxxxiii	Jacobus Hobrecht		W3*clxvi	Jacobus Hobrecht
XX	“xvii”	cxxxv	Alexander agricola	“xx[iii]”	W3 clxvii	Ysaac
		cxxxvi			clxvii[i]	Johanes ancheta
		W3 cxxxvii			W3*clxix	Anxieta / Marturia
		cxxxviii			W4*clxx	Alexander agricola
XXI		W3 cxxxix		XXII	clxxi	Jacobus Hobrecht
		cl			clxxii	Josquin du preß
		W3*clxi			clxxiii	Ysaac
		W3*clxi			W4 clxxiii	Johanes Martini
XXII		W4 [clxlii]	Anthonyus brumel		clxxiii	Petrus elinc
		clxliii			clxxiii	Alexander agricola
		clxlv	Johanes anxeta		clxxiii	Anthonyus busnoys
		W4 clxvi			clxxiii	Alexander agricola
XXIII		clxvii			clxxiii	Alr agricola
		W4*clxviii			clxxv	Ysaac
		W4 clxix			W4*clxxvi	Anthonyus brumel
		cl			W4 clxxvii	Ysaac
XXIV	“xx”	W4*cli			W4 clxxviii	Ysaac
		W4 clii			clxxix	Anthonyus bus brumel
		cliii			clxxx	Loysette compere
		cliiii			clxxxi	Alexander agricola
XXV		W3 clv			W1 clxxxii	loysette compere
		W4*clvi			clxxxiii	loysette compere
		clvii	Anthonyus brumel		clxxxiii	loysette compere
		clviii	Anthonyus brumel		clxxxiii	loysette compere
XXVI			Jacobus hobrecht		W4*clxxxiii	Loysette compere
					W4*clxxxv	Loysette compere
					clxxxvi	Ysaac
					W4 clxxxvii	Scoen heyne
XXVII					clxxxviii	Anthonyus brumel
					clxxxix	Jacobus hobrecht
					clxxxix	Alexander agricola
					clxxxix	Johanes Joye
XXVIII					clxxxix	Johanes Martini
					clxxxix	Loysette compere
					clxxxix	Ysaac
					clxxxix	Ysaac

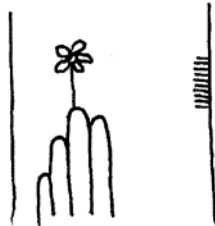
XXV		Ysaac	cxci	Loysette compere	
		Loysette <i>compere</i>	cxcii		
		Ysaac	cxci		
		Alexander agricola	cxci		
		Alexander agricola	cxci		
		Ferdinandus et frater eius	cxci		
			cxci		
		Ysaac	cxci		
		Ysaac	cxci		
			cxci		
XXVI		[cxcix]		Alexander agricola	
		cc		Jacobus hobrecht	
				Adam	
		cci		Alexander agricola	
				jo. tinctoris	
		ccii		Roelkin	
		cciii		Johanes tinctoris	
				Johanes tinctoris	
		cciiii		jo. tinctoris	
		ccv		Johanes tinctoris	
XXVII		In the upper margin of fol. ccvii' an inscription reads: 'aquí comienzan las obras / castellanas'			
		Justa fue mi perdiçion	ccvii	[Francisco de la Torre]	
		Gran gasajo siento y[o]	ccviii	[Juan del Encina]	
		Pues que jamas olvidaros	ccviii	[Juan del Encina]	
		Nunca fue pena mayor	ccix	[Johannes Wreede]	
		Al dolor de mi cuidado	ccix	[Gijón]	
		Romerico tu <i>que</i> vienes	ccix	[Juan del Encina] / O <i>que</i> chapado plazer	[Anon.]
		Damos <i>gracias</i> a ti dios	ccix	[Francisco de la Torre]	
		Peligroso pensamiento	ccxi	[Francisco de la Torre]	
		Dezi flor rresplandeçiente	ccxi	[Anon.] / Contento soy <i>que</i> dolais dolor	[Anon.]
XXVIII		Al del hato	ccxii	[Anon.] / El descanso de uos ver	[Anon.]
		Ya no quiero tener fe	ccxii	[Juan del Encina] / El descanso de uos ver	[Anon.]
		Amor quiso que os quisiesse	ccxiii	[Anon.]	
		Por muy dichoso se tenga	ccxiii	[Juan del Encina] / Ay triste que vengo	[Encina]
		Mas lo precio cmi enrique	ccxiii	[Anon.] / No cese hasta <i>que</i> os vi	[Anon.]
		Qual estavades anoche	ccxiii	[Anon.]	
			ccxv		
		Ya no quiero ser vaquero	ccxvi	[Juan del Encina] / [Textless]	[Anon.]
		Harto de tanta porfia	ccxvi	[Anon.]	
		Oyga tu merced y crea	ccxvii	[Anon.]	
XXIX		Adoramus te señor dios	ccxvii	[Anon. or Francisco de la Torre]	
			ccxviii		
			ccxix		
		Andad pasiones andad	ccxx	[Lagarto]	
		O si vieras al moçuelo	ccxx	[Anon.]	
			ccxxi		
		Nuevas nuevas de plazer	ccxxii	[Anon.]	
		Nuevas nuevas por tu fe	ccxxii	[Anon.]	
			ccxxiii		
		Como nos lievas amor	ccxxiii	[Anon.] / Quanto mas lexos de ti	[Anon.]
XXIX		Quedose do <i>quedo</i> yo	ccxxiii	[Anon.]	
		Para verme con ventura	ccxxv	[Juan del Encina] / Con temor y <i>con</i> plazer	[Anon.]
		Ve temor busca do'stes	ccxxv	[Anon.] / Desdichado fue nacer	[Anon.]
		Vos partistes yo <i>quede</i>	ccxxvi	[Anon.] / Sobime a lo alto	[Anon.]
			ccxxvi		
		Pange lingua	ccxxvii	Johanes Vrede	[last ascription by main copyist]
		Ave rex noster	ccxxvii	Alonso de mondejar	
		Ne recorderis	ccxxviii	[Francisco de la Torre]	
			ccxxviii		
			ccxxviii		
Inscription reads: 'Don Rodrigo' / 'Muy manyfico señor don Rodrigo manrique'					
Endpaper, flyleaf, pastedown and closing cover of parchment					

Appendix 11.3: Watermarks found in the Palace Songbook
[See measurements of each one in Appendix 11.4.]

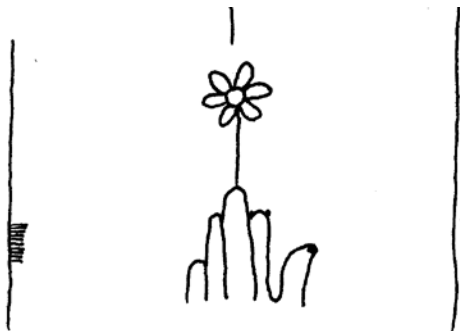
1) Palace W1b, fol [2]

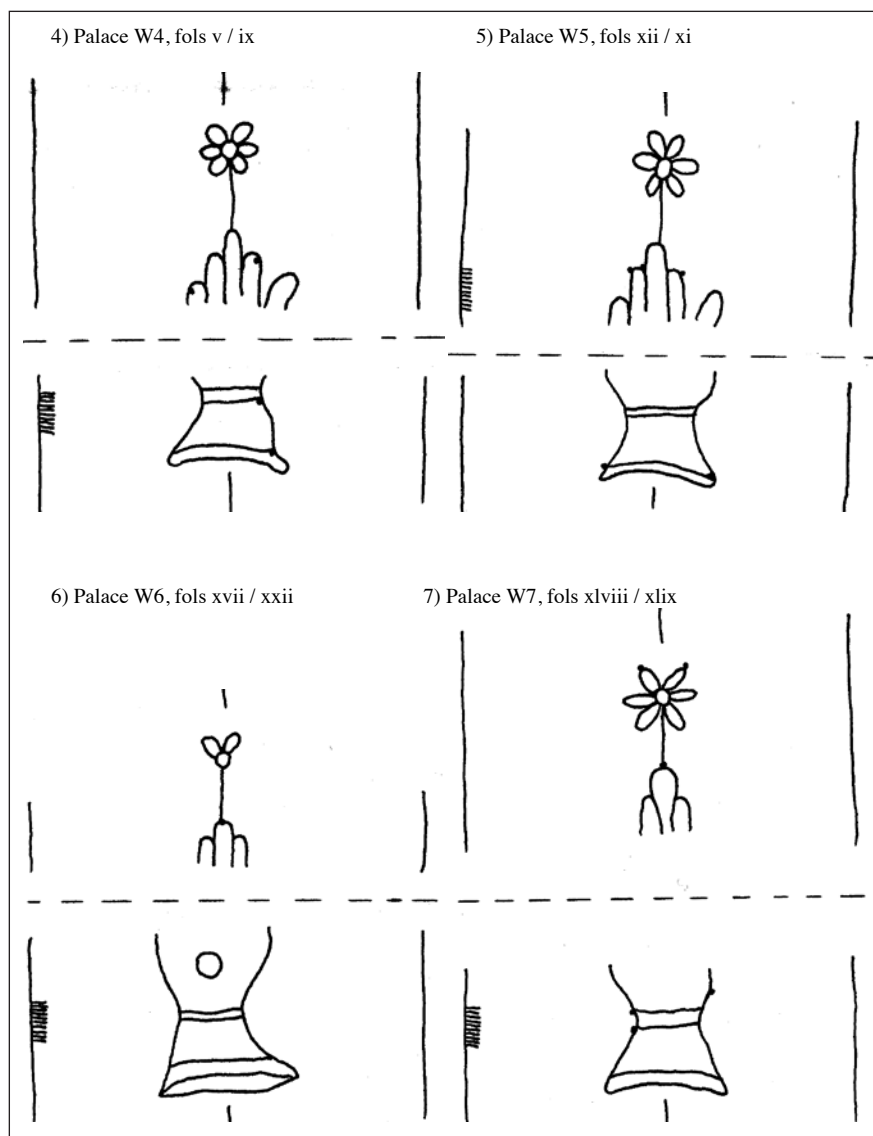


2) Palace W2b, fol [5]



3) Palace W3b (=Palace W14b), fol [8]

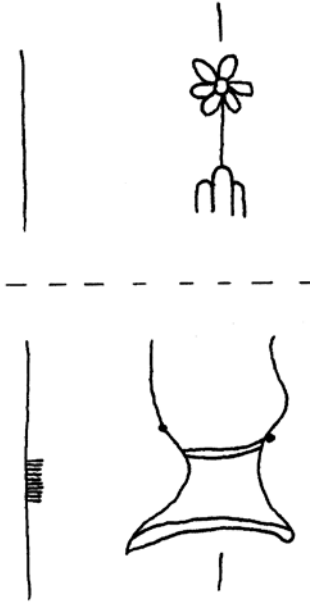




8) Palace W8, fols lli / lvii



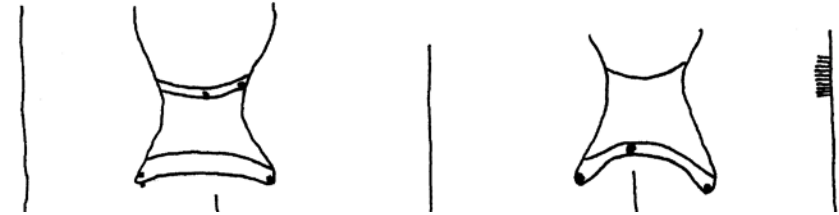
9) Palace W9, fols lxxii / lxxix



10) Palace W10, fols xciii / xciv



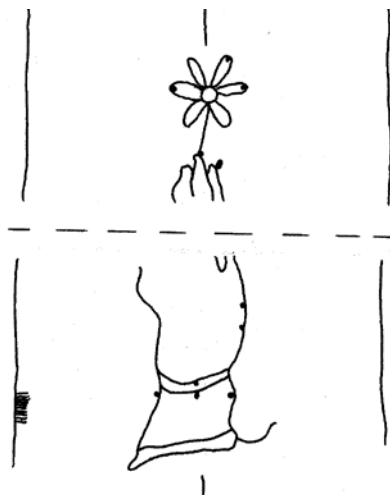
11) Palace W11, fol xcvi



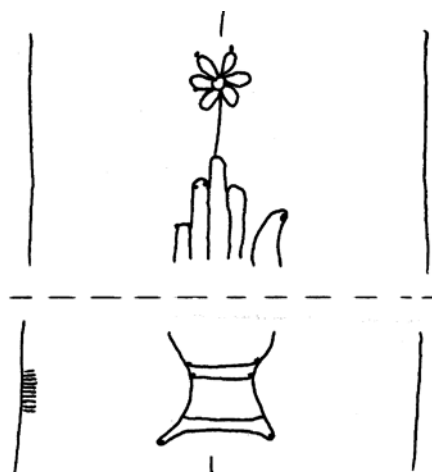
12) Palace W12, folc cix / cxii



13) Palace W13, fols cxxxvii / cxxxv

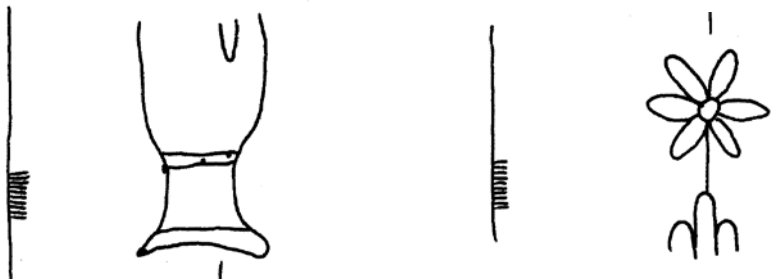


14) Palace W14, fols ccxxxii / ccxxxix

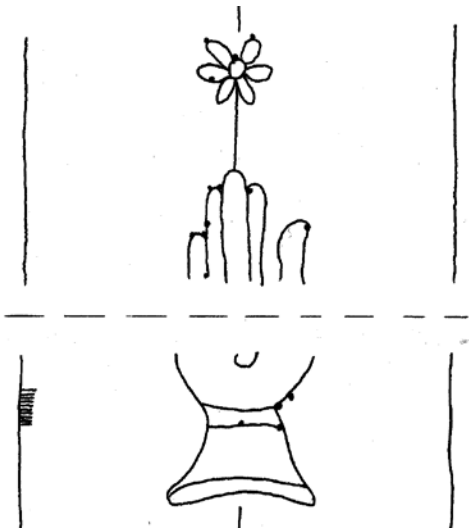


15) Palace W15a, fol ccxlv

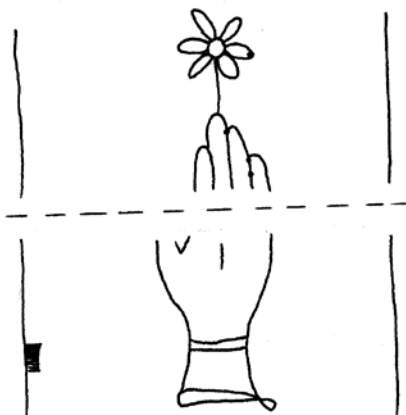
Palace W15b?, fol ccxlvibis



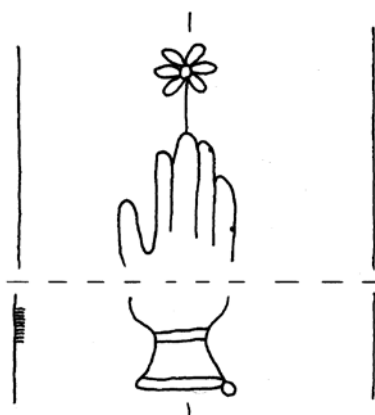
16) Palace W16, fols ccliiv / ccliiv



17) Palace W17, fols cclxxvi / cclxxix



18) Palace W18, fols cclxxxv / cclxxxvi



19) Palace W19, fols ccxciii / ccxciii



20) Palace W20, fols ccxciii / ccxciii



Appendix 11.4: Information about the watermarks in Colombina, Palace and Segovia; measurements are in millimetres. All the marks are of the type hand or glove with flower or star, except Colombina W1 ('Bull with initials VS') and Palace W19 and W20 ('Bull's head with eyes and nostrils'). Watermarks in Colombina (except Colombina W1) and Palace are divided in two at the binding; section (a) indicates the wrist part of the watermark and (b) the section with fingers and flower. There is indication of: 1) the folio where the watermark described appears; 2) measurements in millimeters; 3) distance from the end of the watermark to the border of the paper, following the direction of the chain lines; 4) distance between chain lines; when the watermark is divided by a chain-line, then two measuments are indicated corresponding to the distance to the two adjacent chain-lines; 5) the figure represented by the watermark; and 6) possible twin watermarks are indicated with an asterisk or with a capital 'T'. Since Colombina W1 is cut by four chain-lines, four measuments are given. See tracings of the Colombina and Segovia watermarks in Figures 11.2, 11.6, 11.7, 11.8 and 11.9, and of the Palace watermarks in Appendix 11.3.

Watermark	Folios	Measurements	Distance to border	Distance between chain-lines	Figure
Colombina W1	flyleaves	84/95	10	24/24/21/27	bull+'VS'
Colombina W2a	xx	32/25	115	37/39	wrist
Colombina W2b	xix	44/22	115	38/39	fingers+flower
Colombina W3a	lxii	44/25	107	36/36	wrist
Colombina W3b	lxiii	44/28	105	36/36	fingers+flower
Segovia W1	v	92/35	95	38/39	hand+flower
Segovia W1*	cxlviii	84/30	123	40/38	hand+flower
Segovia W2	lvii	85/27	103	38	glove+flower
Segovia W2*	cxxiii	90/27	95	35	glove+flower
Segovia W3	cxxxix	100/30	93	35	glove+flower
Segovia W3*	cxli	103/30	99	37	glove+flower
Segovia W4	ccviii	83/29	95	38	hand+flower
Segovia W4*	ccxii	86/32	108	40	hand+flower
Palace W1b	[2]	26/17	118	40/40	fingers+star
Palace W2b	[5]	37/22	111	35	fingers+flower
Palace W3b[=W14b]	[8]	45/24	96	39/40	fingers+flower

Watermark	Folios	Measurements	Distance to border	Distance between chain-lines	Figure
Palace W4a	} T v ix xii xi	20/24	125	40/40	wrist
Palace W4b		37/22	105	39/39	fingers+flower
Palace W5a		23/24	122	40/38	wrist
Palace W5b		40/23	106	40/40	fingers+flower
Palace W6a	xvii	35/28	110	39/40	wrist
Palace W6b	xxii	27/10	117	39/40	fingers+flower
Palace W7a	xlvi	27/25	122	38/39	wrist
Palace W7b	xlix	35/15	112	40/38	fingers+flower
Palace W8a	lii	32/27	112	35	glove
Palace W8b	lvii	37/22	111	35	fingers+flower
Palace W9a	lxxii	44/33	107	39/40	wrist
Palace W9b	lxix	31/12	116	41/38	fingers+flower
Palace W10a	xciii	37/28	105	39/33 (?)	wrist
Palace W10b	xcv	30/24	115	39/40 (?)	fingers+flower
Palace W11a	xcviii	33/28	111	40/39	wrist
Palace W12a	cix	27/27	119	35	glove
Palace W12b	cxii	47/26	103	35	fingers+flower
Palace W13a	cxxxvii	42/30	108	37/35	wrist
Palace W13b	cxxxvi	31/16	118	37/35	fingers+flower
Palace W14a	ccxxxii	22/24	127	40/40	wrist
Palace W14b [=W3b]	ccxxxix	44/23	107	40/40	fingers+flower
Palace W15a	ccxlv	43/24	108	39/37	wrist
Palace W15b (?)	ccxlvibis	37/22	115	39/45 (?)	fingers+flower
Palace W16a	ccliii	27/27	124	39/40	wrist
Palace W16b	ccliiii	45/22	106	39/39	fingers+flower
Palace W17a	} T cclxxvi cclxxix cclxxxv cclxxxvi	37/24	115	40/37	wrist
Palace W17b		39/18	110	40/37	fingers+flower
Palace W18a		22/24	127	40/40	wrist
Palace W18b		52/27	100	40/40	fingers+flower
Palace W19a	} T ccxciii ccciii ccxciiii ccciii	54/29	92	28	bull's head
Palace W19b		73/18	71	28	prolongation
Palace W20a		65/30	77	28	bull's head
Palace W20b		58/22	87	29	prolongation

Spanish Treatises on Musica Practica c. 1480–1525: Reflections from a Cultural Perspective

Pilar Ramos López

Renaissance treatises on music theory do not only include didactic instructions and information on performance practice, but also afford insight into what was possible as regards thinking about and creating music. This chapter, which adopts some of the approaches espoused by Roger Chartier (Chartier 2007: 66–71), focuses on the theory of music as a cultural practice; that is to say, it is interested in the meaning that musicians conveyed to their practices in their treatises on music. The concept of ‘musica teorica’ as opposed to ‘musica practica’ was pretty much clear-cut by around 1500: music theory was ‘to speculate, understand and contemplate music through its rules, documents, and precepts’ (‘E así la teórica, que es la especulación, intelección y contemplación della por sus reglas, documentos y preceptos’); while music practice was ‘to know how to sing sacred chants’ (‘como la práctica, que es saber en efecto saber [sic] cantar los cantos eclesiásticos’) (Durán 1498: 155). Thus books on music practice deal primarily with plainchant, counterpoint, and composition, whereas, a book on ‘musica teorica’ such as Pedro Ciruelo’s *Cursus quattuor mathematicarum artium liberalium* (1516) examines mathematical problems relating to melodic intervals and modes.¹ In this purely theoretical book, even though tables and schema illustrate almost every page, not a single musical staff, notated melody or instruction for performance is included.

Most Spanish treatises on practical music written at the time of the Catholic Monarchs (c. 1480–1525) are available in facsimile edition in the series *Colección Joyas Bibliográficas*,² or online,³ or in modern editions with intro-

1 As the title to Ciruelo’s book suggests, it is a compilation: *Cursus quattuor mathematicarum artium liberalium: quas recollegit atque correxit Magister Petrus Ciruelus* (Alcalá de Henares, 1516). It is available online at: <http://books.google.es/books/ucm?vid=UCM5316530894&printsec=frontcover&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

2 The facsimile editions included in the *Colección Joyas Bibliográficas* are Durán c. 1504; Escobar c. 1496; Espinosa 1520; Martínez de Bizcargui 1508; Molina 1503; Tovar 1510; Podio 1495; Puerto 1504; Ramos de Pareja 1482; and Spañón c. 1500.

3 Éditions et indexations de traités musicaux romans at <<http://www.ums3323.paris-sorbonne.fr/TREMIR/liste.htm>>; and Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum at <<http://www.chmtl.indiana>

ductory studies (see Table 12.1).⁴ Since most general studies on Spanish music theory consider these treatises in the context of the writings of other European theorists (Stevenson 1960: 50–101; León Tello 1991; Escudero García 1984: 33–43; Vega 1998 [1498]; Blackburn 2001; Schubert 2002: 503–33; Otaola González 2008; Gómez Muntané 2012c; Mazuela-Anguila 2014), it is not necessary to provide a resumé of each treatise here;⁵ rather, this chapter focuses on the theoretical basis underlying musical practice in Spain between 1480 and 1525.

A central problem facing a study centred on theoretical musical concepts in the early modern Iberian Peninsula is the lack of a lexicon of musical terms. An added difficulty is the frequency of polysemy both in Latin and Spanish; for example, the Spanish word to mean line ('regla'), is also used for 'rule'.⁶ 'Voz', like Latin 'vox', signifies the voice or the syllabic name of a note, while 'species' could refer to a type of scale (seven types), a kind of interval (three types: perfect and imperfect consonances, and dissonances) or types of counterpoint. 'Composed' could qualify both a written polyphonic passage or work, and an interval beyond the octave. The word 'diferencias' could have three different meanings: a) the melodic transitions between the recitation formula for the psalm verse and the antiphon (Latin: *differentiae*); b) diminutions; and c) variations. Moreover, musical terms could also have non-musical uses: for example, 'diferencia' could simply mean 'difference', and 'mutança' could refer to musical mutation, of whatever kind, as well as, in versification, a part of the strophe. On occasion, the musical lexicon assumed general terms of the period without risk of misinterpretation: for example, 'linaje' (lineage, ancestry) is one possi-

edu/tml/start.html>. The manuscript copies of *Ars Mensurabilis* and Fernand Estevan's treatise, commissioned by Francisco Asenjo Barbieri in the nineteenth century, are available as part of the Biblioteca Digital Hispánica <<http://www.bne.es/es/Catalogos/BibliotecaDigitalHispanica/Inicio/>>.

- 4 For an edition of the anonymous *Ars Mensurabilis et inmensurabilis cantus*, see Villalba Muñoz 1906; Latin editions of Ramos de Pareja 1482 (Wolf 1901) are available at Biblioteca Digital Hispánica (see previous note); for a Spanish translation, see Moralejo 1977; for a facsimile edition, and an edition in Latin with Spanish translation, see Terni 1983; for an English translation, see Fose 1992; and for an Italian translation, see Torselli 1992. An edition of Durán's *Súmula de canto llano intitulado Lux Bella* is included in Vega 1998, and a study of Del Puerto's *Portus Musice* is found in Rey Marcos 1978b. The instructions on musical notation in Podio's *In enchiridion de principiis musice discipline* are edited in Anglés 1947; see also Gümpel 1973 for a complete edition.
- 5 The contribution of Spanish treatises to theoretical writing on compositional techniques and problems of *musica ficta* is discussed in Schubert 2002 and Berger 1987.
- 6 The Latin word 'regula' was used to mean staff by Gil de Zamora, in his *Ars musice*, Chapter vi; see Gerbert 1784, 2: 378; Estevan 1410: fol. 16r.

ble translation for the Latin ‘genus’ (plural: genera).⁷ Thus before the functions and concepts of Spanish music treatises can be considered in more detail, it is important to understand their position in relation to some of the polemical issues of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The Awareness of Change

A century and a half after Michelet and Burckhardt, the idea of ‘Renaissance’ is an ambiguous constellation of cultural values, making it difficult not to agree with Reinhard Strohm in his interpretation of the concept of Renaissance as a rationalization of a failure to understand the Middle Ages (Strohm 1993: 5). In a period that has been labelled both as the ‘Waning of the Middle Ages’ and the ‘Renaissance’, the dialectic between tradition and innovation is ubiquitous in the Iberian Peninsula. During the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, Castile and Aragon were linked politically and culturally with both Italian and Burgundian lands, two antithetical worlds according to Burckhardt and Huizinga respectively. At the same time, the long Islamic past of a great part of the peninsula has been identified as lying behind a different attitude towards the Renaissance, making the existence of a Spanish Renaissance a controversial issue fuelled by ideological conflict (Rico 1980, 2: 1–37; Marías 1989: 15–31). The following extract from the anonymous *Ars mensurabilis et immensurabilis cantus* written in Seville and dated 1480/82 affords some insight into the particular Spanish context (see Chapter 7):

And many others have studied in order to understand this art [music] concerning the theory and practice of it, as well as the modulation and harmonies of its consonances in the composition of sacred and even secular works. They have made this science flourish, as far as how to compose, sing and play instruments is concerned, to such an extent that I doubt if future musicians could take further these three things: composing, singing and playing all the instruments of the world. I do not doubt that they could introduce innovations in its [the art of music’s] invention, but surely they will not be able to bring greater subtlety and order to the creation of counterpoint as composed by the highly skilled and outstanding musicians Du[n]stable, Du Fay, Johannes Ockeghem, chapel master of the King of France, Binchois, Constas [Constant], Busnoys,

7 See Espinosa 1520: Chapter 35. However, Tovar uses ‘genus’ and ‘genera’ (Tovar 1510: Chapter 14, fol. 23).

Guillelmus Fanguens [Guillaume Fauguens], Enrricus Thik [Enrique Tich], Pulois, Johannes Ut rreode [Wreede, Urreda], Johannes Martini, and many others who have produced and purified music in this era. And they have inspired and purified it more over the forty years between 1440 and 1482 than in all the 1440 years since the birth of Jesus Christ. I do not know what musicians will achieve in the future, but I think they will continue to make progress in the aforementioned three areas. I have written about these things so that future readers of this treatise who can see what was composed now and in the past, will see if I am telling the truth of the matter, unless the grace of the Holy Spirit can inspire future musicians so that they can achieve wonderful things that have never before been done or thought about (Anonymous 1480/82: fol. 3r).⁸

This echo of Tinctoris's Prologue to his *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (1477) was noted by Bukofzer as long ago as 1936 (Bukofzer 1936: 103–5). However, at no point is the anonymous author of the *Ars mensurabilis* translating or paraphrasing Tinctoris. Indeed, there are so many differences between the oft-quoted words by Tinctoris and the text cited above that it is reasonable to assume that he was not actually reading Tinctoris's work but writing down his own (or someone else's) memory of it. In order to read Tinctoris's *Liber de arte contrapuncti* before 1482, the author would have had to travel to Naples where the Franco-Netherlandish musician was working for his patron, Ferrante I, or

8 '[...] e otros muchos an trabajado por saber en esta arte asi lo que toca a la theoria y platica della como a la modulacion e armonia de sus consonancias en la composicion de las obras ecclesiasticas e aun seglares que han tanto florescido esta es sciencia asi en el modo del componer como del cantar e tañer que dudo si los advenideros podrán pasar más adelante quanto toca estas tres cosas que son componer, cantar y tañer en todos los instrumentos del mundo non dudo que non aya algunas cosas nuevas en las invenciones della mas no que mas sotilmente puedan hordenar nin discantar el contrapunto compuesto por mui doctas e singulares personas donde fueron Dustable Dufay Iohannes Okeghem maestro de capilla del Rey de Francia Binchois Constas Busnois Buillelmus Fanguens Enrricus Thik Pulois Iohannes Ut rreode Ioannes Martini otros muchos que en este tiempo florescieron e purificaron la música e tanto que más la esclarecieron e purificaron en quarenta años que fueron desde los quarenta fasta los ochenta e dos que todos los pasados en mill e quatroçientos e quarenta años que fueron del nascimiento de Ihesu Christo los que vernan no sé lo que farán mas creo que ternan que hazer en pasar más adelante quanto toca a estas tres cosas que dicho tengo las quales escriví aquí porque los que leyeren este tractado en los tiempos venideros vean lo que agora está conpuesto y ende verán si digo verdad en esto que aquí escrivio dexando a parte la gracia del Spiritu Sancto que esta podrá alumbrar a los vinientes en el siglo para que fagan cosas maravillosas que nunca fueron fechas nin pensadas' (Anonymous 1480/82, fol. 3r).

to Brussels, where there was a copy of the manuscript.⁹ As Bukofzer already noted, the *Ars mensurabilis* only drew from the Prologue of Tinctoris's book, although he copied extended passages from several older writers of treatises, to whom he referred vaguely as 'doctors'.¹⁰ Why would this have been the case? I would propose that the anonymous Sevillian author was not interested in the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, especially given that the whole treatise was probably not available to him, but only in Tinctoris's praise of the most recent music, and, in particular, of certain composers.¹¹

Indeed, a significant difference between Tinctoris's *Liber de arte contrapuncti* and the anonymous *Ars mensurabilis* lies in the list of composers: the Seville text does not distinguish between composers 'recently deceased' and those who were still alive as Tinctoris did (Strohm 2001: 398–99). Furthermore, the anonymous theorist omits Regis and Caron, but includes four musicians absent from Tinctoris's list: Constant, Tich, Martini and Urreda. The circulation of copies of the prologue would explain the borrowing, but not the anonymous writer's acquaintance with foreign composers. Among the latter, Urreda and Tich are the only non-Spanish composers directly linked to Spain, and, intriguingly, to Seville (see Chapter 7). Tich was living in that city from at least 1468 until his death in 1488 (Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 216). As chapel master of the Aragonese royal chapel, Urreda (fl. 1441–c. 1482) would have accompanied the monarchs to Seville, where they remained for more than a year from the summer of 1477 to the autumn of 1478. During that year, Urreda must have met the musicians working in Seville, including the anonymous author of *Ars mensurabilis* as well as Tich, and both Urreda and Tich must have known the reputation of Ockeghem (1410–97), the only composer for whom biographical data is given in the *Ars mensurabilis*, which mentions the French composer's position as chapel master of the king of France—information not provided by Tinctoris.¹² Perhaps either Tich or Urreda, both of Flemish origin, suggested

9 The illuminated manuscript exemplar preserved today at the University Library of Valencia was probably not finished at that time, and in any case only reached Spain in 1527 (Freund Schwartz 2001a: 301).

10 An updated study of this treatise is needed in order to identify its sources. With the help of the *Theasaurus musicarum latinarum*, it is relatively straightforward to identify the reworking of passages from the anonymous fourteenth-century *Liber musica* (Pannain 1920) and the *Opusculum de Musica* (Rausch 1997: 26–80 and 33ff. for 'De qualitate tonorum').

11 Stevenson proposed that the above-quoted passage, taken from the first chapter, was in fact the last to be written, given the discrepancy between the date found at the end of the manuscript (1480) and that included in the first chapter (1482) (Stevenson 1960: 53).

12 Ockeghem is believed to have travelled to Spain in 1469 and 1470, although his presence there has yet to be confirmed; see Leeman L. Perkins, 'Ockeghem', *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 31 August 2014.

the other names missing from Tinctoris's text: Constant and Martini. Although Tich and Urreda were not the only Franco-Flemish musicians working in Spain, they were certainly singled out to be included in the company of prestigious composers such as Ockeghem, Du Fay or Busnoys. The so-called Colombina Songbook, part of which survives in *F-Pnm* 4379, but which was almost certainly compiled in Seville (Fallows 1992b), includes works by four of the musicians mentioned in the *Ars mensurabilis*: Urreda, Ockeghem, Du Fay, and Busnoys, yet the local composer Juan de Triana, one of the leading lights of Sevillian musical activity at the time, was not in the list.

From an aesthetic perspective, the key issue in Tinctoris's text is the concept of *imitatio*: the composers lauded in the prologue are converted into models, but, significantly, *imitatio* is missing in the corresponding passage in the *Ars mensurabilis*. Further, the anonymous Sevillian author departs from Tinctoris's classical allusions to 'heroes', 'immortal gods', and the 'caelestis influxus'. In contrast, the Sevillian writer expects that the 'grace of Holy Spirit' will illuminate future musicians in order to do 'wonderful things that have never before been done or thought about'. Instead of the more sensual sweetness or *suavitas* detected by Tinctoris in recent music, the Sevillian author emphasizes 'subtlety' and 'purification', a quality or action usually associated with the Holy Spirit. It is perhaps worth noting the heightened religious context of Seville where, on 6 February 1481, the first auto de fe was held (Kamen 1985: 51), although it is hard to gauge to what extent the reference to the Holy Spirit was the result of politico-religious circumstances, a sincere belief, or merely a formulaic utterance. Whatever the case, cultural values associated with the Renaissance are emphasized here: the awareness of historic time and progress; the tendency to perpetuate individual fame; and the esteem for instrumental music (Lowinsky 1989, 1: 158) (see Chapter 3).

This awareness of musical change is alluded to in several treatises, although not with such emphasis: for example, Francisco Tovar states that he is concerned with 'modern practice', reserving 'old theories' for a book still to be written.¹³ However, Tovar's claim to modernity is reflected only in the lack of a chapter about the invention of music and in his relatively straightforward writing style. Durán's position is more paradoxical still in his qualification of Guido's solmization system as a 'modern' and 'new' art in contrast to the 'old'

13 'Para que brevemente venir podamos en conocimiento del efecto de la música: sin ocupar el entendimiento humano en la invención de la causa, ni menos de las antiguas doctrinas de las quales en otro mayor tractado se hablará, divina gracia mediante, haré principio en el presente tractado de la platica moderna' (Tovar 1510: fol. 1r).

tradition that had referred to the notes by their alphabetical names, a sign of the complexities of these classifications (Vega 1998 [1498]: 77). Durán's reference to Guido's views is, however, tempered by his intention to write a book on music that would be 'useful for clergymen and men of whatever state who desire to enjoy the art and subtlety of its sweet harmony ... necessary for everyone for the relief and enjoyment of human nature'.¹⁴ Durán's view is in keeping with the idea of music as a 'universal language', an idiom that reached across divisions of language and social status—a concept that Strohm has convincingly portrayed as characteristic of the fifteenth century (Strohm 1993; Strohm 2001: 5).

Another cultural value that defines the Renaissance concept of music is the shift away from the mathematical model towards a rhetorical one (Vega Ramos 1999). Although Spanish theorists of the period did not write explicitly about this change, a close reading of the original texts reveals that music was often considered as a language. For example, the Spanish and Latin word used to designate the practice of music, 'practica', is often confused with the word for conversation, 'platica' (Estevan 1410: fol. 8r; Anonymous 1480/82: fol. 3r; Del Puerto 1504: fol. bv; Tovar 1510: fol. 1r). This exchange reveals the porosity between musical practice and oral communication; at a time when reading was not always a private act, this confusion is telling. Another example is provided by Durán, who labelled some musical passages as 'conversations', 'answers' or 'words' (*verbos*) (Durán c. 1504: fol. b2r; Vega 1998 [1498]: 167, 177 and [1498]: 102). This way of thinking continued to prevail later through the 'glosas' (commentaries) in the books of instrumental music by Diego Ortiz (1553) and Tomás de Santa María (1565). Francisco Montanos even discussed 'discursos' (speeches) and 'lugares comunes' (commonplaces), as musical passages to be used by composers in the way the humanists did in rhetoric (Montanos 1592: fols 44v–47; Schubert 2010). The preoccupation with fame—again a cultural value associated with the Renaissance—is present in a few Spanish treatises, but always linked to God. According to Juan de Espinosa, for example, intelligence put men on the same level as angels and made men's

14 'esta obra del arte de canto de órgano, contrapunto y composición, la cual sin duda no es menos útil para los eclesiásticos y otros de cualquier estado que quisieren gozar del artificio y sotleza de su dulce armonia en los unos necessaria para la contemplación y honra del culto divino, e en los otros e en todos para alivio e recreación de natura humana que trabajosa fue para mi e fuera para cualquier que tovera pensamiento no solamente de llegarla aquí mas quasi menos no fuera bastante' (Durán c. 1504: opening, without page number).

names 'immortal', although his concept of talent both as a divine gift and a hereditary matter is traditional.¹⁵

Theorists' attitude towards authorities affords further evidence for their 'modernity'. None of the Iberian treatises of this period attempted to compare ancient or classical sources, or even to examine them closely. However, naïve as Ramos de Pareja's respect for mythological characters such as Orpheus and Amphion (mentioned alongside historical theorists in the Prologue to his *Musica Practica*) may seem (Moreno Hernández 2001: 349),¹⁶ he challenged two important traditions of music theory: Guido's solmization and tuning system. Yet, although Ramos de Pareja sometimes derided both older and more recent theorists, he did not dare to invoke the name of experience to defend his position. It was his pupil, Giovanni Spataro, who emphasized that the ratios calculated by Ramos—5:4 and 6:5 for major and minor thirds (instead of the Pythagorean 81:64 and 32:27)—were the intervals of actual practice.¹⁷ Martínez de Bizcargui, however, did advocate the mi-fa semitone to be major on the basis of experience, after correcting assertions to the contrary by Boethius and Guillelmus de Podio:

As an emendation and correction to all the above-mentioned doctors and to all the living who appreciate and like music, we discover it is contrary to what we hear as the result of practice which is the experience of the chord. We find the singable semitone mi-fa to be major by one comma more than the other, unsingable, semitone. In this way, the tone is made from 9/8, which are nine commas, and the major semitone is made of five commas, and the minor of four.¹⁸

15 'Pues como todos los hombres devan en algún exercicio emplear su vida: si iustamente quieren nombrarse e ser hombres e después de si dexar algo que de testimonio de ellos que algún tiempo fueron: mucho más esto es necessario a aquellos a quienes Dios ha comunicado de sus abundantísimos thesoros algún talento para despende entre su familia. E como a mi me ouiesse cabido alguno dellos e grande según la indignidad mía, poco según la suficiencia mía, qualquierque él fuesse, no deuia sin alguna ganancia llevarse a cuenta' (Espinosa 1520: fol. 1r).

16 A similar mixture of mythological and historical figures is also found in the first chapter of the anonymous *Ars Mensurabilis*.

17 Jeffrey Dean, 'Ramis de Pareia, Bartolomeus', in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed 31 August 2014. Although Ramos's system seems to combine Ptolemy and Didymus, he arrived at his diatonic division independently, according to Spataro (Palisca 1985: 233).

18 'So enmienda e corrección de los dichos doctores e de todos los otros que hoy son que de la música sienten y gustan, hallamos ser contrario a nuestros oidos por la práctica que es

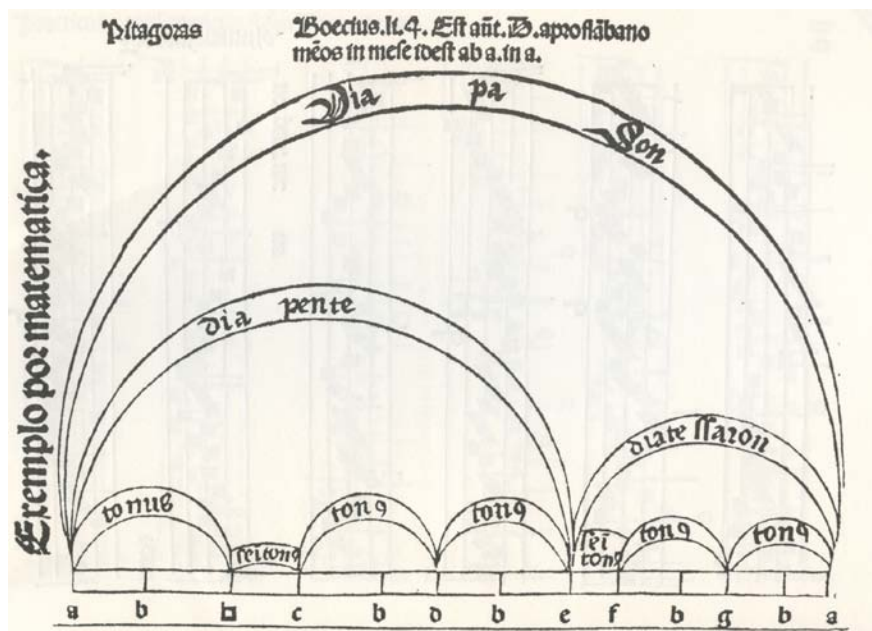


FIGURE 12.1 Gonzalo Martínez de Bizcargui, *Arte de canto llano e contrapunto e canto de órgano* (Burgos, 1511), fol. b1r: 'Example because of mathematics': distribution of tones and semitones in diapason, diapente and diatessaron after Pythagoras and Boethius

Further on, Martínez de Bizcargui, when discussing very small intervals ('parvissime soni'), adds that those smaller than a semitone cannot be played on the organ nor the vihuela, though they can be achieved with 'other instruments'. Martínez de Bizcargui illustrated his comparison of pairing authorities and mathematics against experience and hearing with two diagrams (Figures 12.1 and 12.2).

This traditional kind of diagram explaining intervals is found in many treatises, including the Venetian incunabulum by Boethius that belonged to a close friend of Juan de Espinosa.¹⁹ Espinosa was alone in writing against Bizcargui's

la experiencia de la cuerda. Hallamos ser mayor el semitono cantable que es mi fa con una comma, más que el otro que es incantable. De forma que de sesquioctava se hace el tono que son nueve comas, e de cinco commas el semitono mayor, y de cuatro el menor' (Martínez de Bizcargui 1511: fol. b4v).

19 *Aritmetica, Geometria et Musica Boetii* (Venecia, 1492); Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, INC/168. On the first page, a hand-written note reads: 'This book was given to the Library of the Holy Church of Toledo by master Alonso de Villegas, author of *Flos Sanctorum*, in the year 1589. It belonged to one of his uncles, by the name of Jerónimo Gutiérrez,

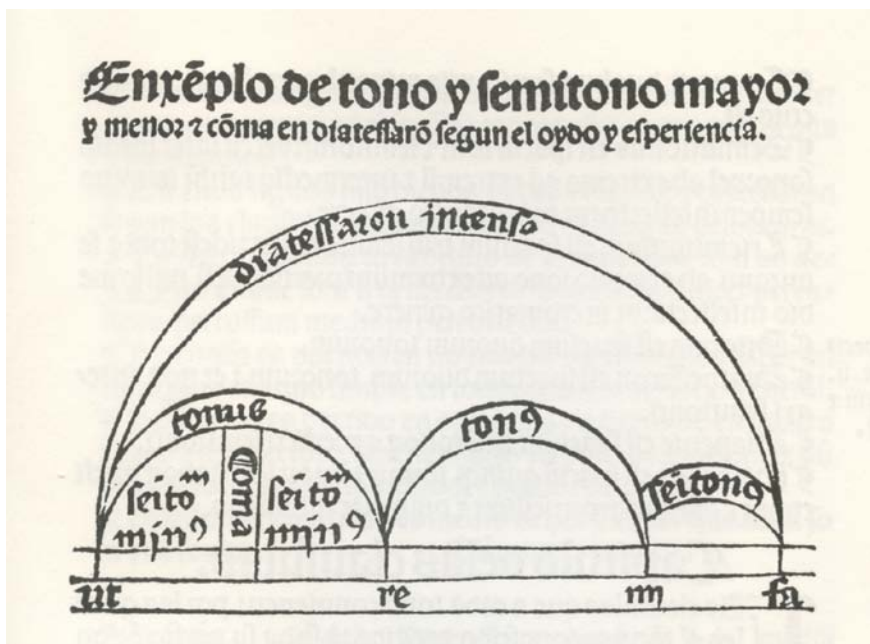


FIGURE 12.2 Gonzalo Martínez de Bizcargui, *Arte de canto llano e contrapunto e canto de órgano* (Burgos, 1511), fol.b5r: 'Example of tone and major and minor semitone and comma in the diatessaron according to the ear and experience'

opinion on the semitone, and he concluded that, according to Boethius, Podio, Franchinus and Burzio, 'the sense of hearing cannot judge consonances and dissonances without the art' ('el sentido del oir sin el arte no puede ser juez de las consonancias ni disonancias') (Espinosa 1520: fols c1v–c2r, fol.e1). Aristoxenus, the first to defend auditory experience, is not mentioned in this polemic, and nor does Durán refer to him when he comments on the enharmonic genus that 'we can feel it and we cannot understand it' ('sentímoslo y no lo podemos comprender') (Vega 1998 [1498]: 123). Although Durán had mentioned Aristoxenus earlier in his *Comento sobre Lux bella*, he preferred to refer to Aristotle's *De anima*, which he probably accessed through Augustine's commentary.²⁰

a 'moçarabe' chaplain and great friend of Johannes Espinosa, both of them excellent in music'.

20 According to Claude Palisca, 'Aristoxenus was not translated until the middle of the sixteenth century and received little attention from music theorists until the 1580s and 1590s' (Palisca 1994: 189).

The Function of Treatises

Between 1480 and 1520, no fewer than twenty musical treatises were written in the Iberian Peninsula. This is an impressive output, especially when compared with the few theoretical books on music produced in the Spanish kingdoms before 1480.²¹ While undoubtedly a number of earlier treatises may well have been lost,²² there was clearly an increased demand for such works around 1500, at about the same time that Italy experienced, in Knud Jeppesen's words, 'music-theoretical madness' (Jeppesen 1941: 3; Palisca 1994: 8). Several factors might have stimulated this increase in production, including the new domain of non-Christian lands (the kingdom of Granada, the Canary Islands, the New World and the forays on the North African coast) which resulted in a greater demand for clergymen, an increase in private and public devotions (at times exaggerated to allay the suspicions of the Inquisition), the endowment of votive Masses, Salves and Offices for the Dead,²³ and, perhaps most direct in its impact, the clerical reform which lay at the heart of the politico-religious strategies of Ferdinand and Isabel (see Chapter 8). As singing plainchant was one of the fundamental duties of clerics, an increase in clergy implied a parallel increase in the teaching of the elements of music. It proved possible to meet this demand because of the recent advances in printing. Within a short space of time, the Catholic Monarchs devised a way to control publishing through the requirement of a specific licence for each book—a system that provides useful information for historians. Therefore, the production of these treatises would not appear to reflect the pursuit of innovation nor a higher level of

21 The treatises produced before 1480 include: Oliva de Ripoll, *Breviarium de Musica* (c. 1065); Juan Gil de Zamora, *Ars musice* (c. 1270) (*I-Rvat* H. 29); Fernand Estevan, *Reglas de Canto Plano è de Contrapunto, è de Canto de Organo* (1410) (*E-Tp* 329; only the section on plainchant survives); the anonymous 'Arte de canto llano' in the *Ceremonial Monástico* (before 1436) (*E-SI* 14); a fifteenth-century Catalan translation of the Silos treatise with the title 'Ars cantus plani' in a Cantoral (*E-Bbc* M1327); and the anonymous *Tratado de contrapunto* (second third of the fifteenth century) (*E-G* 91). A mid-fifteenth-century treatise by Pedro de Osma (1447–67), in both Latin and Spanish, was recently discovered by Santiago Galán Gómez, who has edited the section in Castilian and is preparing a complete edition; see Galán Gómez 2014.

22 Ramos and Espinosa both mention a book by Tristão de Silva, while Escobar and Bermudo refer to one by Rubinetus, and a work by Lodovicus of Barcelona is cited by Escobar and possibly Ramos, who mentions a 'Lodovicus Sancti'.

23 For an example of a musical codex linked to the patronage, devotion—and fear—of a Toledan confraternity, see Candelaria 2008. Juan Ruiz Jiménez considers that private endowments in Seville Cathedral increased exponentially from the mid-fifteenth century (Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 239).

musical complexity that might explain this growing interest in music theory, since most of the books deal primarily with plainsong. However, closer analysis of their contents can throw some light on the reasons for such an increase in demand.

First, it should be noted that there was a strong continuity between manuscripts and early printing of theoretical writings in terms of the organization of contents, the mix of languages or the problems posed by musical examples and illustrations. As was the case with many medieval manuscripts, some printed books display empty staves, incomplete drawings, and blank spaces (or even pages) that were originally intended for figures. In some copies of the treatises by Ramos de Pareja, Podio and Tovar, the musical examples were completed by hand.²⁴ At the same time, however, the process of modernization is evident in the page design: instead of the compact two-column layout and abundant use of abbreviations of Podio's treatise (1495), Tovar's 1510 *Libro de música práctica* displays more space in the separation of lines and words, the typography of the chapter titles is clearly differentiated and abbreviations are rare. Martínez de Bizcargui's treatise (1511) is even more 'aired', so that paragraphs are very short.²⁵

The titles of the books may appear confusing in terms of both their contents and the languages in which they are written, especially when presented in short-title form. Several of the books include sections on counterpoint (marked with a capital C in Table 12.1), even though no reference is made to this aspect in the title. The use of both Latin and Castilian is found in the anonymous *Ars mensurabilis*, Del Puerto's *Ars cantus plani*, Podio's manuscript *In Enchiridion de principiis musice discipline contra negantes illa et destruentes* and Durán's *Comento sobre Lux Bella*, in which many phrases even begin in Latin and continue in Spanish or vice versa, making it possible to imagine what it might have been like to attend his courses. Indeed, during this period the only Iberian book on 'musica practica' published in Latin was Podio's *Ars musicorum* of 1495, given that Ramos de Pareja's book was printed in Italy and Pedro Ciruelo's concerned 'música teórica'. As Robert Stevenson noted, Podio was not a little proud of his elegant Latin compared with 'the other theorist' (Ramos de Pareja)

24 For a description and collation of the copies of Ramos's *Musica Practica*, see Terni 1983, 2: 55–57. For transcriptions of the concordant examples in the copies of Tovar's *Libro de música práctica* held in the British Library and the Museo Diocesano de Vic, see Rubio 1978: 85–89. The copy of Podio with the examples completed by hand is preserved at the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid.

25 This is the case in the third edition of Martínez de Bizcargui's book printed in Burgos in 1511. See Chartier 1996, Chapter 5: 'Introducción a una historia de las prácticas de la lectura en la era moderna (siglos XVI–XVIII)'.

who had assigned *diatessaron*, *diapente*, and *diapason* to the feminine gender (Stevenson 1987: 137). Even though the treatises by Ramos and Podio were highly influential, only Ramos was reprinted.²⁶ In contrast, Martínez de Bizcargui's *Arte de canto llano e contrapunto e canto de órgano* had been printed sixteen times by 1550 (and a further edition appeared in 1592), and Durán's *Lux Bella* had appeared three times by 1518.

The differences in content and function are evident from the size of the books. Books concerned only with plainchant are usually small, in quarto or in octavo, and thin, about twelve leaves; they were often termed *artezillas* and were intended for wide dissemination. Such booklets are mostly written in a simpler style, and depend more heavily on musical examples. For example, in Molina's book, about six out of its twelve leaves are taken up with musical examples. As Mazuela-Anguila has suggested, these slim volumes can be compared to the 'pliegos de cordel', similar to British 'penny chapbooks' or French 'bibliothèque bleue' (Mazuela-Anguila 2014: 44, 46ff). I believe that their directness and brevity not only indicates 'modernity', but also their function as notes that needed to be completed orally in the classroom. The treatises covering both plainchant and polyphony are generally more substantial in the number of pages (the 1509 edition of Martínez de Bizcargui's *Arte* has sixteen leaves),²⁷ and larger in size (in quarto or in folio), similar to Ramos de Pareja's *Musica Practica* and Podio's *Ars musicorum*.

As far as the dedicatees of these books are concerned, there is no substantial difference between *artes* and *artezillas* since both types of book were dedicated to bishops,²⁸ or other clergymen.²⁹ The political use of dedicatees is particularly evident in the case of *Sumula de canto de órgano* (1504), which opens with the coat of arms of the Catholic Monarchs and ends with a smaller

26 Podio's work is not known to have been reprinted. Ramos de Pareja's *Musica Practica* was published in Bologna in two nearly identical editions dated 12 May 1482 and 5 June 1482. Among the authors considered here, Tovar and Martínez de Bizcargui cite Podio, while Ramos is cited by Podio, Durán (*Comento*), Del Puerto, Espinosa (*Tractado de principios de música práctica*), and Tovar. For the impact of the works by Podio and Ramos on other theorists, see Stevenson 1987: 125–37.

27 Later editions sometimes changed size: for example, the first editions of Martínez de Bizcargui were printed in quarto, and later versions in octavo; see Mazuela-Anguila 2014: 43.

28 This was the case with Durán's *Lux Bella*, *Comento sobre Lux Bella* and *Sumula de canto de órgano*, and with the treatises by Spañón, Podio, Molina, Martínez de Bizcargui (1508) and Tovar.

29 An archdeacon in Espinosa's *Tractado de principios*, and a precentor in Podio's *In Enchiridion*.

representation of the arms of the Fonseca family. In this way, the nobleman Alfonso de Fonseca, Archbishop of Santiago, and the monarchs were both somehow placed on a similar level, as the alpha and omega of a continuum. The treatises without dedicatees are manuscripts, as in the case of the anonymous *Ars mensurabilis*, or very brief—for example Escobar's *Introduccion muy breve* (c. 1496). As yet, none of these early books has been linked with the private education of a young nobleman or other young men from the wealthier and more educated classes, not even the anonymous *Ars mensurabilis*, although the quality of the parchment on which it is written and the elegance of the handwriting, as well as the absence of any signs of use, might suggest that this may have been intended as a presentation copy.

Even though 'musica practica' was taught alongside 'musica teorica' at the University of Salamanca during the second half of fifteenth century, the only book on music theory known with any certainty to have been used in the lecture room was Boethius's *De musica* (Ramos de Pareja 1482, Part II: 36v (Chapter iv); Terni 1983: 134 (Latin) and 219 (Castilian)). A century later, 'magister' Pedro Ciruelo's *Cursus quattuor mathematicarum artium liberalium* (1516) was a required textbook in public examinations for the music professorship at Salamanca (García Fraile 1998: 41–42). Even though some theorists studied at Salamanca University—Ramos, Durán, Molina, Spañón, Espinosa and probably Del Puerto (Stevenson 1987: 125–37 and Mazuela-Anguita 2014: 93–96)—it is difficult to establish direct links between that institution and Spanish music treatises from around 1500. Three of the treatises produced by 1500 were written or printed at Seville—the anonymous *Ars Mensurabilis*, Durán's *Lux Bella*, and Spañón's *Introducción muy útil*, to which Estevan's earlier *Reglas* can be added—where a university had yet to be established. No university is mentioned in the most often reprinted treatise (that by Martínez de Bizcargui), whose purpose—stated in the 1515 edition of thirty-six leaves—was to teach clerics what they needed to know in relation to their ecclesiastical profession (Mazuela-Anguita 2014: 399). Even one of the most scholarly books, written in Latin, Ramos de Pareja's *Musica practica*, is addressed to 'uneducated and rough' ('imperite rudesque') singers, as Ramos, who boasted of having taught at Salamanca University, remarked (Ramos de Pareja 1482: fol. 41r; Terni 1983: 144). Diego Del Puerto, who in one instance refers to 'students', described his more straightforward *Portus musice* as a gift to Salamanca University (Del Puerto 1504: fol. 1v). Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that this short compendium of only twelve leaves by a student who had not yet graduated would have been used in the classroom. Even though beginners would have found useful a cheap booklet written in both Latin and Castilian that included the basics of plainchant and counterpoint, and a page on chronology in order to calculate

the movable feasts of the liturgical year, it is unlikely to have been recommended by a magister as an elementary manual without further comment or explanation. Rather, the books on plainchant can be more closely linked to music teaching in chapels, monasteries and convents than to university education; their authors were mostly choirmasters—or at least, singers—and cathedrals demanded that they teach music to professional singers and boys throughout the Spanish kingdoms (see Chapters 7 and 13). Many ecclesiastical institutions required succentors and choirmasters to give lessons of plainchant and polyphony to whoever could attend at scheduled times in the church, as was the case in Granada Cathedral from the first decades of its foundation (Ramos López 1994, 1: 320–21). Of all the writers on music theory from this period, only Espinosa is known to have belonged to a private chapel. He had been in the service of Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo, and later that of Cardinal Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Archbishop of Seville, before taking up a position as singer in Toledo Cathedral.³⁰

Before reviewing the contents of these books, it is worth considering whether they were, to quote Bonnie Blackburn, ‘largely untouched by humanism’, that is to say, they remained ‘within the medieval tradition’ (Blackburn 2001: 309). If the idea of a rebirth of Antiquity can be regarded as humanist, then this was apparently not a concern for Iberian writers on music theory in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. As Reinhard Strohm has shown, even Tinctoris was not a humanist in the sense that Alberti was: that would be the task of later generations of music theorists (Strohm 2001: 385). Equally, however, some traits of Spanish treatises are not medieval: the awareness of change; the references to specific works by specific composers in the anonymous Seville treatise and Ramos de Pareja; the praise of the achievements of instrumental music in the anonymous *Ars mensurabilis*; and the emphasis on experience in Martínez de Bizcargui’s book from the beginning of the sixteenth century. According to Blackburn, Ramos ‘inaugurated a new direction in music theory: theory as polemic, directed not against time-honoured verities but authors themselves’ (Blackburn 2001: 318). The leaves with tables of acceptable consonances attributed to Urreda (c. 1482) and bound—together with extracts from other texts by both Classical and humanist authors—into a copy of Gaffurius’s *Practica Musica* (1497) preserved at Salamanca University, demonstrate awareness of early Renaissance thinking in a specific context in the early years of the sixteenth century (Knighton 2011a: 22–28). Virgil was mentioned in a dedication by Espinosa that alludes to the notion of *imitatio* (Espinosa 1520:

30 José María Llorens and Tess Knighton, ‘Espinosa, Juan de’ *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 21 March 2015.

fol. 1r), and this appears to open the door to the parade of Classical characters in later prefaces to the books of Spanish theorists and the anthologies of the vihuelists (Sage 1992). Even if these traits cannot be considered properly humanist, it would be hard to regard these texts as falling wholly 'within the medieval tradition'.

Plainchant: Solmization, Mutations, Conjunctions, Disjunctions And Modes

Given that the solmization system based on Guido's hexachords lay at the core of the learning of plainchant, it occupied a good deal of space in the manuals by Iberian theorists.³¹ Yet Ramos de Pareja's *Musica practica* is the only printed book listed in Table 12.1 that included an image of the Guidonian Hand: indeed, he reproduced two Hands because he provided a second illustration for his own new system of solmization. Possibly the woodcut of a Hand was too expensive for printed *artezillas* of only four to twelve leaves,³² but its absence in the larger books is striking. In any case, the treatises mention both the musical hand and the Latin term 'retropollex' (behind the thumb).³³ According to Durán 'all the theory and practice of music is contained in the Hand' so that music is called 'the art of the Hand'. This assertion does not imply a limitation of available notes; on the contrary, Durán continues: 'without going out of the Hand, we can proceed *in infinitum*' (Vega 1998 [1498]: 79, 146). Ramos also maintained that the regular hexachords could be infinitely multiplied (Berger 1987: 13).

Ramos de Pareja challenged this system of solmization comprising six steps and proposed instead a new system with seven steps, an idea that was not to be taken up by subsequent theorists.³⁴ Furthermore, Ramos himself explained

31 The only treatise that does not begin with plainchant is the *Sumula de canto de órgano* (c. 1504) whose author, Domingo Marcos Durán, had already published two widely disseminated books covering plainsong: *Lux Bella* (1492) and the *Comento sobre Lux Bella* (1498).

32 A Guidonian Hand is found in the *Ars cantus plani* (E-Bbc 1327), fol. 80r.

33 The Hand is mentioned in: Anonymous 1480/82: fol. 7r-v; Durán 1492 (Vega 1998 [1492]: 168); and Martínez de Bizcargui 1511, fol. 2r in a Latin quotation from Guido's *Arte de canto*, while later editions of his book from 1531 onwards included an image of the Guidonian Hand (see Mazuela-Anguita 2014: 475). The retropollex is mentioned in Durán 1492 (ed. Vega 1998 [1498]: 171), and Del Puerto 1504: fols 2v, 3r.

34 Of the theorists included in Table 12.1, only Podio referred to the seven-step system, although without mentioning Ramos (Podio 1495: fol. 39v).

TABLE 12.1 *Treatises on practical music (c. 1480–1525), manuscripts or first editions*^a

Date	Author	Title	Place
1480/82	Anonymous	C <i>Ars mensurabilis et inmensurabilis cantus</i> (E-E c.III. 23)	Seville
1482	Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja	C <i>Musica practica</i>	Bologna
1492	Domingo Marcos Durán	<i>Lux Bella</i>	Seville
1494	Anonymous	Tratado dos Tons das antifonas e Arte do Canto chão (P-EVp CXIII/1–40)	Unknown
1495	Guillermus de Podio (Despuig)	C <i>Ars musicorum</i>	Valencia
c. 1496	Cristóbal de Escobar	<i>Introduction muy breve de canto llano</i>	Salamanca
1498	Domingo Marcos Durán	<i>Comento sobre Lux Bella</i>	Salamanca
Unknown	Guillermus de Podio (Despuig)	In Enchiridion de principiis musicæ discipline (I-Bc 159)	Unknown
1503	Bartolomé de Molina	<i>Arte de canto llano Lux videntis</i>	Valladolid
c. 1504	Domingo Marcos Durán	C <i>Sumula de canto de órgano</i>	Salamanca
1508	Gonzalo Martínez de Bizcargui	C <i>Arte de canto llano e contrapunto e canto de órgano</i>	Saragossa
1510	Francisco Tovar	C <i>Libro de música práctica</i>	Barcelona
1512–15	Anonymous	<i>Arte de canto llano</i>	Seville
1514	Juan de Espinosa	<i>Retractaciones de los errores et falsedades</i>	Toledo
1515–19	Anonymous	<i>Arte de canto llano</i>	Seville
1520	Juan de Espinosa	C <i>Tractado de principios de musica practica e theorica</i>	Toledo
c. 1521	Juan de Espinosa	<i>Tractado breve de principios de canto llano</i>	Toledo
1500–25	Anonymous	<i>Tractat molt util de la art de cant pla</i> (E-Bbc 1325/1)	Unknown

a For a complete list of printed books on plainchant (1492–1626), including dubious and later editions, see Mazuela-Anguita 2014: 291–329; Titles printed in italics; C = Counterpoint

musica ficta using the traditional six names—ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la—since otherwise his book would have proved incomprehensible to musicians who only knew the placing of tones and semitones in a written melody if they knew the name for each note (one of the seven Guidonian letters, and one of the six syllabic pronunciations; Spañón c. 1500: fol. 1v) and the hexachord to which it belonged (its ‘propiedad’ or property; Molina 1503: fol. 2r). Thus hexachordal solmization and *musica ficta* or ‘feigned music’ were mutually interdependent.

Spanish writers on music theory defined deductions, mutations, conjunctions and disjunctions, and most of them gave extended rules and lists of each of these ways of locating hexachords (and subsequently naming the notes).³⁵ In brief, the deductions are the regular hexachords, those starting on G (gamma), *C F G c f g*. In order to define intervals beyond the range of a hexachord, a mutation is made in a single place from a syllable belonging to one hexachord to a syllable of the same pitch belonging to another, interlocking hexachord (Berger 1987: 4). Conjunctions and disjunctions are feigned or irregularly placed deductions in order to achieve tones or semitones outside the places assigned to them in regular hexachords. If the new deduction starts from a note contiguous to the used hexachord it is a conjunction; when a leap is needed, it forms a disjunction. Durán and Del Puerto provide circle diagrams containing all the possibilities for the creation of hexachords. These circles served more as a mnemonic device for singers than to establish evidence of the ‘infinite’ character of the system alluded to by Ramos and Durán.³⁶ Although mutations, conjunctions and disjunctions were an important topic for theorists, they rarely cited authorities on the subject.³⁷ Rather, these seem to have been elementary notions that every singer needed to know by heart. Significantly, Martínez de Bizcargui, in the 1511 edition of his treatise, asserts that in the earlier editions he had shown how to teach notes and mutations by

35 Writers varied as regards the number of possible deductions (between seven and nine), mutations (eighteen), conjunctions (between nine and twelve) and disjunctions (between five and seven). Nor was there a consensus about the total number of possible pitches: these could vary between nineteen and twenty-two.

36 Durán repeated the same woodcut he used in *Lux Bella* (Vega 1998 [1498]: 171) in his *Comento sobre Lux Bella* (Vega 1998 [1498]: 155). Del Puerto also includes a circle diagram (Del Puerto 1504: fol. 1r); for an explanation, see Rey Marcos 1978b: 31. Rey points out that in Del Puerto’s circle the lowest and the highest pitches coincided, but at a distance of two octaves; Durán’s circle reflects the same problem.

37 Ramos cites Tinctoris, the most recent writer, when defining conjunction, but only to reject his ideas. Espinosa cites Burzio (Espinosa 1520: fol. 4r, Chapter 9). Del Puerto, however, proves the exception to the rule, citing Gaffurius, Martianus Capella, Boethius and Anselmo when speaking of deductions and mutations (Del Puerto 1504: fols 2v, 3r).

practising them with the Hand, and not by writing them out (Martínez de Bizcargui 1511: fol. 2v).

The oral tradition of a common practice can explain the similarity of definitions in these works to those found in earlier generations of theorists. Table 12.2 demonstrates how close the *Ars Nova* treatise's concept of mutation ('Unde mutatio nil aliud est quam dimissio unius vocis propter aliam sub eodem sono et in eodem signo') is to the explanations given by theorists writing almost two centuries later (Vitry in Reaney et al. 1966: 19).

Spanish writers on music theory expounded at length on the question of conjunctions. Even though the word was not commonly used outside the Spanish kingdoms, the concept was not new. Indeed, the *Ars Nova* treatises's explanation of *musica falsa* or *inusitata* corresponds almost word-for-word to the definitions of conjunctions by Tinctoris and Spanish writers, as illustrated in Table 12.3.³⁸

Durán quotes the *Ars Nova* treatise directly when he speaks of 'disjunctas' as the point where deductions were to be made 'sub intellecta' (Vega 1998 [1498]: 161).³⁹ In Durán's slightly later *Comento sobre Lux Bella*, he summarizes: 'true music consists of nine deductions of plainchant, in theory as well as in practice. And the feigned and accidental [music consists of] twelve conjunctions' (Vega 1998 [1498]: 156). The concise manuals, such as those by Escobar and Spañón, also link *conjuncta* with feigned or *ficta* music,⁴⁰ while Espinosa, in his *Tractado*, prefers the term 'division'.⁴¹ Albert Seay, having encountered lists of conjunctions in Anonymous XI (c. 1460), made a summary of all the theorists to employ the term (Seay 1966); this list can be completed with the Berkeley

38 'Verumtamen fieri potest ibidem quod per falsam musicam appellamus, scilicet quando facimus de semitonio tonum, vel e converso. Non tamen est falsa musica sed inusitata' (Vitry, *Ars Nova* in Reaney et al. 1966: 22). Philippe de Vitry's authorship of the *Ars Nova* treatise has been challenged in Fuller 1985–86; more recently, Karen Desmond has proposed that Vitry was the author of the parent text common to several treatises dealing with the *ars nova* (Desmond 2015). 'Conjuncta est dum sit de tono regulari semitonium irregulare aut de semitonio regulari tonus irregularis, vel sic. Conjuncta est appositio b rotundi aut bequadri in loco irregulari' (Tinctoris, *Deffinitionum Musicae* in Coussemaker 1864–76, 4: 180).

39 The anonymous author of the *Ars Mensurabilis* mentions Vitry in the first chapter, but not in relation to conjunctae or disjunctae.

40 Escobar c. 1496: fol. 3r: 'Conjunta es ayuntamiento de una propiedad fingida' ('Conjuncta is the joining of a feigned propriety'); Spañón c. 1500, fol. 4v: 'Conjunta es una dicción o remisión ficta de semitono mayor fecha con fa o con mi' ('Feigning corresponds to saying or silencing a major semitone done with fa or mi').

41 Espinosa 1520: Chapters 43 and 56: 'On the false name of conjuncta'.

TABLE 12.2 *Spanish music theorists on the question of mutation*

Estevan 1410	Mudamiento de dos voces iguales e de diversas propiedades. ^a
Tractat 1500–25	Aiuntament de dos veus iguals de diverses propietats en un mateix lloc per pujar o per devallar. ^b
Podio 1495	Unius vocis dimissio et alterius in eodem loco e sono assumptio. Vel mutatio est nominum vocum in eodem loco transpositio aut variatio unde in iis terminis in quibus una tamen vox assignat. ^c
Ramos 1482	Est unius vocis in alia[m] variatio. Alli autem sic diffiniunt: mutatio est durarum vocum equalium inter se per diversas proprietates in uno signo et una voce variation. ^d
Anonymous 1480/82	Ayuntamiento o departamento de dos voces yguales de diversas propiedades en un lugar para sobir en otro para descendir. Allio modo mutacio est amisio unius vocis propter alliam asimendam sub eodem signo et in eadem termino vel espacio. ^e
Del Puerto 1504	Es ayuntamiento de dos voces iguales diversas en propiedad. ^f
Bizcarguá 1511	Es ayuntamiento e departimiento de dos voces iguales: hácese unas veces por subir e otras por descender. ^g
Espinosa 1520	Dejar un nombre de las voces del canto y tomar otro en lugar de aquel. Mutatio in cantu est variatio nominis in eodem spacio linea e sono (Burzio, Book 1, Chapter 8). ^h

a 'Mutation of two equal notes with different proprieties' (Estevan 1410: fol. 5r).

b *Ars Cantus plani* in *E-Bbc M 1327*: fol. 77v.

c Podio 1495: fol. 43r.

d Ramos de Pareja 1482: fol. 13r (Terni 1983: 94).

e Anonymous 1480/82: fol. 11v.

f Del Puerto 1504: fol. 2v. Del Puerto's definition is similar to that of Escobar c. 1496: 'ayuntamiento de dos voces debidas e iguales e de diversas propiedades en un signo' (fol. 1v).

g Martínez de Bizcargui 1511: fol. 3v.

h 'Mutation is nothing other than leaving a name for the notes of chant and taking another one instead' (Espinosa 1520, Chapter 9: fol. 4r).

Manuscript of c. 1375, connected, like the Vitry tradition, with Paris (Ellsworth 1973); Estevan's *Reglas de canto plano* (1410); the *Arte de canto llano* from the Monastery of Silos (before 1436) (and its Catalan translation as the *Ars cantus plani*) (*E-Bbc M1327*); and the anonymous *Ars mensurabilis* (1480/82). Paloma Otaola has compared the list of conjunctions in the Berkeley Manuscript, Orvieto, Ramos, Martínez de Bizcargui and Bermudo, but seems not to be

TABLE 12.3 *Conjunctions and disjunctions in Spanish writers on music theory c. 1500*

Treatise	Conjunctions	Disjunctions
Estevan 1410 ^a	Es hacer del tono semitono e del semitono tono. Conviene a saber, hacer del fa, mi, e del mi, hacer, fa.	Desayuntamiento
Tractat ^b	Fer del to semito. E axi mateix del semito fer to aço es a saber del fa fer mi y del mi fer fa.	Es pujament o devallament de quatre o de cinch punts o de mes ab diverses maneres fetes sens de ninguna mudança.
Anonymous 1480/82 ^c	Es conjunción, hacer de tono semitono y de semitono tono. Est conjuntarum duorum vocum diversarum proprietatum in una vocem vel in unum signum.	Es sobimiento o descendimiento e trocamiento de una deducción sin mutanca [<i>sic</i>] ninguna asi como de natura en bequadrado e de bequadrado en natura.
Ramos 1482 ^d	Est facere de semitonio tonum et de tono semitonium.	[He only refers to disjunctions to disagree with the use of the term.] ^e
Durán 1498 ^f	Do hay mi poner fa e al contrario.	Es pasar de salto de una deducción y propiedad a otra sin mutanza expresa.
Del Puerto 1504 ^g	Est coniunctio unius proprietatis siete cum reliqua proprietate vel a necessitate per sonantie facta, in quo loco mi dicimus fa e contra sunt.	

a Estevan 1410: fol. 10r (conjunta); fol. 39r (disjunta).

b *Tractat* 1500–25: conjunctes: ‘to make a semitone out of a whole tone, as well as to make a whole tone out of a semitone. That is to say to make fa out of mi and mi out of fa’ (fol. 84v); disiunctes (fol. 87).

c Anonymous 1480/82: fols 29v–30r.

d Ramos de Pareja 1482: fol. 12r: Chapter entitled ‘Ficte musice declaratio’ (Terni 1983: 93).

e Ramos de Pareja 1482 (Wolf 1901: 37); see Berger 1987: 73.

f Durán 1498; Vega 1998 [1498]: 142 (conjunta) and 140 (disjunta).

g Del Puerto 1504: fol. 2v.

aware of the usage of the term by other theorists included in Table 12.3 (Otaola 1998).

The next step in the training of singers, once they had learnt the ins and outs of solmization, was to identify the eight modes. Most Spanish treatises teach the way to recognize modes written both on a one-line and a five-line staff

TABLE 12.4 *The effects of the modes in Guido de Arezzo, Gil de Zamora and Spanish writers on music theory c. 1500*

Author	Mode 1	Mode 2	Mode 3	Mode 4
Guido ^a			Fractis saltibus delectetur	Eligat voluptatem unigarrulitas
Zamora ^b	Ad omnes secundum affectus adaptabi- lis	Gravis et flebilis, tristibus et miseris	Severus, incitabilis, saltus	Blandus et garrulus, adulatori- bus maxime conveniens
Anonymous 1480/82 ^c	Mobilis et habilis eoque ad omnes affectus aptus	Gravis et flebilis Convenientio (...) miseris tristibus	Severus et incitabilis in cursu suo fracto huis saltus	Blandus et garrulus qui maxime adulatoribus convenit
Durán 1492 ^d	Mobilis, alacer et habilis	Narrativus, gravis et flebilis	Severus et incitabilis, fractos habens saltus	Blandus et garrulus
Ramos 1482 ^e	Mobilis et habilis ad omnes affectus	Gravis et flebilis, et miseris et pigris maxime conviens, ut in trenis et lamentationibus Hieremie	Severus est et incitatus in cursu suo, fortiores habens saltus	Blandus, garrulus, adulatoribus maxime convie- nens
Espinosa 1520 ^f	Alegre, movable hábil para amansar las pasiones del ánimo	Grave, pesado y lloroso, provoca lágrimas	Incita a la ira dice Guido fuego	Incita a deleites y modera la saña

a Guido de Arezzo Aretini, Caput XIV: De tropis, et virtute musicae *Micrologus* (Gerbert 1784, 2: 14).b Gil de Zamora, Capitulum XIII: De tonorum computatione ac descriptione *Ars Musica* (Gerbert 1784, 2: 385–88).

c Anonymous 1480/82: fols 15v–16r.

(Estevan 1410, Anonymous 1480/82, Durán 1492, Del Puerto 1504, Martínez de Bizcargui 1508 and Molina 1503). The concise manual by Escobar (c. 1496) only explains the modes written on a single-line staff. These instructions were useful for copyists when notating plainsong from old books with a single line to new exemplars with a five-line staff (Anonymous 1480/82: fol. 21r). Surviving

Mode 5	Mode 6	Mode 7	Mode 8
Suavitatem probat Modestus et delectabilis, tristes et anxios laetificans et dulcorans, lapsos et desperantes revocans	Pius et lacrymabilis	Magis placet Lascivus et iocundus, saltus, motus adolescentiae representans	Suavitatem probat Suavis et morosus modus discretorum Secundum
Modestus et delectabilis qui tristis et anxios letificat lapsos et desperantes revocat	Pius et lacrimabilis	Lascivus et iocundus, Saltus Modus adolescentiae	Suavis et morosus, modus discretorum
Modestus delectabilis	Pius, lacrimabilis	Lascivus, iocundus cum vehementi impetu	Suavis et morosus
Delectabilis, modestus et hilaris, tristes et anxios letificans, lapsos et desperatos revocans	Pius, lacrimabilis	Partem habet lascivie et iucunditatis partemque incitationis, varios habens saltus et mores adoloscentie representans	Suavis et moratus atue morosus secundum modus discretorum
Delectable según Guido templado y alegre	Piadoso y lloroso	Parte de placer y parte de tristeza, saltos e mudamientos, el medio entre todos los otros	Del séptimo tomó toda la parte del plazer e del primero toda su natural alegría

d Durán 1492: 'De qualitate tonorum' (Vega 1998 [1492]: 164).

e Ramos de Pareja 1482: fol. 22r–v (Terni 1983: 110–11).

f Espinosa 1520: Chapter 38.

fragments attest to the fact that parish churches still kept books with the single-line staff during the sixteenth century (Rey Marcos 1978b: 33). However, Podio uses the four-line staff, less commonly found in Spain (Podio 1495: fol. 47r).

In general, the basic pairing of the affects with the modes was a shared tradition documented by medieval and Renaissance writers on music theory from all over Europe, some of these associations having descended from Guido. The writings under consideration here show a remarkable consistency, as illustrated in Table 12.4, although, exceptionally, Spañón and Molina do not broach the topic.

Stevenson noted that Ramos de Pareja faithfully followed Gil of Zamora (c. 1265), just as Fernando Estevan (1410) had previously done (Stevenson 1960: 52, 60). However, despite this close connection, the writers of around 1500 never mentioned Zamora or Estevan. Espinosa's departure from the usual explanation of the eighth mode can perhaps be explained by his attempt to connect the affects of modes 1 and 8, since they both shared the same distribution of tones and semitones.⁴² The anonymous author of the *Ars mensurabilis* states that eight modes rule both plainchant and polyphony, immediately after he has expounded on their affects.

Ramos de Pareja expanded the process in order to establish a relationship between *musica humana* (affects, bodily humours, colours and elements), *musica instrumentalis* (modes and notes) and *musica mundana* (muses and planets), in a manner that proved highly influential.⁴³ Even Ramos's rival Franchinus Gaffurius drew on these correlations in the wonderful frontispiece of his book *Practica Musicae* (1496) (Haar 1974; Tomlinson 1993: 89–94). Zarlino was later to create an elegant design that linked muses, planets and notes.⁴⁴ Gary Tomlinson has summarized—in a less decorative but clearer table—Ramos's analogies between the three kinds of music, framing the concept of operative affinities to the 'Renaissance episteme' discussed by Michel Foucault; he, like Haar, pointed out the well-established precedent for Ramos's alliance of astrology, medicine and music in the Arabic tradition. However, Tomlinson states that modern scholars had not found the matching of modes to planets in either the Arabic or western European musical writings (Tomlinson 1993: 73, 78–84, and 80–81 (table)). I do not altogether agree with Tomlinson on this point: in his *De musica*, Chapter VIII ('De tonis octo'), Aurelian of Réôme (c. 840–50) states that the eight modes imitate the heavenly bodies ('Quod autem octo sint, caelestes motos videntur imitari') (Gerbert 1784, 1: 40–41), and he then presents the planets (including the sun) in the same order as Ramos de

42 Espinosa 1520: Chapter 26: 'Del principio de los modos de cantar'.

43 Ramos de Pareja 1482: 'Capitulum tertium in quo musice mundane, humane ac instrumentalis per tonos conformitas ostenditur' (Terni 1983: 110–14).

44 In general, Zarlino concurred with the pairing of modes and affects shown in Table 12.4 (Zarlino 1558, Chapter 4: 18–29).

Pareja. Among the Spanish writers, only Podio cites Aurelian; Ramos does not, even though he does cite several authors in his well-known chapter on the relationship between human, mundane and instrumental music.⁴⁵ Ramos's pairing of the modes with the planets was not debated by other Spanish theorists; indeed, in the decades after Ramos's *Musica Practica*, Francisco Tovar and fray Juan Bermudo did not consider it to be Ramos's idea, but rather a comparison made by Cicero in the sixth book of *De Republica* (Tovar 1510: fol. 17r; Bermudo 1555: fol. 112r–v).⁴⁶ This Ciceronian passage, the *Dream of Scipio*, was a reflection on the immortality of the soul, sufficiently vague and poetic as to have inspired imaginative commentaries such as that by Macrobius (who added the Muses as well as the diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic genera to his discussion). Spanish and Latin editions of the *Dream of Scipio* from around 1500 may possibly have inspired the interpretations of Ramos, Tovar and Bermudo.⁴⁷ Thus, the crux of the matter is not the absence of the relationship between modes and planets in the earlier writers, but rather that Ramos was looking for this exact meaning in Classical texts; it is significant that he did not present it as new, nor as his own discovery.⁴⁸

45 Ramos de Pareja cites Augustine, Boethius, Hesiodus, Martianus, Macrobius, Odo, two unknown authors ('Lodovicus Sancii' and 'Iohanni Sancto'), and Tullius Cicero. He also cites Roger Caperon with regard to the naming of notes; see Haar 1969.

46 Bermudo entitled Chapter 5 of his Book v 'About the same proprieties [of modes] according to Cicero' ('De las mesmas propiedades segun Ciceron').

47 In Cicero's narrative, the nine spheres (including the sun and the 'starry sky' required by Ramos in order to complete his nine correspondences) are ordered in the same way as in Ramos, and each produces a different, though unspecified, pitch. However, the Venetian incunabulum of 1480 may be the source of the suggestion that modes were sounding, because of its use of the word 'modorum', where other editions read 'duorum': 'Illi autem octo cursus, in quibus eadem vis est modorum septem efficiunt distinctos intervallis sonos qui numerus omnium rerum fere nodus est' (Cicero 1480: 161); this copy has no page numbers; the number given here is taken from the 'pages' indicated in the pdf version found online at: <<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000106932&page=1>>. This very sentence is translated in Spanish in a way that 'modes' might be interpreted instead of 'sounds': 'De la revolución de las otras ocho sferas (entre las quales ay dos de un mesmo tenor) se producen siete tonos diversos y distintos por intervalos el qual numero de siete, es modo y medida de todas las cosas' (Cicero 1550: 195; at <<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000082371&page=1>>).

48 Among the Spanish theorists included in Table 12.1, Tovar is the only one to cite Ramos de Pareja in connection with the correlation between the modes and the planets, even though Tovar is not interested in the affects (Tovar 1510, Chapter 33: fol. 17r). Although Durán mentioned Ramos in other passages, he did not draw on these relationships; how-

Modes were inextricably linked with reciting tones, since the reciting formulae for the versicles of psalms and Magnificats had to be chosen according to the mode of the antiphons. Despite their brevity, some *artezillas* explain how to recite lessons, epistles, gospels and prayers; indeed, half of Spañón's treatise is dedicated to the relevant musical examples. Spañón specifies the distinction between the Toledan and Roman tonaries, stating that the Gregorian tonary began on 'alamire', while that of Toledo began on 'csolfaut' (Spañón c. 1500: fol. 6v). The space given to intonations may reflect the conflict between the *more toletano* or *hispano* and Roman chant,⁴⁹ but it may also reflect the importance accorded to psalms and Magnificats in later Spanish books intended not only for singers, but also for organists and vihuela-players. More research is needed in order to establish whether this emphasis on the provision of psalm tones was related to private devotions, to sacred and public processions or to other occasions on which psalms were performed. The 1480/82 *Ars mensurabilis* justifies the inclusion of psalm tones in the following terms: 'because cathedrals and parishes churches are accustomed to sing all the canonic hours, it is necessary to know the intonation of each mode' (Anonymous 1480/82: fol. 34v). Immediately following the question of the many intonations of psalms, doxologies and Magnificats, this treatise begins its explanation of counterpoint (*contrapunto*).

Counterpoint

Once solmization and modes were mastered, the next stage in the training of singers was counterpoint (see Chapter 13).⁵⁰ It was precisely the ability to sing both counterpoint and composed polyphony (*canto de órgano*) that defined the professional singer; every cleric was obliged to sing plainchant in church, as expressed in the *Consueta* of Granada Cathedral (c. 1520) (Ramos López 1994, 1: 320–21). Tinctoris distinguished between 'res facta' (written counterpoint) and 'cantare super librum' (improvised counterpoint 'upon the book').⁵¹

ever, he did pair the affects and the modes in the manner that was traditional from the thirteenth century onwards.

49 The distinction was still valid for the eighteenth-century writer on music, fray Pablo Nassarre (Nassarre 1723–24, 1: 172–78); on the Toledan chant, see Asensio Palacios 2014b and Bernadó 2005.

50 See Chapter 13 for a detailed discussion of the use of counterpoint in practice.

51 'Contrapunctus qui scripto sit communiter resfacta nominatur. At istum quem mentaliter conficimus, absolute contrapunctum nos vocamus; et hunc qui faciunt super librum cantare vulgariter dicuntur. In hoc autem resfacta a contrapuncto potissimum differt, quod

Spanish theorists discussed several kinds of counterpoint, but all shared a distinctive trait: extemporization (Wegman 1996: 431–32):

1 As Durán says, ‘Contrapunctus visus’ or ‘viso’, a word related to ‘sight’ but also to ‘improvised’ (‘improvisio’) (Lusitano c. 1545–51: fol. 24; Canguilhem 2011: 30, 97),⁵² implied both ‘singing and counting at sight within the five-line staff’ (‘vamos cantando e contando a la vista por cinco reglas no saliendo dellas’). The singer imagined a note within the staff, above or below the note of the plainchant, adding an octave, so that ‘a unisonus by counting is an octave by singing, a third above by counting is a tenth singing and so on’ (‘unisonus al contar es viii al cantar, iii encima al contar es x al cantar et sic de aliis’). Hence making counterpoint upon a one-line staff would have been impossible (Durán c. 1504: Chapter VI).⁵³

2 ‘Fabordón’ was more straightforward. As Giuseppe Fiorentino has recently shown, *fabordón* consisted of improvised parallel thirds below and fourths above a pre-existent melody (whether written or not) (Fiorentino 2013b: 219–25). The oral tradition of *fabordón* is highlighted in documents (the earliest from 1463) which describe it as performed in both sacred and secular contexts (see Chapter 13). Although the term was not mentioned in Spanish treatises before 1525, it was used in texts produced by ecclesiastical institutions, for which *fabordón* was a way of singing that reflected the degree of solemnity of the liturgical occasion, being customarily sung on minor feasts in contrast to the composed polyphony performed on the most solemn feasts, a distinction made, for instance, in the *Consueta* of Granada Cathedral (c. 1520). The close relationship between the psalm tones and the practice of *fabordón* is clearly expressed in Burgos Cathedral chapter’s order to its chapel master in 1533: he was required to write down all the psalm tones and *Benedicamus* to be sung at Vespers because the singers made mistakes when singing in *fabordón* precisely because the psalm tones were not found in chant books.⁵⁴ Thus the

omnes partes reifactae sive tres, sive quatuor, sive plures sint, sibi mutuo obligentur, ita quod ordo lexque concordantiarum cuiuslibet partis erga singulas et omnes observari debeat’ (Book II, Chapter 2; in Coussemaker 1864–76, 4: 129); see also: Bent 1983; Blackburn 1987: 246–84; and Wegman 1996: 442–43.

52 Bermudo defines counterpoint as an ‘inventive science of finding out the parts of what is to be composed’, and ‘an improvised ordering with diverse melodies over plainchant’ (‘ciencia inventiva de hallar las partes de lo que se ha de componer // una ordenación improvisa sobre canto llano, con diversas melodías’) (Bermudo 1555: fol. 128r).

53 Diego Del Puerto also stated that counterpoint could not be sung upon the one-line staff (Del Puerto 1504: fol. b5).

54 Burgos Cathedral, Chapter Act dated 3 April 1533 (López Calo 1996, 3: 68).

chapel master was not obliged to write out the extemporised *fabordón*, but the psalm tones on which it was based.

3 The anonymous author of the *Ars mensurabilis* is the earliest theorist to specify another division: counterpoint 'by use' ('por uso') and counterpoint 'through art' ('por arte'). Counterpoint through art presupposed knowledge of 'all the gammas of all the deductions of the Hand' ('porque para el arte cumple saber las gamas de todas las deducciones de la mano'), which he then summarized in the form of a table (Anonymous 1480/82: f. 41r). According to the author, highly trained and skilled singers who sang 'por arte' maintained a position at the top of the musical hierarchy while those who sang without this skill and knowledge ('por uso'), even though they boasted that they were singers, held a much lower position (Anonymous 1480/82: fols 41v–42r).

4 Durán explains the distinction between plain ('llano'), divided ('partido'), and diminished ('diminuido') counterpoint: that is, note against note, two notes to each note and three or more notes to each note (Durán c. 1504: Chapter 3). He thus described the system of 'species' counterpoint several decades before Lusitano, who has generally been held to be the first to establish this distinction (Schubert 2002: 505). This corroborates Philippe Canguilhem's suggestion that this way of teaching counterpoint was a tradition peculiar to Spanish writers (Canguilhem 2011: 30, 72–73). Santa María (1565), Montanos (1592) and Cerone (1613) used it as a preparation technique for florid counterpoint (Schubert 2002: 509). Indeed, the *Ars mensurabilis* had already described note-against-note ('llano') and florid ('diminuido') counterpoint, and noted that in *contrapunto diminuido* the rules were not always observed by the 'moderns' (Anonymous 1480/82: fol. 41v). Matheo Aranda (1535) also goes directly from note-against-note counterpoint ('llano') to florid ('diminuto'), while Bermudo (1555) described further types of counterpoint.

5 Concerted counterpoint ('contrapunto concertado') was defined by Durán as comprising two, three or four voices. Later theorists such as Aranda, Lusitano and Bermudo would present it in opposition to 'detached' counterpoint ('contrapunto suelto'), which involved adding a single part over the plainchant.⁵⁵ Thus concerted counterpoint involves two or more singers improvising at the same time.

55 On Aranda and Lusitano, see Canguilhem 2011: 71 and 73. Bermudo differentiated 'llano', 'disminuido' or 'desemejante' (dissimilar: of maxims, longs, breves, syncopations, semi-breves, minims and semiminims), and mixed ('mixto') counterpoint (Bermudo 1555: fol. 129r–v). The distinction was still valid for Nassarre in the eighteenth century (Nassarre 1723–24, 2: 141).

Theorists agreed in their classifications of intervals as perfect consonances (unison, fifth, octave), imperfect consonances (third and sixth), and ‘discordances’ (second, fourth, seventh). However, as was the case with most theorists by about 1500, ‘they were less concerned with learning basic rules and more with memorizing various alternatives for setting melodic formulas’ (Busse Berger 2005: 6).⁵⁶ They therefore included tables of consonances that showed the notes that could be sung against each note of a plainchant melody. Del Puerto and Durán also added tables with progressions of three plainchant notes and three notes of counterpoint to learn by heart (Del Puerto 1504: fol.br, tables at fols bv and ff.; Durán c. 1504: fol.b4r, tables at fols bv and ff.). Santiago Galán, in his study of the tables by Urreda, Del Puerto, Durán, and Tovar, concludes that Urreda’s (c. 1482) are the most complete; indeed, they seem closer to offering a stock of possible combinations for composers (Galán Gómez 2013).

As these tables of consonances were designed to accommodate three, four, five or more voices, they correspond to the sense of simultaneous conception as it was heard (not written).⁵⁷ The following instruction by Durán provides a clue: ‘you must begin and finish making counterpoint only on a perfect species, the highest you can achieve on the plainchant. And if there are two singers or more making counterpoint? Do not respect this rule’ (‘has de comenzar y acabar contrapuntando solo en especies perfecta y la más alta que pudieras alcanzar sobre el canto llano. E si hay dos contrapuntantes o más? No se guarda esta regla’) (Durán c. 1504, Chapter iv: fol.[b4v]). Thus Durán did not insist on the singers choosing a fifth and an octave, but allowed one of the singers to make a third or a sixth. Later on he recommends singers in ‘concerted’ counterpoint to avoid ‘especies falsas’, such as seconds, sevenths, and elevenths, except in the case of diminution, syncopation or cadences (‘clausulae’) where such dissonances were needed.⁵⁸ Aside from intervals and cadences, and general advice about the contrary movement of voice parts, the only compositional

56 Busse Berger notes that theorists as different as Ugolino of Orvieto, Lionel Power, Guilielmus Monacus, Ramos de Pareja and Franchinus Gaffurius included these consonance tables in their treatises (Busse Berger 2005: 133).

57 Wegman considers that ‘Simultaneous conception must have existed, yet by definition it was heard (mentally or actually), not visualized... Counterpoint is simultaneous singing; composition is successive writing out’ (Wegman 1996: 452–53). Galán Gómez, however, considers the tables to reflect elements of the change from a linearly-conceived polyphony to a chordally-conceived polyphony (Galán Gómez 2013: 1848).

58 Even though Durán includes his tables of consonances after his exposition on ‘composition’, the tables are captioned: ‘Here the counterpoints follow in the order mentioned above’ (Durán c. 1504: fol.b6v).

process mentioned is imitation, which is referred to as 'fugue or chase' ('fuga o caça'):⁵⁹

In music we say fugue or chase when a voice or species imitates the passage or melody of another voice in the imperfect species of counterpoint, one, two or more bars later. And one voice proceeds singing the same thing—or almost the same—as the other, ensuring that during the process they do not come into contact with each other to form a perfect species until the end of the fugue or chase.⁶⁰

The books or chapters dealing with counterpoint produced in the Spanish kingdoms rarely cite an authority or give examples. Curiously, Durán cited about thirty-five authorities in his two books on plainchant, but none in his book on polyphony. Ramos is the exception in his *Musica practica* when he discusses the old rules (Part II, Chapter 1), and further on when he explains those of Ugolino of Orvieto, for the most part to refute them (Part II, Chapter 2), before finally presenting his own table of consonances at the end of Part II. One of the few written examples of a piece with three or four voices is that by Diego Del Puerto; its style has been considered to be similar to that cultivated in polyphonic song of the period (Rey Marcos 1978b: 43; Knighton 2011a: 36) (see Chapter 13). In this context, Francisco Salinas's later comment about song composition acquires new meaning: 'the polyphonic music that used to be sung at banquets and secular gatherings is not so difficult that it could not be sung without books'.⁶¹ Salinas was possibly referring to songs in the style culti-

59 Durán had already described fugue in his *Comento sobre Lux Bella* of 1498: 'Note that these names—fugue, consequence, link, 'icto' (pulse?), 'semita' and limit—are synonyms, that is, they mean the same thing. Whether the fugue proceeds by step or by leap, you have to consider the fugue till where there are two equal points or the return of points, which we call answer' ('Nota que estos nombres, fuga, secuela, ilación, icto, semita y límite son sinónimos, que significan una mesma cosa. E ora proceda cualquier especie de grado o salto, has de juzgar la fuga hasta do hobiere puntos iguales o vuelta de puntos, a la que llamamos réplica') (Durán 1498 in Vega 1998 [1498]: 135). Del Puerto presents a *caça* for three voices (Del Puerto 1504: fol.b2v).

60 'Fuga o caça dezimos en la musica: quando una voz o especie va contrahaziendo los pasos o melodía de otra en especie imperfecta de contrapunto: dexando passar un compás: o dos: o mas. E va una voz diziendo lo mesmo: o quasi que la otra guardando que en el proceder no se toquen en especies perfectas: fasta en fin de la fuga o caça' (Durán c. 1504: fol.b3r).

61 'Praeterea is musicae cantus, qui ad liberales caetus et in conuiuiis principum adhiberi solet, non est hic plurium vocum artificiosus, qui nisi conspectus libris cantari non potest' (Salinas 1577, Book VI, Chapter 1: 288).

vated in polyphonic *cancioneros* such as the Palace and Colombina Songbooks as well as the later so-called Uppsala Songbook (RISM 1556³⁹), that is, songs that could have been improvised by singers trained in counterpoint.

In every way, counterpoint seems to have been a practice that was taught orally, since it was essentially an improvisational practice (see Chapter 13). Instead of the highly detailed process adopted in Tinctoris's *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (1477), where the pupil is taken slowly step by step and given explanations and musical examples of the possible intervals, Spanish writers tended to give only general rules and tables of consonances. Thus Del Puerto, Durán and Tovar provide guidelines, or memory aids, to remember what had previously been covered in class. Yet as Blackburn notes, 'Martínez de Bizcargui devotes more space than any other theorist to the rules concerning flats and sharps, covered in twenty-six pages of the 1538 edition. These rules are far more specific than most of the rules given by Italian theorists' (Blackburn 2001: 314–15). Claude Palisca was taken by surprise by the evidence for the centrality of counterpoint theory in Renaissance Italy (Palisca 1985: 10); to find a similar situation in Spain is perhaps even more unexpected. The Spanish theorists' insistence on the importance of 'contrapunto viso' (upon the book) and 'contrapunto concertado' (for several parts) is striking, and it is key to understanding certain peculiarities of musical practice in the Spanish kingdoms. With the additional factor that Spanish plainchant sources were much freer in their use of accidentals (Blackburn 2001: 310), and the difficulties created by these pitch inflections within the solmization system, it can be concluded that the profusion of psalm intonations, deductions, conjunctions, disjunctions, and tables of concordances were the logical tools for the realization of improvised counterpoint with two, three or more voices.

Composition: Rhythm and Polyphony

For the Spanish theorists, composition was the last level of musical learning; unfortunately, it is also the briefest section in their treatises, where it appears at all. The scarcity of books about writing polyphony would seem to suggest that composition was viewed as written counterpoint, and this is confirmed by several of the writers on music theory. Tovar noted that 'there is no difference between counterpoint and the composition of polyphony, except that counterpoint is *sub intellectu* [imagined] and polyphony is figured representing the

name of the note',⁶² and Durán wrote 'And composition is nothing but notated counterpoint' ('E como el canto de organo no es sino contrapunto puntado') (Durán c. 1504: fol.b3v). It is as if once counterpoint was mastered, there was nothing else to teach, except for the notation of rhythm—at least, the treatises go no further than that.

In contrast to today's textbooks on notation, the Spanish manuals of around 1500 reserved discussion of the shape ('figura') of the notes and the explanation of rhythm for the end, as part of the section on polyphony ('canto de órgano' or 'canto figurado'). Del Puerto is the exception: he presents his discussion of rhythm and 'canto orgánico' after the psalm intonations (Del Puerto 1504: fols a4r ff.), and thus before counterpoint (fol.b1r). The many *artecillas* that only cover plainchant, such as the manuals by Spañón (c. 1500) or Molina (1503), say nothing about rhythm. This organization of theoretical books corresponds on the one hand to the 'intellectual conception' of mensural theory,⁶³ but, on the other, it would appear to suggest that only written polyphony was subject to rhythmic interpretation. Yet theorists were in fact ambiguous in this respect. For example, Durán defines bar ('compás') as the duration of one note (or its value) of plainchant to the next, ('Compás es la tardança que ay de un punto de canto llano a otro, o de su valor'), so it could be inferred that all notes were sung as of equal length, as is often assumed to be the case with plainchant. Only four pages previously, Durán had suggested the opposite: 'The numbers that lie behind mensurable music—which consists of plainchant, counterpoint, and polyphony—are differentiated—major or minor, perfect or imperfect—and they are these: ternary, that is perfect or major which are synonymous; and binary, imperfect or minor ad idem'.⁶⁴ According to Podio, the notes of plainchant could be sung shorter or longer (Podio 1495, Book v, Chapter 36: fol. 36v). Scholars have pointed out the use of mensural or proto-mensural notations in sources of Spanish chant, particularly in hymns, and Gloria and Credo melodies (Bernadó 2005; Turner 1995). However, although

62 'del contrapunto a la compusición de canto de órgano no hay ninguna diferencia salvo que el contrapunto es subintellecto y el canto de órgano es figurado en representación de voz' (Tovar 1510: fol. 15r).

63 Wegman 1996: 428–29: 'Unlike the practice of counterpoint, which could be and was widely popularized, mensural theory was essentially intellectual in its conception, involving specialized Latin terminology and modes of thought whose underlying rationale could not be fully comprehended except through university training in the liberal arts.'

64 'Los números por quien la música mensurable que consiste en canto llano, contrapunto e canto de órgano faze sus diferencias de mayoridad e menoridad, perfección e imperfección son estos ternario, perfecto o mayor que son sinónimos. E binario, imperfecto o menor ad idem' (Durán c. 1504, Chapter 19: fol.a8v and Chapter 17: fol.a7r).

some later theorists, such as Bermudo, described the rhythmic performance of plainchant, a clear exposition of *canto fratto* is not found before 1525. Instead of presenting all the time values at once, Spanish writers on music theory first discussed the five values that depended on tempus, modus and prolation, which could consequently indicate two or three times the note values: maxima, longa, brevis, semibrevis and minima. Shorter note values, whose duration could not vary, are discussed in the later chapters.⁶⁵ A complete description of the value of every note in ligatures is provided by the anonymous author of the *Ars mensurabilis* (Anonymous 1480/82: fol. 46v).

Spanish treatises allocate little space to rhythmical problems, although Durán noted several opinions about the use of signs for tempus, modes and proportions. However, he defines the important term 'sincopa' (syncopation) as being: 'produced when in the middle of a bar we sang a new one or more. And [this bar] remains suspended until it is completed with another mid-bar before the last note or bar'.⁶⁶ Ramos takes advantage of his chapters on rhythm briefly to discuss specific examples by Johannes Ockeghem (*Missa L'homme armé*), Urreda, Du Fay (he refers to the *Missa Se la face ay pale* without mentioning Du Fay by name), Busnoys, and his own motet *Tu lumen* and canonic *Requiem aeternam* (Ramos de Pareja 1482, Part II : fols 34r–36v, and Chapters 3 and 4; Wolf 1901: 131–34 (Latin); Terni 1983: 217–19 (Spanish)). Ramos here follows Tinctoris, who had been the first to offer a technically detailed critique of living composers of his time.⁶⁷ The anonymous author of the *Ars mensurabilis* also includes examples at this same point for the explanation of rhythmic note values, significantly taken from a Mass by Enrique Tich, a northern composer working in Seville, as well as from a 'Missa De Felix Pueritia', whose author, unfortunately, he does not name (Anonymous 1480/82: fol. 44v) (see Chapter 7).

Instructions as to how to proceed in composition are rare, and those that are found are expressed in general terms. Tovar advocates beginning a work by writing the Tenor and choosing its mode or tone, and then proceeds to

65 This manner of explaining note values has confused one scholar who believed that Podio did not allow for the shorter note values; he did, but some pages later, as was the case with Tinctoris in Book 1, Chapters 2 and 15 of his *Tractatus de notis et pausis* (1475) (Cousse-maker 1864–76, 4: 41). The logic underlying this procedure is to be found in Tovar 1510: fol. 29r; Tovar cited Gaffurius in this respect.

66 'sincopa es quando en medio de un compás cantamos otro o más. E va suspenso desde la meytad del primer compás. E al fin enterese con otro medio ante del postrimero punto o compas' (Durán c. 1504, Chapters 19 and 22: fol. 9r).

67 Ronald Woodley, 'Tinctoris, Johannes' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed 31 August 2014.

mention the possible intervals for the other three or four voices (Tovar 1510: fol. 25r). Durán agrees that the identification of the mode of a piece was to be found in its Tenor (Durán c. 1504: fol.b3v). According to Del Puerto, the composer should fashion the Tenor and highest part ('tiple') very carefully, before proceeding to write the other voices. At the same time, he describes a process that is not conceived entirely as a successive procedure, but rather as if he would write a short passage, check it, add a few more notes, and so on (Del Puerto 1504: fol.b2v). The way in which the Tenor and Superius function as the skeleton in sacred and secular polyphony from the Spanish kingdoms in the years around 1480 to 1525 is well established (Fallows 1992a).

The Spanish treatises are essentially involved in performance issues: they teach how to read musical notation, to sing, to name notes (and then detect semitones), to classify, to identify modes (in order to recite psalms and link them to antiphons), and to invent one, two or three melodies above or below plainchant; these books provide no advice as to how to compose a Mass or a motet, or even how to set a poem to music. There is nothing from this period equivalent to Bermudo's fifth and last book of the *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (1555), an altogether broader and much more detailed treatise on plainchant and polyphony. Significantly, Bermudo did not belong to the world of professional musicians and thus did not feel obliged to conceal tricks of the compositional trade—quite the contrary: Bermudo emphasized the 'greediness' and 'avarice' of music masters in refusing to communicate their knowledge (Bermudo 1549; cited in Mazuela-Anguita 2014: 52). Bermudo's *Declaración* nevertheless displays some continuity with the earlier manuals.

Over half a century ago, Robert Stevenson highlighted three traits of Durán's *Lux Bella* (1492) as being characteristic of music theory from Spain, traits that are not to be found in similar plainsong manuals produced in Italy and Germany before 1500: the books from either of these two countries do not recognize the existence of conjunctions; they do not include a large repertory of intonations in each mode to cover the various feasts of the liturgical year with their different degrees of solemnity; nor do they instruct the singer how to read chant written on a one-line staff (Stevenson 1960: 67). It is now also clear that the earlier works by Fernand Estevan (1410) and the anonymous *Ars mensuralis* (1480/82) already presented extended explanations on these three topics, and also that treatises from the latter part of the fifteenth century used the term conjunction.

It must be emphasized, however, that these traits do not reflect an eccentric or medieval pleasure in classification. On the contrary, all the details about conjunctions and intonations were essential for the training of singers to improvise counterpoint. As early as 1410, Estevan argued that the 'twenty'

possible signs contained in the Hand—a range of two and a half octaves—and the ‘ten’ conjunctions were designed for polyphony (‘canto de órgano’) and counterpoint, since plainchant did not use them all (Estevan 1410: fols 7r, 38v and 28v). This notion is echoed by the anonymous author of the *Ars mensuralis*; however, he gives an example of a piece of plainchant for every conjunction (Anonymous 1480/82: fols 7r, 30r). Even though all these elements were covered in the first section of treatises dealing with plainchant, they were to be used only when singing counterpoint or composing in several parts. These books on practical music-making were surely written not just as manuals to learn to sing plainchant and polyphony, but in response to the complexity and demands of an extemporized practice. It is vital to comprehend this function in order to be able to understand the logic behind the increase in their production. At the same time, it is important to remember that these books were written to complement oral teaching and not as a substitute for it. This more modern role would be claimed by later instrumental books such as Luis Milán’s *El maestro* (1536) and Tomás de Santa María’s *Arte de tañer fantasía* (1565), or by Cerone’s more theoretical *El Melopeo or Maestro* (1613). In contrast, the books on ‘musica practica’ from the period 1480 to 1525 appear to be written notes that needed to be completed by the master, who probably communicated orally compositional processes not detailed in the manuals in an attempt to preserve closely-guarded secrets.

The books on music theory from this period prove to be an ideal arena for the pinpointing of conflicts between tradition and innovation. If their traditional aspects can be considered medieval, the innovations—even though they hint at Renaissance thinking—cannot be considered humanist, in so much as their authors are not concerned with the revival of Antiquity or with the close examination of Ancient music theory. Finally, as Bonnie Blackburn said of Ramos de Pareja, the ‘inauguration’ of ‘theory as polemic’ implies a different vision of the discipline (Blackburn 2001: 318). During the sixteenth century, this new approach would at times resemble the sterile controversies between different scholastic syllogisms, but at others would draw close to the new episteme.

Unwritten Music and Oral Traditions at the Time of Ferdinand and Isabel

Giuseppe Fiorentino

One of the most striking characteristics of the music from the Spanish kingdoms at the time of Ferdinand and Isabel in comparison with other musical traditions of the same period is the relative scarcity of sources of instrumental and polyphonic music. This scarcity can partly be explained by the loss of many manuscript sources and the late introduction of music printing in Spain; *El Maestro* by Luis Milán, printed in 1536, is the earliest Spanish collection of solo instrumental music and accompanied songs, as well as the first printed Spanish tablature. However, there is a third reason: the importance of oral tradition in the transmission and performance of music in Spanish culture during the Renaissance, in both sacred and secular contexts. This essay will survey the different traditions of unwritten music in Spain at the time of the Catholic Monarchs: in the liturgical context, particular emphasis will be placed on the transmission and performing practices of extempore counterpoint and unwritten *fabordones*; and in the secular context, several aspects related to the oral repertory of vernacular songs, both polyphonic and accompanied, as well as instrumental music will be considered.

Extempore Polyphonies: *Contrapunto* and *Fabordón*

Over the last few decades, scholars have increasingly focused their attention on the Renaissance practice of extempore counterpoint which, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was referred to by means of a variety of different expressions such as ‘ex tempore canere’, ‘ex mente canere’, ‘chanter sur le livre’, ‘contrappunto alla mente’, ‘discant’, or simply ‘contrapunctus’ (Ferand 1938; Ferand 1956; Sachs 1983; Bent 1983; Blackburn 1987; Wegman 1996; Schubert 2002; Froebe 2007). For the Spanish musical tradition, various sources such as counterpoint treatises and cathedral chapter acts are allowing scholars to reconstruct how these improvisatory skills were taught and performed by learned musicians and chapel singers (Rice 2009; Fiorentino 2009, 2013a, 2014, 2015a; Canguilhem 2011, 2013; Knighton 2011a; Galán Gómez 2013, 2014). The

importance of extempore counterpoint in the Spanish Renaissance musical tradition is striking, with the addendum that written polyphony formed just part of the polyphonic music that was customarily sung in church. In addition to singing plainchant ('canto llano') for the daily liturgy and written polyphony ('canto de órgano') on major feast days, singers in cathedral choirs also sang different kinds of extempore counterpoint ('contrapunto'): to a plainchant, intoned by the Tenor in equal notes, one or more vocal lines were added extempore by means of various techniques. However, as well as the more learned *contrapunto*, other kinds of extempore polyphonies, such as *fabordón*, were commonly improvised 'by ear', without the necessity of learning the rules of counterpoint.

Although it is now possible to make a general and reliable survey of the Spanish tradition of extempore polyphonies during the Renaissance, most research has focused on the sixteenth century, for two main reasons: first, the scarcity, before the sixteenth century, of regulatory texts or chapter acts that describe in detail the practices of extempore polyphonies in chapels or cathedrals; and second, the wealth of information and technical detail about the techniques of counterpoint to be found in sixteenth-century musical treatises.

'Contrapunto' as Improvisational Praxis

During the age of the Catholic Monarchs, the Castilian word 'contrapunto' referred to a whole range of theoretical and practical skills that professional singers acquired in order to sing extempore polyphony. To some extent, this term was opposed to and compared with the expression 'canto de órgano', which indicated written polyphonic music. Francisco Tovar, in his treatise *Libro de música práctica* (1510), was adamant that there was no difference at all between 'contrapunto' and 'composición de canto de órgano', apart from that 'contrapunto' was extemporized 'subintelecto', and 'canto de órgano' was figured and written down.¹ According to Domingo Marcos Durán, 'canto de órgano' was simply notated 'contrapunto'; for this reason, as with 'contrapunto' based on a *cantus firmus*, 'canto de órgano' also had to be built round a Tenor (see Chapter 12).² Therefore, 'contrapunto' and 'canto de órgano' share the

1 Tovar 1510, fol. 35: 'El tercer libro y ultimo tracta de contrapunto y congregación de consonancias que es composición. Del contrapunto a la composición de canto de órgano no hay ninguna diferencia, salvo que el contrapunto es subintelecto y el canto de órgano es figurado en representación de boz'.

2 Durán 1498, fol. b3v: 'E como el canto de órgano no es sino contrapunto puntado el qual va sobrel canto llano, así todas las bozes del canto de órgano van y se fundan sobre el tenor'.

same structural principle, although the former was improvised and the latter was written down. Guillermus de Podio, in his *Ars musicorum* (1495), stated the same concept in Latin: there is no difference between 'cantus mensurabilis' and 'contrapunctus' as regards the disposition of notes, except that in 'cantus mensurabilis', or 'cantus organicus', all the pitches and, most of all, their durations are precisely notated and written down.³

Other theorists of the age, without emphasizing quite so clearly the difference between 'canto de órgano' and 'contrapunto', considered counterpoint to be an improvisational skill. For example, the anonymous author of the *Ars mensurabilis* treatise preserved at San Lorenzo del Escorial (1480/82), Ramos de Pareja (1482) and Diego Del Puerto (1504) do not provide any definition of 'contrapunto' as a performing practice, but their rules are clearly addressed to 'cantores' who are learning how to 'improvise' ('echar' according to Del Puerto, 'organizare' according to Ramos) counterpoint on a plainchant (Ramos de Pareja 1482: 51, 91–92 [hand-numbered copy]; Del Puerto 1504: fol.b1v). Moreover, their references to 'sighting' techniques ('contrapunctus visus' according to Del Puerto or 'contrapunto por el viso' according to the anonymous author of the Escorial treatise) indicate the ability to visualize (and sing) extempore new intervals to each note of the plainchant.⁴ Matheo de Aranda in his *Tractado de canto mensurable* (1535) emphasized the importance of counterpoint as a memory skill, defining it as 'music ordered and worked out in the memory' ('musica ordenada en la memoria y memoralmente obrada').⁵

Thus according to musical treatises from the time of Ferdinand and Isabel, Spanish theorists considered counterpoint to be an improvisational skill (see Chapter 12). This tradition, which had its roots in medieval organa and was first mentioned in Castilian in Fernán Estevan's *Tratado de canto plano e de contrapunto e de canto de órgano* (1410), continued without interruption throughout the Renaissance with the printed treatises by Vicente Lusitano (1561), Juan

3 Podio 1495: fols 48v–49r: 'Cantus mensurabilis tertiam et ultimam faciens musicae cantandi differentiam sonorum dispositione a contrapuncto nihil differt. Quibus enim illius speciebus et earum ordine ac distributione conficitur Verum enim quoniam contrapunctus prima sui positione moras prononciationis figurarum velut cantus planus indeterminatas habet, hic autem certo et diffinito temporis spacio limitatus iure supradicto nomine appellatus fuit. Est igitur cantus mensurabilis sive organicus, gravium et acutorum sonorum vel superacutorum aut utrorumque simul mensurata prononciatio'.

4 Escorial, Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, E-E c-III-23 (Manuscrito Escorialense, Sevilla, 1480/82), copy in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, M/1282, 158; Del Puerto 1504, fol.b2v.

5 Aranda 1535: 81: 'Contrapunto es distinción de voces. S. cantando al contrario del canto llano por orden distinta y formación de consonancias obrandose de memoria lo quel se dize musica memorativa. S. musica ordenada en la memoria y memoralmente obrada'.

Bermudo (1555), Francisco Montanos (1592), Pietro Cerone (1613) and, much later, in Pablo Nassarre's *Escuela música* (1723–24).

Practice and Diffusion of Extempore Counterpoint (c. 1460–1530)

During the vigil for Juan II (1398–1479), King of Aragon and Ferdinand's father, who died in Barcelona on 20 January 1479:

all the chaplains, singers and choirboys of his royal chapel remained there day and night ... singing in counterpoint in the way they were wont to sing in the king's chapel when he was alive.⁶

The royal chronicler Pedro Miguel Carbonell thus described singing 'a contrapunct' as a well-established practice in the Aragonese royal chapel. Carbonell used the Catalan word 'contrapunct' ('contrapunto') with the sense of extempore polyphony, as is clear from his juxtaposition of the two terms in the vernacular: during the procession that took place from the royal palace to Barcelona Cathedral following the ten-day vigil, all the singers and choirboys of the royal chapel sang 'in polyphony and counterpoint with great melodiousness and harmony' ('a cant dorgue e contrapunct ab gran melodia e consonantia') as they did, according to Carbonell, in the royal chapel (Bofarull y de Sartorio 1864, 1: 224–25). Carbonell also mentions the repertory that the royal singers sang 'a contrapunct': the following day, when the king's body was transferred from Barcelona Cathedral to the royal abbey of Santa Maria de Poblet, the singers preceded the bier 'continually singing in counterpoint psalms and litanies' ('cantants continuament a contrapunct psalms e orations').⁷

It is not possible to establish to what extent extempore counterpoint was practised in the chapels of Isabel and Ferdinand, for no detailed ceremonial description of the services celebrated in these institutions has survived (Knighton 2001: 112), but it was clearly a widespread phenomenon in the Iberian Peninsula. Cathedral regulations indicate that it constituted the basis of musical education for every professional singer. The teaching and practice

6 Bofarull y de Sartorio 1864, 1: 201–3: 'E encara per major solemnitat e companya del dit cors Real e relevatio de penes que passas la anima del dit Senyor Rey tots los capellans xandres e scholans de la sua capella Rey al stigueren aquí tots los dies e nits continuament cantant com stech lo dit cors Real en la dita gran sala que may lo lexaren cantants a contrapunct e en aquella forma que acostumaven cantar en la capella del dit Senyor Rey quant vivia'.

7 Bofarull y de Sartorio 1864, 1: 263: 'e los xandres de la capella del dit Senyor Rey qui immediadament anaven devant aquell Real cors cantants continuament a contrapunct psalms e orations'.

of 'canto llano' (plainchant), 'canto de órgano' (written polyphony) and 'contrapunto' (extempore counterpoint) are mentioned in many chapter acts from various cathedrals, such as those of Avila (1465 and 1487), Leon (1467, 1483 and 1494), Palencia (1479, 1521 and 1525), Toledo (1489), Granada (late fifteenth century), Las Palmas (1518) or Burgos (1521) (Fiorentino 2009: 531–42; Fiorentino 2014: 147–50). For example, the statutes of Avila Cathedral reveal that on 11 January 1465 a singer named Mauricio was employed to teach 'canto llano', 'contrapunto' and 'canto de órgano' to the choirboys, clergy and ecclesiastic dignitaries (Luis López 2004: 109). In 1487, the post of 'maestro cantor' at Avila Cathedral was given to 'Juan de Senabria' who had to teach 'canto llano e canto de órgano e contrapunto llano e dyminuido'. Juan Rodríguez de Sanabria—who can possibly be identified with Juan Rodríguez de la Torre, a singer in the Castilian royal chapel from 1494 to 1504 (see Chapter 1)—had taught music at Burgos Cathedral in 1484, and was to become a singer at Leon Cathedral in 1494 (Kreitner 2004: 148–49). The Leon chapter acts of 1467, 1483 and 1494 confirm that the teaching of plainchant, polyphony and counterpoint formed part of the chapel master's duties (Álvarez Pérez 1959). On 3 March 1488, the chapter of Segovia Cathedral employed Juan González de Tudela as 'cantor' and 'maestro de canto'. Among his regular duties he had to teach 'canto de órgano e canto llano e contrapunto' not only to the choirboys ('mozos de coro'), but also to a large number of people belonging to the ecclesiastic hierarchy: 'members of the bishop's household..., and the dignitaries, canons, prebendaries and half-prebendaries, and chaplains of the cathedral, and the members of their households and resident servants'.⁸ This last clause, one that is often specified in documents outlining the duties of a chapel master, demonstrates that music teaching in Spanish cathedrals was not only aimed at young boys.

The teaching of plainchant, polyphony and counterpoint also took place in Catalan-Aragonese territories. For example, Mateu Ferrer, appointed 'tenorista' and 'mestre de cant' at Barcelona Cathedral on 10 Abril 1483, had to teach 'cant plà', 'contrapunt' and 'cant d'orgue' to both the choirboys and ecclesiastic dignitaries, and these subjects were also taught by Antoni Salvat, 'mestre de cant', at the same institution between 1521 and 1528 (Gregori i Cifré 1983: 33; Gregori i Cifré 1984: 38). At Tarazona Cathedral, Pedro Pérez, who succeeded Juan García de Basurto as chapel master in 1521, had to teach 'canto llano, canto de órgano y contrapunto' to four choirboys (Hardie 2002). In Renaissance Spain, extempore counterpoint was not exclusively practised in cathedrals, but also at Salamanca University, with which major theorists who wrote about 'contrapunto' (Ramos de Pareja, Domingo Marcos Durán and Diego Del Puerto) were

8 Segovia Cathedral, Chapter Acts, 3 March 1488; cited in López Calo 1990b: 425–26.

connected. According to the university statutes of 1529, the Professor of Music ('catedrático de música'), besides teaching music theory, had to give classes in plainchant, polyphony and counterpoint (Knighton 2011b: 12–16).

Thus during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel, professional singers trained in Spanish cathedrals (and also some non-professional musicians, as can be inferred from the documents of Segovia Cathedral and Salamanca University) were trained to sing extempore counterpoint, in addition to reading plainchant and written polyphony, and chapel masters were responsible for the teaching of these skills. In addition to Juan Rodríguez [de la Torre] de Sanabria, a number of musicians connected with the Aragonese and Castilian royal chapels taught these subjects in cathedrals: for example, Matheo Ximénez, Francisco de La Torre, Juan de Triana and Pedro de Escobar in Seville; Pedro Lagarto in Toledo; Juan de León and Blas de Corcoles in Malaga; and Rivaflécha in Palencia (Ruiz Jiménez 2010: 211, 220–21; Reynaud 1996: 102; Knighton 2001: 96, 106). Juan de Urreda, chapel master of the Aragonese royal chapel from 1477 to at least 1482, was closely associated with the practice and didactics of extempore counterpoint, as is demonstrated by the manuscript *Tabula ad ordinandum* preserved at the University Library in Salamanca and attributed to the Flemish composer (Knighton 2011b).

While chapter acts reflect the wide diffusion of improvised counterpoint throughout the Spanish kingdoms, detailed descriptions of the actual practice, place and typologies of extempore polyphonies within the liturgy are generally lacking. According to the *Consueta* of Granada Cathedral, an interesting document about the organization of liturgy, singers had to be capable of singing both 'canto de órgano' and 'contrapunto'.⁹ Nevertheless, this document does not specify at which moments in the liturgy the singers were required to sing counterpoint, whereas it does stipulate, depending on the importance of the feast, the performance 'a canto de órgano' or the performance 'a fabordón' respectively, for the intonation of psalms, Magnificat and Benedictus (Fiorentino 2013a: 1857). It seems likely that the author of the *consueta* did not specify information that was already well known to the singers and chaplains,

9 Catedral de Granada, *Consueta*, Chapter 31, fols 32v–33r, 'De lo que han de hazer los cantores: ... y porque la iglesia sea más honrada y el culto divino más favorecido y el pueblo sea consolado y provocado a devoción, han mandado que haya cantores, y así se ha siempre usado. Los cuales son algunos capellanes que tienen habilidad para cantar canto de órgano y contrapunto, los cuales sirven de capellanes y cantores si cómodamente se pueden haber...' The *consueta* might reflect to some extent the liturgical practices of the royal chapels, given that Hernando de Talavera, first Archbishop of Granada and so responsible for the cathedral's organization, had previously served the Catholic Monarchs as confessor and was well acquainted with the liturgical celebrations at court (see Knighton 2001: 128).

or possibly he considered performance 'a fabordón' to be a practice related to 'contrapunto'.

More precise information is found in the *Libro de la regla vieja* of Seville Cathedral, a mid-sixteenth-century revised version of an older, now lost, *Regla de coro*, that reflects the liturgical practices of this institution during the fifteenth century (Ruiz Jiménez 2011). Extempore counterpoint is here referred to by means of the Latin verb 'discantare', normally employed in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century treatises to indicate techniques of polyphonic improvisation, but also used in Spain during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the Castilian form 'discantar'. As Matheo de Aranda makes clear in his treatise of 1535, the word 'discante' was considered a synonym for extempore 'contrapunto'.¹⁰ According to the Sevillian *Libro de regla vieja*, extempore counterpoint was used to intone several liturgical chants, such as hymns and responsories at Matins and Vespers, or the Alleluia when it replaced the hymn at Vespers of first- and second-class feasts, as well as during the main Mass (Ruiz Jiménez 2013: 258, 264–65). Whereas the Ordinary of the Mass was usually sung with 'cantus organicus' (written polyphony), on occasion the *Libro de regla vieja* refers to the performance of the Marian Gloria trope *Spiritus et alme* with extempore counterpoint (Ruiz Jiménez 2012: 365).

Unfortunately, this document does not specify the typologies of extempore counterpoint sung on every occasion. Indeed, later documents, such as the *Directorio del coro* written by the succentor Juan Pérez during the last decades of the sixteenth century for Sigüenza Cathedral, the *Ceremonial* and *Memorial* of Toledo Cathedral redacted at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the seventeenth-century *Compendio de las obligaciones* concerning liturgy in Seville Cathedral almost certainly reflect older traditions and confirm the use of extempore counterpoint as described in the *Libro de regla vieja*, as well as adding further detail. For example, according to Juan Pérez's *Directorio de coro*, at Vespers on first-class feasts, singers sang the first antiphon and the antiphon of the Magnificat in 'contrapunto suelto' (one voice improvised over plainchant), although in some churches these chants were usually performed in 'contrapunto concertado' (two or more improvised voices over plainchant). At Vespers, some psalm verses were generally sung with 'contrapunto ad placitum', while during the Mass, singers had to perform the Introit and the doxology

10 Aranda 1535: 82: 'de donde y de todo lo sobredicho en las conclusiones resultan tres nombres. s. musica memoratiua y contrapunto como dicho es y discanto: que en vnidad demuestran ser musica de memoria al contrario discantada'.

in 'contrapunto suelto', while the Alleluia was customarily sung in 'contrapunto de concierto'.¹¹

*Learning, Techniques and Typologies of Extempore Counterpoint
(c. 1460–1530)*

There are men so learned, proficient and skilled [in singing contrapunto] that they can improvise correctly with many voices and in imitation as if they were singing a written composition. In the Most Reverend and late-lamented Archbishop of Toledo Fonseca's chapel, I saw singers improvising counterpoint so skillfully, that if written down, their music could have been sold as good compositions. In the pious and learned royal chapel of Granada, the level of skill in counterpoint is so high that other ears, more sensitive than mine, would be needed to comprehend, and other quills to describe it.¹²

Bermudo, in his *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (1555), conveys the technical excellence in extempore counterpoint of his contemporaries. The counterpoint techniques described by other theorists such as Lusitano, Montanos or Cerone, also in the form of musical examples, confirm Bermudo's words, and afford a glimpse into the kind of polyphonic music that the most skilled singers in Spanish cathedrals and chapels were accustomed to sing extempore in the later sixteenth century: from simple note-against-note 'contrapunto llano' to the most difficult typologies of 'contrapunto concertado' where imitative and canonic techniques were employed. Was extempore polyphony sung during the age of Ferdinand and Isabel similar to the contrapunto described by later theorists, or can differences regarding techniques and typologies be traced? Bermudo's testimony appears to date from later, but it is clear that he is recalling to mind an experience from the past when he would

¹¹ Sigüenza, Archivo de la Catedral, *Directorio del Coro de Juan Pérez*, iv, fols 370v–378v.

¹² 'Ay hombres en ello [contrapunto] tan expertos, de tanta cuenta y erudición, que así lo hechan a muchas bozes y tan acertado, y fugado, que parece composición sobre todo el estudio del mundo. En la extremada capilla del reverendísimo arzobispo de Toledo, Fonseca de buena memoria vi tan diestros cantores hechar contrapunto, que si se puntara se vendiera por buena composición.' Bermudo continues: 'En la no menos religiosa que doctissima capilla real de Granada ay tan grandes habilidades en contrapunto: que otros oydos mas delicados que los mios eran menester para comprehenderlas y otra pluma para explicarlas. Pues, en los primores que en las yglesias, y cortes de nuestra España en este caso se hazen, quién lo acertara a explicar! De aquí es que algunos no quieran este arte se llame de contrapunto, sino de composición' (Bermudo 1555: fol. 128r).

have been about twenty years old. Alonso de Fonseca y Ulloa, born in 1475, was Archbishop of Santiago de Compostela between 1507 and 1523, and Archbishop of Toledo between 1523 and 1534, and his singers' proficiency in improvising imitative counterpoint must surely have reflected a strong existing tradition in extempore polyphony at Toledo Cathedral, where several musicians from the royal chapels served around 1500 (Reynaud 1996: 5). Bermudo's remarks about the practice of counterpoint at the Royal Chapel of Granada, officially founded by the Catholic Monarchs in 1504, are particularly interesting, although there is no concrete evidence of professional singers serving there before 1518 (Ruiz Jiménez 2002: 344).

Indeed, in order to gain some idea about specific practices of counterpoint during the age of the Catholic Monarchs, it is necessary to collate information from different sources, such as chapter acts and musical treatises. For example, the Avila *ordenanza* of 1465, which describes in some detail the music lessons given by Mauricio to young choirboys at Avila Cathedral, affords some insight into the skills normally practised by singers in the Castilian royal chapel some four years before Ferdinand and Isabel were married.¹³ This document proves to be very revealing, especially if compared with an analogous *ordenanza* drafted almost a century later in 1554 at Burgos Cathedral, and with the contents of music treatises.¹⁴ First, Mauricio had to teach the choirboys to sing plainchant demonstrating the 'conjuntas' (mutations of the basic hexachord involving chromatic notes) and 'disjuntas' (correct intonation of the fifth, sixth, seventh and octave) (Chapter 12).¹⁵ Then the choirboys began to study how to sing 'contrapunto llano' (note-against-note counterpoint improvised on a plainchant).

The learning of this subject was differentiated according to the vocal ranges of students who had to visualize on the Guidonian Hand all the intervals they could sing over or below each pitch of the cantus firmus within different hexachords: adult males with high-pitched voices or choirboys learned 'b quadrado alto' and 'la gama de natura alta'; singers with medium-range voices learned 'b quadrado baxo' and then 'la gama de natura alta'; bass singers learned 'contrapunto de natura baxa' and 'contrapunto quadrado más baxo' (Luis López 2004:

13 Avila, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección Clero, Cod. 411B. The document is transcribed in Luis López 2004: 109–11.

14 Burgos Cathedral, Chapter Acts, sheet added to the 'capítulos' of 28 May 1554 ('Maestro de capilla, capítulos'); transcribed in López Calo 1996, 3: 110–13; see Fiorentino 2014.

15 Luis López 2004: 109: 'El qual dicho Mauricio, cantor, se obligó en este año ... de enseñar fielmente, syn colusión alguna, canto llano con las conjuntas e disjuntas, tonos e semitonos e melodía'.

110). This text can only be fully understood when compared with the tables—usually called ‘gamas de contrapunto’—that appear in several treatises (such as those by Ramos de Pareja, the anonymous author of the *Ars mensurabilis*, Del Puerto or Durán) where all the intervals of ‘contrapunto’ that a singer might use are grouped according to vocal range and to the different hexachords and coniunctae. Although theorists do not agree about the number of ‘gamas de contrapunto’ (Ramos gives seven, Del Puerto twelve, Durán twenty-one), it is clear that in the first stages of learning, only a small group of ‘gamas’ was practised. In Del Puerto and Durán’s treatises, the hard and soft gamas are displayed according to three vocal ranges: ‘la baxa’, ‘la mediana’ and ‘la alta’; in the *Ars mensurabilis* only two vocal ranges are specified—‘alta’ and ‘baxa’—as in the Avila statutes (Ramos de Pareja 1482: 60; Del Puerto 1504: fols biv–b2v; Durán c. 1504: fols 15r–18r). According to the anonymous *Ars mensurabilis*, the correct use of these gamas was the basis for singing counterpoint ‘de arte’, and he compared this method with the easier ‘contrapunto por el viso’ or the direct visualization of improvised pitches on the staff (Anonymous 1480–82: 150). ‘Contrapunto del viso’ is also mentioned by Podio, Del Puerto and Durán, the latter devoting several paragraphs to this subject (Podio 1495: fol. 47r; Del Puerto: 1504: fol. biv ; Durán c. 1504: fols c1r–c4r.). Ramos does not explain sighting techniques, while the ‘gamas de contrapunto’ disappear in later sixteenth-century treatises that describe ‘contrapunto de viso’. It is thus possible that during the age of the Catholic Monarchs a change in the learning and practice of ‘contrapunto’ occurred, with the ‘gamas de contrapunto’ gradually falling into disuse.

After they had mastered ‘contrapunto llano’, choirboys at Avila Cathedral began to study ‘contrapunto diminuido’ (florid counterpoint improvised over a plainchant) using ‘all the species’ (‘todas las speçias’). This term indicated a specific technique described in sixteenth-century treatises as preparation for florid counterpoint. It appears again some time later in Lusitano’s treatise, where four main ‘species’ are mentioned: note against note, two notes against one, four notes against one and three notes against one (Canguilhem 2011: 73). According to the Avila *ordenanza*, Mauricio had to teach all the ‘species’ of proportional counterpoint: ‘dupla’, ‘tripla’, ‘cuadrupla’, ‘sesquioctava’ (according to Bermudo, nine semiminims against each breve), ‘sesquialtera’ (according to Bermudo, three semibreves or six minims against each breve), and ‘sesquisona’ [*sic*] (Bermudo 1555: fol. 134r).¹⁶ He also had to teach ‘contrapunto de

16 Luis López 2004: 110: ‘Lo tercero que enseñe contrapunto diminuito en esta manera: que enseñe todas las speçies del contrapunto, cuantas pasan por cada punto del canto llano; e esto contando desde dupla e tripla e quadrupla e sesquisona e sesquialtera e sesquioctava’.

mayor', also called 'de tres minimas', because 'it greatly embellishes the other kind of counterpoint when used for diferencias'.¹⁷ Here, the Avila statutes indicate that students had to mix the different 'species' and perform 'diferencias de contrapunto', a practice that is criticized by the anonymous author of the *Ars mensurabilis*, but which is recommended in later treatises.

It seems that in Avila, singers only practised two-voice 'contrapunto llano' and 'diminuido', while in Burgos, according to the 1554 statutes, choirboys also practised 'contrapunto concertado' (Fiorentino 2014: 158–59). It is significant that in fifteenth-century Spanish treatises, such as those by Ramos, Podio and the anonymous *Ars mensurabilis*, 'contrapunto concertado' is not mentioned at all, while it was progressively discussed at greater length in sixteenth-century Spanish treatises. Durán's *Súmula* (Salamanca, c. 1504) was one of the earliest sources to use the term 'contrapunto concertado'. Significantly, the term is not mentioned in his Book 2, Chapter 3 concerning the typologies of counterpoint, where he only describes 'contrapunto llano', 'contrapunto partido' (two notes against one) and 'contrapunto diminuido' (more than two notes against one). Only in Chapter 4, devoted to the general rules of counterpoint, does Durán explain the intervals to be avoided 'in order to sing "contrapunto concertado", with two, three, or four voices' (Durán c. 1504: fol. b4v). He devoted Chapters 4, 5 and 7 to the explanation of sighting techniques, and then presented three tables that shed some light on the kind of sonorities achieved during improvisation (Durán c. 1504: fols b5v–b6r). The first two tables show all the intervals that a third voice (or additional voices) can sing above a duo formed by the tenor and a second higher voice (Tables 13.1 and 13.2). The third table shows all the intervals that a third voice can sing below a duo formed by the tenor and a second voice (Table 13.3). Although Durán's chapter 8, which includes his 'Tabla 1', is entitled 'Del modo de la composición de toda la armonía', several passages suggest that the tables are concerned with both composition and improvisation: indeed, the tables are used to 'contar y cantar' ('to count and sing'), and Durán explains that the third table is for singing 'contras baxas', referring to an improvisational, rather than a compositional, process (Fiorentino 2009: 553). In the chapters devoted to the composition for three or four voices, Del Puerto and Tovar also use without distinction terminology appropriate to composition ('componer', 'composición', 'componedor') and terminology that refers to improvisation ('echar', 'contrapunto'). For example, the chapter that Tovar devotes to extempore counterpoint is entitled 'De la composición de diversas bozes o sones' (Tovar 1510: fol. 35r). Diego Del Puerto,

17 Luis López 2004: 110: 'Yten, que enseñe contrapunto de mayor que se dize de tres mínimas, porque afermosa mucho al otro contrapunto, faziendo diferencia entre uno y otro'.

TABLE 13.1 *Domingo Marcos Durán, Súmula de canto de órgano (c. 1504), fol.b5v*

Interval between the Tenor and another voice above	Possible intervals above the Tenor for a third voice								
Unison	3	5	8	10	12	15	17	19	22
3	5		8	10	12	15	17	19	22
5	3		8	10	12	15	17	19	22
6	3		5	10	13	15	17	20	22
8	3		5	8	12	15	17	19	22
10	3		5	8	12	15	17	19	22
12	3		5	8	10	15	17	19	22
13	3		6	8	10	15	17	20	22
15	3		5	8	10	12	17	19	22
17	3		5	8	10	12	15	18	22
19	3		5	8	10	12	15	17	22
[20] ^a	3		6	8	10	13	15	17	22
[22] ^b	3		5	8	10	12	15	17	19

a 29 instead of 20 in the original.

b 20 instead of 22 in the original.

TABLE 13.2 *Domingo Marcos Durán, Súmula de canto de órgano (c. 1504), fol.b6r*

Interval between the Tenor and another voice above	Possible intervals above the Tenor for a third voice								
Unison	3	6	8	10	13	15	17	19	22
3	6		8	10	13	15	17	20	22
8	3		6	10	13	15	17	20	22
10	3		6	8	13	15	17	20	22
15	3		6	8	10	13	17	20	22
17	3		6	8	10	13	15	20	22
22	3		6	8	10	13	15	17	20

TABLE 13.3 *Domingo Marcos Durán, Sùmula de canto de òrgano (c. 1504), fol.b6r*

Interval between the Tenor and another voice above	Possible intervals below the Tenor for a third voice								
Unison	3	5	8	10	12	15	17	19	22
3	3		8	10	[13] ^a	15	17	[20] ^b	22
5	4		6	8	13	15			
6	3		5	8	10	12	15		
8	3		5	8	10	12	15		
10	3		6	8	10				
12	4		6	8					
13	3		5	8	10				
15	3		5	8					

a 12 instead of 13 in the original.

b 19 instead of 20 in the original.

in the chapter 'Forma de componer a tres voces' often employs the verb 'echar' ('to improvise'), and in the chapter 'Para echar los contra altos' directly affirms that 'in order to improvise [echar] a contra altus, the singer has to be careful' (Del Puerto 1504: fol.b2v). This confusion of terminology is more apparent than real, since, at the time of the Catholic Monarchs, 'contrapunto' and 'composición de canto de òrgano' were considered to be an identical process that could lead both to improvised and written music.

Although they do not make use of tables, Tovar and Del Puerto also list all the intervals that can be used to build 'consonancias' of three or four voices (Fiorentino 2009: 553–65). As Tovar explains, having composed the Tenor 'according to the mode and the tone', the Bass must be added using intervals of third, fifth, sixth or octave below. Depending on the duo formed between Bass and Tenor, Tovar gives the possible intervals for the third voice ('Contra alta'), and subsequently for a fourth voice ('Tiple') (Tovar 1510: fols 35r–35v). The process explained by Del Puerto is based on a structural duo formed between the Tenor and a higher voice (Tiple), to which a singer or a composer can add a bass ('Contrabaxa') according to a list of intervals; the fourth voice, or 'Contra alto', has only a restricted choice of intervals, since it can be sung a third or fourth below the 'Tiple' or above the 'Tenor' (Del Puerto 1504: fols b2v–b3r). The rules explained by Durán, Tovar and Del Puerto indicate, in modern terms,

that in extempore counterpoint for three or four voices, singers preferred to employ chordal sonorities based on triadic harmony with the root (or third) of the chord in the Bass. The *Tabulae ad ordinandum* attributed to Urreda, which are more complete and exhaustive than Tovar's tables since they show all the possible combinations of intervals to form four-part harmonies, indicate that these didactic tools were in use before the turn of the century (Knighton 2011a: 11–36; Galán Gómez 2013: 1831–48.).

These treatises indicate that during this period, extempore polyphonies sung with three or more voices had a homophonic and chordal style quite different from the 'contrapunto concertado' described by later sixteenth-century theorists. It is possible to explain this discrepancy in several ways: 1) in Spain, the 'contrapunto concertado' effectively had a stylistic evolution from a chordal to a contrapuntal style (maybe as a result of the influence of Franco-Flemish polyphony); 2) the chordal structures described in the treatises were just a harmonic skeleton that was varied and articulated by the most skilled singers; 3) theorists of around 1500 only described the most simple and accessible kinds of extempore polyphonies. Indeed, Del Puerto referred to other techniques when he described how to improvise a 'caça', that is an imitative passage for three or four voices, or how to 'decenar la contrabaxa con el tiple' (Del Puerto 1504: fol.b2v). Del Puerto also included a musical example—the *Exemplum regularum supra dictarum*—that illustrates the kind of sonorities achieved by applying his rules to a simple melody in the Tenor (Music Example 13.1).

Del Puerto's example cannot be considered indicative of the music that was sung extempore in church, since the Tenor is not presented in equal-length notes and does not draw on a plainchant melody, and the piece is closer in style to the villancico of the period. The homophonic sections are built by applying repetitive and predictable intervals, characteristic of *fabordón*, to the Tenor, while the Tiple sings parallel sixths beginning and ending each phrase with an octave; the Contra sings thirds and fourths beginning and ending each phrase with a fifth or third; and the Bass alternates fifths and thirds beginning and ending with an octave or fifth (Fiorentino 2013b: 169–94). The result of this contrapuntal structure is a succession of root-position chords.

However, the musical examples included in a later treatise, Matheo de Aranda's *Tractado de canto mensurable y contrapuncto* (1535), indicate that the sonorities of Del Puerto's *Exemplum*, were also typical of 'contrapuntos concertados' sung extempore in church around 1500. In the last chapter of his treatise, Aranda explains how to perform 'contrapunto en armonía' by means of four musical examples that show four typologies of counterpoint ('cuatro maneras de contrapunto'): in Aranda's examples 1, 2 and 4 for three voices, the cantus firmus is placed respectively in the Bassus, Tenor and Altus; in the third

The musical score consists of four staves, each with a label on the left: [Tiple], C[ontra] 1, Tenor, and C[ontra] 2. The time signature is 2/4. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The score is divided into three systems. The first system contains measures 1 through 6. The second system starts at measure 7 and contains measures 7 through 15. The third system starts at measure 16 and contains measures 16 through 24. The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes), rests, and fingerings (numbers 1-5). Some measures contain triplets or other rhythmic groupings. The staves are connected by a brace on the left.

EXAMPLE 13.1 *Diego Del Puerto, Exemplum regularum supra dictarum (Portus musice, 1504), fol.b3r*

example, for four voices, the cantus firmus is placed in the Tenor (Aranda 1535: 67–70). Aranda uses black square notation for the cantus firmus (which is based on a liturgical plainchant) and mensural notation for the counterpoint. Each example is introduced by an explanation about the main intervals that each voice has to sing to the plainchant in order to perform counterpoint correctly in the corresponding ‘manera’. According to Aranda, the main intervals he outlines for each contrapuntal typology were just a skeleton which could be varied by adding secondary intervals; besides, he adds that these rules are useful both to sing ‘contrapunto concertado’ and to compose.¹⁸ In the ‘segunda manera’ of counterpoint (Music Example 13.2), the Bassus has to alternate thirds and fifths, or fifths and octaves below the Tenor (a sixth can also be sung in the second ‘beat’ of each brevis or at cadences), while the highest voice has to alternate octaves and sixths or sixths and thirds above (unisons and regulated dissonances can also be sung). In the four-voice ‘tercera manera’ (Music Example 13.3), the Bassus has to use the same intervals described as for the ‘segunda manera’; the Altus has to alternate fourths and thirds and the Tiple has to alternate mainly octaves and sixths.

Aranda’s treatise presents the earliest written examples of ‘contrapunto concertado’ that reflect the practices of extempore counterpoint in sacred music performed in Iberian churches (on Aranda’s rules as a possible model for Iberian composers, see Alvarenga & Ferreira 2011). However, many Spanish musical sources might also imitate the improvisational praxis of the age, as Kenneth Kreitner has pointed out (Kreitner 2004b: 41). According to Kreitner, two kinds of musical style of fifteenth-century Spanish church music clearly reflect these improvisational practices: first, ‘chant harmonization’, in which one line is taken or closely derived from chant while the other(s) move in the same or nearly the same rhythm (Kreitner 2004b: 156). In addition to *fabordones*, other pieces such as the *Ad honorem* settings in *E-Bbc* M251 or the Lamentations and *Kyrie... Qui passurus* of *F-Pnm* 967 (mid-fifteenth century), with predictive and repetitive intervals in the outer voices, belong to this group. The *Kyrie... Qui passurus* in *E-SE ss* (late fifteenth century) also reproduces techniques of ‘contrapunto’ based on chordal sonorities.¹⁹ Second, Kreitner

18 Aranda 1535: 84: ‘Y es de saber que los intervallos principales que en estas quatro maneras ponemos que las voces han de formar son para mas recto concierto y conocimiento unas voces de otras. Y los intervallos después de los principales ... son para que las voces se estiendan a mas contrapunto. Assi como en las maneras que resultan destas dichas quatro que son mas abundantes assi para contrapunto concertado como para poder componer’.

19 *E-Bbc* M251, nos 1 and 2; *F-Pnm* 967, nos 1 and 3; and *E-SE ss*, no. 32; see Kreitner 2004b: 30–40.

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EXAMPLE 13.2 *Matheo de Aranda, 'Segunda manera de contrapunto' (Tractado de canto mensurable, 1535: 68)*

refers to 'chant accompaniment', in which the chant is quoted in one voice in steady long note values (normally breves) in the Superius or Tenor, while the other voices move faster (Kreitner 2004b: 156). This second style, which reflects the techniques of 'contrapunto concertado' described in Aranda's treatise, is especially clear in settings of the Alleluia (such as the *Alleluia* and *Alleluia Salve Virgo* in *E-SE* ss, shown in Music Example 13.4, and the *Alleluia Dies sanctificatus* in *E-Bbc* M454), a polyphonic chant that was often performed extempore, both in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The cantus firmus of the Alleluias

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with four staves. The notation is mensural, with notes and rests. Numbers 1-8 are placed below the notes, likely indicating fingerings or breath marks. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The first system has four staves, the second system has three staves, and the third system has three staves. The notation includes various note values and rests, with numbers 1-8 indicating fingerings or breath marks. The key signature is one flat (B-flat).

EXAMPLE 13.3 *Matheo de Aranda, 'Tercera manera de contrapunto' (Tractado de canto mensurable, 1535: 68–69)*

EXAMPLE 13.4 Anonymous, Alleluia Salve Virgo (E-SE ss, fol. 151r), bb. 1–11

in E-SE ss are notated in equal-length notes as exemplified in Aranda's treatise.²⁰

In about 1465, choirboys at Avila Cathedral, having learned how to read and sing plainchant and how to improvise counterpoint, had to face the third and last step of their training: the practice of 'canto de órgano':²¹ they learned how to read written polyphony having learnt how to improvise it. Choirboys at Burgos Cathedral in about 1554 followed the progressive curriculum of studies that is also reflected in mid-sixteenth-century treatises: 'canto llano', 'canto de órgano' and 'contrapunto' (Fiorentino 2014: 148–55). Fifteenth-century treatises (Estevan's *Reglas*, the anonymous *Ars mensurabilis*, Ramos de Pareja's *Musica Practica*, Podio's *Ars Musicorum*) followed the progression outlined in the Avila statutes: 'canto llano', 'contrapunto' and 'canto de órgano'. This was not the result of chance: the sequence 'canto llano, contrapunto y canto de órgano' describes a musical culture where orality still had a primary role: since written and extempore counterpoint shared the same compositional processes, 'contrapunto' had to be learned before 'canto de órgano', which only provided the skills required to read and write something that was often

20 E-SE ss, nos 72 and 73; E-Bbc M454, no. 18 (25).

21 Luis López 2004: 110: 'Yten, que enseñe teórica del canto de órgano con las proposiciones e prelaçiones de mayor perfecto e de mayor imperfecto...'

performed extempore. The order ‘canto llano, canto de órgano y contrapunto’ reflects a musical culture of ‘secondary orality’ where written models formed the basis for improvisation. The age of Catholic Monarchs was the watershed between these different concepts of extempore counterpoint.

Fabordón

Although *fabordón* is known as a musical genre typical of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, around 1500 the term ‘fabordón’ was not related to a written repertory but indicated a particular kind of extempore polyphony (Fiorentino 2013a: 169–224; Fiorentino 2013b: 1854–65; Fiorentino 2015a). The earliest use of the term in Spain is found in a poem by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán (c. 1370–1460) where the author enumerates a list of pleasurable things that the Virtues do not seek, including: ‘acordes ni tenores / ni contra ni fabordon’ (González Simón 1947: 130). Pérez de Guzmán was probably referring to three-voice polyphonic music (the voices being identified as ‘tenor’, ‘contra’ and ‘fabordon’) that, strikingly, he related to the term ‘acordes’ (‘chords’). While Pérez de Guzmán appears to have considered *fabordón* positively, a more negative judgment is found in the dialogue *Libro de Vita Beata*, written by Juan de Lucena (1430–1506) in Rome in 1463 (Fiorentino 2013a, 2015a). In a passage, which is pronounced by the fictional character Íñigo López de Mendoza, who in real life was a Castilian politician and renowned poet, nephew of the aforementioned Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, Lucena compares two ways of singing polyphonic music: the discordant singing ‘por uso’ or ‘cantar fabordón’ and the harmonious ‘singing by reason’ (Paz y Melià 1892: 157). Here singing ‘por uso’ (literally ‘singing by use’, or ‘by ear’) is not in conflict with written polyphonic music, but is directly contrasted with ‘singing by reason’, suggesting that the author is contrasting two different kinds of extempore polyphonies: the first used by unlearned musicians who sing *fabordón* ‘by ear’; the second by professional musicians who sing following the rules of music. With the expression ‘cantar fabordón’, Lucena is almost certainly referring to the custom of adding extempore new voices to a melody using parallel thirds and parallel sixths, commonly referred to as fauxbourdon or faburden in fifteenth-century musical sources.²² Indeed, he asserts that ‘when one voice sings on the line of the staff, the other is singing on the space; when one voice sings in the soft hexachord, the other sings in the hard hexachord’ (see Music Example 13.5: this kind of *fabordón* is compatible with the three-voice polyphonic music described by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán).

22 Many pages have been written on faburden, fauxbourdon and the relationship between these techniques; see, for example, Trowell 1959; Trumble 1959, 1960, 2002.

About two decades after Lucena's *Vita beata*, the first written examples of sacred pieces that would correspond to *fabordones* or *falsobordoni*, appear in Spanish-related musical sources. These pieces reflect the characteristics of the Renaissance *fabordón* as described by scholars such as Murray Bradshaw, qualities that differ markedly from the musical features of the older *faburden* and *fauxbourdon*. *Fabordones* are four-part musical settings of psalm texts, using the psalm tone as *cantus firmus*; their texture is homophonic, with triadic writing and four-part harmony with chords in root position (Bradshaw 1978).²³ The structure of a *fabordón* usually derives from that of the psalm tone: it has two parts which contain a repeated chord followed by a short cadence. One of the earliest examples of the genre, *In exitu Israel* on the *tonus peregrinus*, by the Spanish composer Pedro de Orihuela (c. 1440–84), is preserved in the musical manuscript *I-MC* 871N (fol. 4r) that is believed to have been copied in the 1480s. The so-called Colombina Songbook (*E-Sbc* 7-1-28, fol. 86r) dating from the last decades of the fifteenth century, includes a different musical version of the same first-tone psalm, and an anonymous setting of *Dixit Dominus*, *VIus Tonus* was copied in the Palace Songbook (*E-Mp* 11-1335, fol. 274v) from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Music Example 13.6).²⁴

The earliest collection of textless *fabordones*, written on each psalm tone and conceived as practical formulae for intoning different psalms, is found in *E-Bbc* M454 (first half of the sixteenth century).²⁵ Singers had to memorize these formulae, adapting them extempore to specific texts using different rhythmical patterns. These early examples of Spanish *fabordones* are not related to the term 'fabordón' or 'falsobordone' in musical sources: indeed, every piece is named after the incipit of the psalm text or according to the classification of the psalm tone. However, in the same period, the term 'fabordón' was used in liturgical contexts in the expression 'cantar [a] fabordón' (or 'decir a fabordón'), which is the same phrase employed by Lucena, and in the *consueta* of Granada Cathedral. In this *consueta*, the term 'fabordón' was not employed to describe a specific genre, but referred to a particular performing practice ('cantar a fabordón') used to intone several liturgical chants such as

23 Whereas Bradshaw stresses the independence of the *falsobordone* from the older *faburden* and *fauxbourdon*, according to Trumble these genres were strictly interrelated by the same structural principle: the application of repetitive and predictable intervals to a *cantus firmus*, producing chains of 6–3 chords in the case of *fauxbourdon* and *faburden*, and generating sequences of triadic chords in root position in the case of *fabordón*; see Trumble 2002: 602–8; and Trumble 1959: 49–65.

24 Modern editions of the Colombina Songbook and the Palace Songbook are found in Querol Gavalda 1971 and Anglés 1947–51 respectively.

25 *E-Bbc* M454, fols 144v–148r; modern edition in Ros-Fábregas 1992, 2: 313–30.



EXAMPLE 13.5

Reconstruction of 'cantar fabordón' as described in Juan de Lucena's Libro de Vita Beata

Di - xit Do - mi - nus Do - mi -

Contra altus

Tenor

Contra zus

The notation shows four staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The other three staves are instrumental accompaniment. The lyrics are: Di - xit Do - mi - nus Do - mi -

6

- no - me - - - o. [Se - de a dex -

- no - me - - - o. [Se - de a dex -

8

- no - me - - - o. [Se - de a dex -

- no - me - - - o. [Se - de a dex -

The notation shows four staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The other three staves are instrumental accompaniment. The lyrics are: - no - me - - - o. [Se - de a dex -

14

- - - tris - me - - - is.]

- - - tris - me - - - is.]

8

- - - tris - me - - - is.]

- - - tris - me - - - is.]

The notation shows four staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The other three staves are instrumental accompaniment. The lyrics are: - - - tris - me - - - is.]

EXAMPLE 13.6 *Anonymous, Dixit Dominus, Vltus Tonus (E-Mp H-1335, fol. 274r)*

the Magnificat, Benedictus and the psalms (Fiorentino 2009: 548; Fiorentino 2015a: 24–25).

According to a very interesting document, drafted on 12 July 1533 by the chapter of Burgos Cathedral, when the singers were singing *fabordón* ('cantando fabordón') during Vespers, they customarily sang 'de cabeza', that is to say, extempore or by heart, which apparently resulted in many errors (Fiorentino 2009: 569–70; Fiorentino, 2013a: 220).²⁶ For this reason, the chapel master had to prepare a handbook, noting down all the *fabordón* formulae suitable for every psalm tone and all the Benedicamus chants. The Burgos Cathedral document describes the origin of those collections of *fabordones* on the eight tones that were copied, in *E-Bbc* M454 for example, or published—mainly in Italy—from the second half of the sixteenth century.²⁷ It also reflects the shift from 'cantar a fabordón' as a performing practice to the 'fabordón' as a written musical genre. Indeed, around the middle of the sixteenth century, Spanish musicians began to use the term 'fabordón' more and more frequently to indicate a specific written genre (Fiorentino 2015a: 26).

The *fabordón* intended as a performing practice was not unique to the Spanish musical tradition, as the theorist Guilielmus Monachus, a contemporary of Juan de Lucena, indicated in his treatise *De preceptis artis musicae*.²⁸ Guilelmus, who was probably Italian in origin, used the term 'faulxbourdon' to describe several procedures for three and four voices in order to add extempore simple consonances over a Tenor.²⁹ For example, the rules explained by Guilielmus for singing a three-voice faulxbourdon generate chains of 6–3 chords typical of the fifteenth-century fauxbourdon and of 'cantar fabordón' according to Lucena. The rules given by Guilielmus for singing a four-voice faulxbourdon, with the Cantus moving in parallel sixths over the Tenor, the Altus alternating fourths and thirds over the Tenor, and the Bassus alternating fifths and thirds below the Tenor, generate successions of triadic chords that are typical not only of the later falsobordoni and Spanish *fabordones*, but are also employed in secular music, both vocal and instrumental (Fiorentino 2013b: 169–189). These improvisational processes are based on a structural parallel-sixth duo between the cantus firmus and one of the improvised voices, with octaves on cadences; hence it could be possible that the five psalm-settings written for Cantus and Tenor in sixths with octaves at the cadences,

26 This document was approved twice, without major changes, on 12 July 1533 and 28 May 1554; see López Calo 1996, 3: 57, 109.

27 On the Spanish tradition of written *fabordones*, see Zauner 2014.

28 *I-Vim* Ital. IV, 1227; modern edition in Seay 1965.

29 On Guilielmus Monachus's identity, see Seay 1965: 7; Trumble 1960: 24–25 and 28.

copied in *I-MC* 871N (fols 17r–24r), a manuscript related to the Aragonese court of Naples, were conceived as ‘sketches’ that would have been completed during performance by adding new voices. Singers could both improvise a third voice in parallel fourths beneath the Cantus, generating a ‘fauxbourdon’ structure, or two additional voices, the Altus alternating fourths and thirds over the Tenor, and the Bassus alternating fifths and thirds below the Tenor, generating a ‘falsobordone’-fashioned piece (Trumble 1959: 45–51).

The four-voice improvisational process described by Guilielmus echoes the rules explained by Del Puerto or Aranda for improvising ‘contrapunto’. Where was the boundary between extempore ‘contrapunto’ and extempore *fabordón*? As indicated by the aforementioned sources, while ‘contrapunto’ was sung following a complex body of rules, ‘cantar fabordón’ was a praxis of performing simple vocal consonances ‘by ear’ over a simple tune. All the techniques for improvising fauxbourdon-*fabordón* were based on the use of repetitive and predictable intervals, with a marked preference for parallel motion, while in counterpoint a larger choice of intervals was used (Trumble 1959: 49–65). In addition, the performing practice ‘a fabordón’ was usually employed with a very simple cantus firmus that did not require great improvisational skill, such as the psalm tones, litanies, Benedicamus and those canticles which were followed by an antiphon (Benedictus at Lauds, Magnificat at Vespers, Nunc dimittis at Compline) and were chanted using formulae similar to the eight psalm-tone intonations.³⁰ Nevertheless, it is possible that some confusion arose in fifteenth-century sources: for example, according to the royal chronicler Carbonell, Juan II’s singers sang ‘a contrapunct psalms e orations’, two genres (psalms and litanies) that were often sung ‘a fabordón’, while the author of the *consueta* of Granada Cathedral probably considered performance ‘a fabordón’ to be a practice related to ‘contrapunto’.

During the second half of the fifteenth century and the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel, the practice of *fabordón* underwent significant changes. Singers seem to have abandoned the old-fashioned *fabordón* with parallel thirds and fourths and to have adopted the four-voice *fabordón* with its ‘chordal’ sonority also typical of secular music of the period. In this sense, the anonymous, textless and basic *fabordón* formula found in *E-Bbc* M454—with three voices

30 The genres sung ‘a fabordón’ mentioned in Spanish sources from the time of the Catholic Monarchs are essentially the same as those mentioned in later documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For example, according to Juan Pérez’s *Directorio del coro* (fols 370v–378v) the Benedictus, psalms, canticles, Nunc dimittis, and ‘Salutación de nuestra Señora, las respuestas del versillo y oración’, and part of the Miserere were sung ‘a fabordón’.



EXAMPLE 13.7 *Anonymous fabordón formula* (E-Bbc M454, fol.[18obis]; edition Ros-Fábregas 1992, 2: 404)

moving in parallel thirds and sixths, while the bass alternates thirds and fifths below the Tenor—should be considered a transitional model, strictly related to oral tradition (see Music Example 13.7).³¹

Around 1500, *fabordón* formulae, usually sung ‘por uso’ or ‘de cabeza’, began to be written down in order to avoid dissonances and errors during celebration of the liturgy (the anonymous *fabordón* formulae or the anonymous *Benedicamus* in E-Bbc M454, fols 68v–69r and 144v–148r can be considered as close to the practice of ‘cantar a fabordón’). However, many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources indicate that ‘cantar a fabordón’ as a performing practice mainly practised by non-professional musicians survived long after the age of the Catholic Monarchs (Fiorentino 2015a: 30–33).

Oral and Popular Traditions in Songbooks

VILLANESCAS. The songs that countryfolk usually sing when taking a rest. But courtesans, imitating them, composed merry songs adopting the same form and style. The villancicos, so celebrated during festivities of Christmas and Corpus Christi, have this same origin.³²

³¹ E-Bbc M454, fol.[18obis], no. 99.

³² Covarrubias 1611: ‘VILLANESCAS. Las canciones que suelen cantar los villanos cuando están en solaz. Pero los cortesanos, remedándolos, han compuesto a este modo y mensura cantarcillos alegres. Esse mesmo origen tienen los villancicos tan celebrados en las fiestas de Navidad y Corpus Christi.’

In this definition of the term 'villanesca', Sebastián de Covarrubias (1611) stressed a precise link between the written tradition of villancicos and the oral and popular tradition of countryfolk. Around 1450, Íñigo López de Mendoza, in his *Proemio y Carta*, divided lyric poetry into three categories: 'sublime' for poetry written in Latin; 'mediocre' for vernacular poetry in the Provençal and Tuscan traditions; and 'ínfimos' for 'those who, without any order and rule, make these romances and cantares that are so appreciated by uneducated and common people' (López Estrada 1984: 56). These quotations from the beginning and end of the Spanish Renaissance describe a vivid background of popular and oral traditions which was used and elaborated by learned poets and musicians. This tendency, which is severely criticized by Santillana and accepted by Covarrubias, is clear in song collections such as the Palace Songbook or the later ensaladas repertory, where many pieces are characterized by a 'popular' taste both in lyrics and music. Thus over the last century, many scholars have focused their research on the relationship between the texts or the music of these song repertories and the oral and popular traditions of the Renaissance (see Chapter 2).³³

However, analysis of popular elements in villancicos, cossantes and romances from the period presents an insolvable contradiction since it is a written repertory, and thus belongs to a learned tradition that assimilated and elaborated the original material of oral tradition, just as Covarrubias pointed out: this creates a barrier between the modern scholar and the popular culture of the Renaissance. The only Spanish countryfolk described as singing polyphonic villancicos and songs are the characters portrayed in ensaladas or the protagonists of plays by authors such as Gil Vicente, Juan del Encina or Diego Sánchez de Badajoz. These characters were not real peasants or countryfolk, but professional or semi-professional actors and singers, so that their songs are not a reliable source for an inquiry into popular musical traditions, although, on occasion, they provide some interesting information about oral repertories and performing practice (Fiorentino 2013b: 225–32; Río 2007; Martínez 2003). Furthermore, when applied to the age of Ferdinand and Isabel, the opposition between 'learned' and 'popular' traditions is misleading; in early modern Europe, what is usually termed the 'popular tradition' was not limited to the lower classes but was, at least to some extent, a tradition open to all (Burke 1978). The scenario becomes even more complex given that the 'learned

33 On the relationship between lyric verse and the popular tradition, see Romeu Figueras 1965: 87–124; Frenk 1971, 2003. On the relationship between music and popular traditions, see Pedrell 1899–1900; Schneider 1953; García Matos 1963; Preciado 1985, 1987; Rey [Marcos] 1978, 2007; and Rubio de la Iglesia 2014.

tradition' did not correspond exactly with the 'written tradition': for example, the higher social classes also had their own oral song repertoires, different from the those of 'countryfolk'.

The Oral Diffusion of Vernacular Repertory

Both iconographical and literary sources indicate that the *cancionero* repertory was often performed by professional musicians according to different modalities: a cappella, as accompanied songs, or instrumentally (Knighton 1992). There is also evidence of an oral practice and transmission of these repertoires among non-professional musicians belonging to the social élite. In the anonymous poem 'En Ávila por la A', which cites a song incipit in each of its twenty-three stanzas in a description of the journey of the royal court through several cities, twenty Spanish songs are mentioned, of which only three survive in musical sources (Chapter 2).³⁴ Four pieces are described as having been sung polyphonically with two or three voices: 'Buena Pascua y ventura / a tres voces cantarán' (second stanza); 'Canten delante de su alteza / Johan de la Carra y su hermano / Dama de gran gentileza' (fourth stanza); 'el Obispo y otros dos le canten quando comiere / En esto siento par Dios' (fifth stanza); 'El d'Ambia e de Breviesca / O vos omes cantarán' (fourteenth stanza) (Fallows 1992a). In many cases, the poem also describes the performer of each song; these singers are not professional musicians, but courtiers, noblemen, servants, a person of Moorish descent and a bishop ('Johan de la Fuente', 'Johan de la Carra y su hermano', 'el Obispo y otros dos', 'el morillo', 'sus criados', 'el d'Ambia y el de Brevesca', 'Gómez Suárez', 'Mossen Johan de Madrigal'). This poem, besides listing a repertory of songs that was well known to the nobility, also reveals that non-professional musicians were capable of performing polyphonic song. In the eighteenth stanza improvisational skills are mentioned: the poet Johan de Villalpando is described as singing counterpoint in the song *Señora qual soy venido* ('Porque tiene buen sentido / Mossen Johan de Villalpando / Señora qual soy venido / Entrará contrapuntando').

The later *Juego trobado* by Jerónimo de Pinar, written in 1495 and published in the *Cancionero general* by Hernando del Castillo (Valencia, 1511), was dedicated to Queen Isabel and mentions forty-six secular songs (mainly villancicos and romances) (see Chapter 14). Six stanzas are devoted to the royal family, while the remaining forty songs are dedicated to as many ladies of the court (thirteen of the melodies have survived in songbooks, mainly in *E-Mp* 11-1335 and *E-Sc* 7-1-28).³⁵ These songs represent the 'greatest hits' at the court of

34 GB-Lbl Add. 33382, fols 195v–206r.

35 *A tierras ajenas* (*E-Mp* 11-1335, no. 362, Peñalosa); *Al dolor de mi cuidado* (*E-Sc* 7-1-28, no. 38; *E-Mp* 11-1335, no. 40; *E-SE* ss, no. 168, attrib. Gijón); *De vos y de mi quexoso* (*E-Sc* 7-1-28,

Ferdinand and Isabel and here, too, professional musicians are not mentioned: the songs that are cited are often sung by the lady to whom each stanza is dedicated. The oral practice of vernacular songs in the court sphere during the fifteenth century is also reflected in the *Crónica de los hechos del Condestable*, where the nobles who visited the palace of Miguel Lucas de Iranzo, Constable of Castile between 1458 and 1473, are often described as interpreting 'canciones', 'rondeles' and singing 'en cossaute' (Gómez Muntané 1996b; Knighton 1997). The performing practice 'en cossaute' was characterized by the alternation between a choir, which sang the refrain in polyphony, and one or more soloists, who sang the verses ('mudanzas') while improvising the text (Romeu Figueras 1950; Gómez Muntané 1996b: 40). No professional musicians are mentioned, and the *Crónica* is almost certainly referring to oral polyphonic practices (Fiorentino 2013b: 233–41).

The analysis of poetic texts and their rubrics in printed cancioneros and pliegos sueltos as well as some manuscript sources, suggests that certain vernacular songs did not belong exclusively to the oral traditions of closed aristocratic circles. In these sources, the heading 'al tono de...' or 'se canta al tono de...' indicated that a certain poem had been written to be sung to a well-known melody (Ros-Fábregas 1993). Jineen Krogstad has identified twenty-eight melodies mentioned in literary sources up to 1520, among which only nine have musical concordances in songbooks of the period (Krogstad 1984: 93–98).³⁶ Putting to one side the lyrics written by fray Ambrosio Montesino and dedicated to Queen Isabel and her entourage, this corpus of lost melodies represents interesting traces of the oral tradition practised by a wider social

no. 32; *E-Mp* 11-1335, no. 17, attrib. Urreda); *¿Dónde estás que no te veo?* (*E-Sc* 7-1-28, no. 10, attrib. Cornago); *Doncella, por cuyo amor* (*E-Sc* 7-1-28, no. 8; *E-Mp* 11-1335, no. 10, attrib. Rodríguez); *Harto de tanta porfía* (*E-Mp* 11-1335, no. 26; *E-SE* ss, no. 186); *La que tengo no es prisión* (*E-Mp* 11-1335, no. 48, attrib. La Torre); *Nunca fue pena mayor* (*E-Sc* 7-1-28, no. 9; *E-Mp* 11-1335, no. 1, attrib. Urreda); *Pues con sombra de tristura* (*E-Sc* 7-1-28, no. 2; *E-Mp* 11-1335, no. 16); *Pues que Dios te hizo tal* (*E-Sc* 7-1-28, no. 18; *E-Mp* 11-1335, no. 2, attrib. Cornago); *Vive leda si podrás* (*E-Sc* 7-1-28, no. 25); *Morir se quiere Alixandre* (*E-Mp* 11-1335, no. 11); *Pésame de vos el conde* (*E-Mp* 11-1335, no. 131). See Gómez Muntané 2012a: 65–67.

36 *Aquel pastorcico madre* (*E-Bbc* M454, fol. 120v, attrib. Gabriel); *E-Mp* 11-1335, fol. 217v, included in *Por las sierras de Madrid* by Peñalosa); *Dime señora, di* (*E-Bbc* M454, fol. 190v, attrib. Pastrana); *La zorrilla con el gallo* (*E-Mp* 11-1335, fols 237v–238r); *F-Paba* 56, fols 42v–43r); *Nuevas te traigo carillo* (*E-Mp* 11-1335, fols 200v–201r, attrib. Encina); *O castillo de Montanches* (*E-Mp* 11-1335, fols 241v–242r); *Quien te hizo Juan Pastor* (*E-Mp* 11-1335, fols 112v–113r, attrib. Badajoz; *F-Paba* 56, fols 3v–4r, 107v–108r); *Tan buen ganadico* (*E-Mp* 11-1335, fol. 280r, attrib. Encina; *I-Fn* Magliabecchi XIX, 107bis fol. 58r); *Una amiga tengo* (*P-Em* 11793, fol. 58r; *E-Mp* 11-1335, fols 203v–204r, attrib. Encina); *Ya cantan los gallos* (*P-Em* 11793, fols 84v–85r; *E-Mp* 11-1335, fol. 94v, attrib. Vilches).

group: everyone who was able to read and spend a few coins to purchase a pliego suelto was presumed to be familiar with a large number of popular songs.

If literary sources offer clear evidence of the oral transmission of music, musical cancioneros reveal that lyrics were also transmitted orally (Chapter 2). Indeed, in many cases, the lyrics copied in musical manuscripts are significantly shorter than the texts found in literary sources. This is particularly clear in the case of romances: of the thirty-eight romances copied in the Palace Songbook, twelve have a text of only four lines corresponding to the four musical phrases repeated for each octosyllabic quatrain.³⁷ Moreover, the apparently long text (thirty-six lines) of *Pesame de vos el conde* (*E-Mp* II-1335, no. 131) with music by Encina, was in fact a fragment of the original romance *Conde Claros*, for which a later version gives four hundred and fifty-two verses (*Cancionero* c. 1548, fols 83r–90v). Even though in many cases romances were composed by professional writers and musicians to celebrate important events or personalities,³⁸ this genre was surely disseminated orally: the simplicity of many musical romances (four balanced phrases, each one ending with a strong cadence, restrained step-wise melodies, syllabic text setting, homophonic accompaniment) would suggest that this music was conceived as a formula, easy to memorize and to adapt to a poetical text. The complete title of the *Libro de cincuenta romances* (c. 1525) clearly states that this book contains some added romances ‘that have never been heard in these lands’ (see Figure 13.1), confirming that the oral transmission of this repertory was the norm at the beginning of the sixteenth century.³⁹

The oral tradition of romances in Renaissance Spain was so strong that it still survives both in many Spanish regions and in the culture of Sephardic Jews, the descendants of the Jewish Spaniards who were exiled in 1492 by the Catholic Monarchs (see Chapter 15) (Etzion & Weich-Shahak 1988).

The oral tradition of vernacular repertories is also related to the work of professional musicians, who were often both singers and instrumentalists. During the fifteenth century, references to celebrated musicians, mainly lute and gittern players, who were accompanied by a singer or were singers

37 *E-Mp* II-1335: nos 74, 77, 79, 83, 100, 104, 106, 115, 119, 146, 150, 445, 446.

38 For example, the *Crónica de los hechos del Condestable* describes the commissioning of a romance to celebrate Lucas de Iranzo's victory against the Moors near Granada in 1462 (Gómez Muntané 1996b: 27).

39 The extant folios of the *Libro en el qual se contienen cincuenta romances con sus villancicos y desechas. Entre los quales hay muchos dellos nuevamente añadidos que nunca en estas tierras se han oydo* ([Barcelona], c. 1525), are reproduced in Rodríguez-Moñino 1963: 165–72.

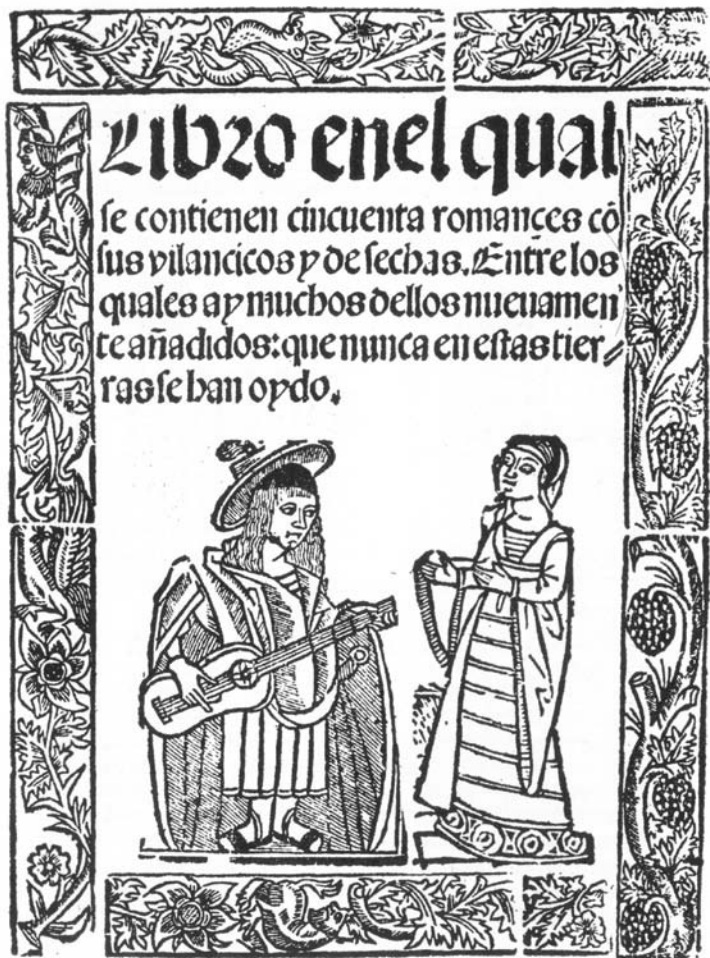


FIGURE 13.1 Libro de cinquenta romances ([Barcelona], c. 1525)

themselves, such as 'Rodrigo de la guitarra' and Dieguillo, Pedro Alfonso de Sevilla and his son Juan Alfonso, the blind guitarist Martín de Bruna, Juan Fernández and Juan de Córdoba, are found (Gómez [Muntané] 1992). These references suggest that in the Iberian Peninsula an important oral tradition of instrumentally accompanied song flourished, as it did in Italy, where improvisatori such as Leonardo Giustinian (1383–1446), Serafino Aquilano (1466–1500) or 'Pietrobono del chitarrino' (1417–97), were considered among the most important musicians of their age (Pirrota 1966; Cattin 1996; Haar 1986). The Catalan poet and improviser Benedetto Gareth (c. 1450–1500), active in Aragonese Naples for most of his career, was probably an important link

between the Spanish and Italian traditions of improvisers in the second half of the fifteenth century (Cattin 1996: 284–85; Pope 1961a). Moreover, Tinctoris, in his *De inventione et usu musicae*, was clearly well-acquainted with the Spanish tradition of songs and romances accompanied by the plucked ('sine arculo') and bowed ('con arculo') vihuela respectively (Baines 1950; Pope 1961a: 371–72). This tradition prospered at the court of the Catholic Monarchs where at least one of the vihuela or lute players, Rodrigo Donaire, was also a singer (Knighton 1992: 574–76) (see Chapter 3). As Emilio Ros-Fábregas has pointed out (Ros-Fábregas 2003), one of the most important poet-improvisers of this period was the vihuelist Garci Sánchez de Badajoz, whose music has been preserved in several sources (five villancicos and three canciones are ascribed to 'Badajoz' in *E-Mp* II-1335) (see Chapter 2). The oral tradition of accompanied song was surely practised by several other court musicians, courtiers, nobles and poets, such as Rodrigo Osorio de Moscoso (c. 1466–1510) or Garcilaso de la Vega (c. 1495–1536) who 'played the vihuela and the harp with great skill, and was so musically accomplished that he made his verse more harmonious by singing and giving form to his fantasy' (Cienfuegos 1702: 50; Griffiths 2010: 26; Gómez Muntané 2012a: 23–24) (see Chapter 3).

The romances and villancicos published in Luis Milán's *El Maestro* (Valencia, 1536) reflect the oral repertory of accompanied songs of the first decades of the sixteenth century that formed part of Milán's entertainment of the ladies and noblemen at the Valencian court of Germaine de Foix by singing to vihuela accompaniment.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, as several scholars have pointed out, many romances and villancicos preserved in the songbooks and written in a chordal style, often with recurring melodic-harmonic schemes, could originally have been conceived, performed and transmitted as accompanied songs (Ros-Fábregas 2003: 64; Griffiths 2010: 25; Knighton 1992: 577).⁴¹ Moreover, the inclusion of thirteen Italian compositions in *E-Mp* II-1335, listed in the index as 'strambotti' (and, in two cases, as both strambotti and villancicos), suggests a relationship between the villancico and an Italian genre that clearly formed part of the oral tradition of accompanied song (Prizer 1986; Romeu Figueras 1965: 124–26; Fiorentino 2013b: 241–43). The title-page of the *Libro de cincuenta romances* [...] *con sus villancicos* (Figure 13.1) reflects what must have been one of the most typical ways of performing romances and other polyphonic songs in the

40 In these pieces, the melody is marked in the tablature by coloured figures, so it is clear that these songs were played and sung by the same person; see Gásser 1996 and Griffiths 2003.

41 This argument is supported by literary and iconographical evidence: see Knighton 1992: 574–78.

oral tradition: a lady is singing accompanied by a nobleman playing the vihuela, and no scores or books are shown in the picture.

Traces of Popular Music in Written Sources

Margit Frenk has shown in her studies of the presence of popular poetry in Spanish Renaissance written sources that there were two main approaches to material drawn from oral tradition: 1) direct use of texts—for example, employing a popular song as a villancico refrain and adding new glosas; and 2) imitation of popular songs, using similar vocabulary, melodies, and rhythms (Frenk 1971: 13–15). This classification can be applied to the use of popular music in Renaissance songbooks, albeit some doubts emerge that are not so easily resolved: how is it possible to establish when a composer used musical material taken from oral and popular traditions? In the case of polyphonic villancicos and romances, did composers use a popular melody and add a new polyphonic accompaniment, or did they also imitate the harmonic accompaniment of popular songs? Did an oral and popular tradition of polyphonic music exist, or did peasants and countryfolk accompany their songs with instruments such as the guitar?

The melodies indicated by the expression ‘al tono de...’ in literary sources—an expression that surely reflects a widespread oral tradition—are treated in different ways in Spanish songbooks. For example, in *E-Mp* II-1335 the melody *Aquel pastorçico* is used by Peñalosa to create a six-voice quodlibet that includes three other popular melodies: *Por las sierras de Madrid*, *Enemiga le soy, madre* and *Vuestros son mis ojos* (*E-Mp* II-1335, no. 311). The same melody is also used as the Tenor of a three-voice villancico in *E-Bbc* M454 (no. 46), with the Tiple and Contra singing quite elaborate counterpoint (Ros-Fábregas 1993). In each case, a melody with popular origins was employed to create more ‘learned’ musical products. *La zorrilla con el gallo*, another ‘al tono de’ melody, receives a different treatment in an anonymous three-voice villancico (*E-Mp* II-1335, no. 348: see Music Example 13.8).

In this case, the popular melody is accompanied by a chordal and syllabic texture, with the root of the chords in the bass line, which could resemble a guitar accompaniment or a popular kind of intuitive polyphony. Indeed, these chords reflect the simple polyphonic structures explained by Del Puerto and Tovar, and are also typical of the *fabordón* style: when Tenor and Tiple move in parallel sixths (ending each phrase with an octave), the Bass alternates fifths and thirds below the Tenor (bb. 1–8 and 21–27); when the Tenor and Tiple proceed in parallel thirds, the Bass mainly alternates octaves and thirds (bb. 10–21). In addition, the presence of parallel fifths (bb. 5, 11, 26) links this version of *La zorrilla con el gallo* with oral tradition. The same repetitive and predictable polyphonic structures are also used, although more freely, in other ‘al tono de’

[Tiple] La zo-rrí-lla con el ga-llo ga-llo Zan-go-rró-man-go.

T[iple 2] La zo-rrí-lla

Contra La zo-rrí-lla

EXAMPLE 13.8 *Anonymous, La zorrilla con el gallo* (E-Mp II-1335, fols 237v–238r, no. 348), bb. 1–6

melodies, as in the two versions—one by Encina and the other an anonymous setting—of *Nuevas te traigo Carillo* (E-Mp II-1335, no. 281; E-Sc 7-1-28, no. 59), or the anonymous *O Castillo de Montanges* (E-Mp II-1335, no. 356).

Among the various popular melodies included in Salinas's *De musica libri septem* (Salamanca, 1577), at least three are used in the Palace Songbook and are recorded by Salinas without major changes: *Y has jura menga* (E-Mp II-1335, no. 296), *Aquella morica garrida* (E-Mp II-1335, no. 254) and *Que me quieres caballero* (E-Mp II-1335, no. 198) (Salinas 1577: 272, 325, 327; Rey [Marcos] 1978: 31–33; Rubio de la Iglesia 2014: 240–51). While in Gabriel's *Aquella morica garrida* and the anonymous *Que me quieres caballero* the melody is employed within an elaborate contrapuntal setting, the anonymous *Y has juras menga* is characterized by the use of homophonic texture, parallel thirds between the upper voices and alternation of octaves and tenths between the Bass and the melody that generates a chain of chords in root position. In spite of the *c* signature, this latter piece seems to respect the original quintuple meter of the popular melody shown in Salinas's treatise. According to Salinas, the quintuple metre that was often used in folk songs ('vulgares cantilenae') was not employed in learned polyphony ('in artificiosis symphonetarum compositionibus'), so that it is likely that all the songs in the Palace Songbook in *proportio quintupla* also had popular roots (Salinas 1577: 253; Rey [Marcos] 1978: 31–32): *Tan buen ganadico* (also quoted by Salinas, although with a different melody (Salinas 1577: 336)), Encina's *Amor con fortuna*, Anchieta's *Dos anades madre* and *Con amores madre*, Escobar's *Las mis penas madre*, Diego Fernández's *De ser mal casada* and the anonymous *Pensad ora*.⁴²

Salinas also includes two popular melodies that would have been well known and used to sing romances and narrative poems during the age of the Catholic Monarchs: *Guárdame las vacas* (cited in the seventh stanza of 'En Ávila por la A' as *Guardava* [sic] *las vacas*), and *Conde Claros* (cited in Pinar's *Juego trobado* and printed in several romanceros) (Salinas 1577: 341–42 and 348). These melodies, with their respective harmonic frameworks, were employed during the sixteenth century to write instrumental variations (*diferencias*), but they do not appear in musical songbooks, perhaps because of their extremely repetitive nature. Encina probably composed his version of *Conde Claros* (*E-Mp* II-1335, no. 131) in order to provide an alternative setting for the simple, rather basic melody usually employed to sing this lengthy romance.

The presence of the popular tradition in written sources can be studied not only through analysis of the treatment of melodies that were considered to be popular, but also by means of some characteristics internal to the repertory. For example, in the view of several scholars, the surviving polyphonic examples of cossantes, with their simple harmonic and melodic patterns, reflect a semi-improvised musical form that had deep roots in oral musical tradition shared by lower and upper classes (Rey [Marcos] 1978: 63–67; Gómez Muntané 1996b: 33–38; Knighton 1997: 671–72).⁴³

Devotional villancicos also offer some insight into the oral and popular origin of polyphonic songs in the vernacular during the Renaissance. As Pepe Rey has pointed out, many street-songs, often sung by peasants in churches during Christmas festivities, were 'embedded' in devotional villancicos and ensaladas (Rey 2007: 15–29). He presents the example of *Els ascolars*, a three-voice ensalada from the beginning of the sixteenth century in which four short refrains from popular songs are woven together (Rey 2007: 30–36). One of these refrains, *Menga la del buscar*, is also used in two compositions in *E-Mp* II-1335—one anonymous (no. 301), the other attributed to Escobar (no. 416)—and is representative of how popular themes could be employed and adapted through different stages: the anonymous composer made some slight changes to the Tenor and Contra voices and added both text and music for the mudanzas using repetitive and predictable intervals typical of the *fabordón* style; Escobar adapted a devotional text to this music and added a fourth voice. The presence of the same song in two unrelated written sources of different provenance (the Palace Songbook and an ensalada from the Catalan-Aragonese region), suggests that the tune derived from a shared oral tradition. A further striking

43 According to Romeu Figueras (1950: 30–61), thirty-two cossantes were copied in *E-Mp* II-1335: nos 7, 11, 12, 15, 24/25, 34, 59, 61, 65, 114, 116, 141, 144, 153, 177, 179, 187, 193, 206, 215, 235, 240, 244/245, 253, 310, 365, 366, 376, 431, 437, 453 and [531].

[Tiple] Mu-chos van de a-mor he-ri-dos y yo tam-bién,
 1º C[ontra] Mu-chos van
 T[enor] Mu-chos van
 2º C[ontra] Mu-chos van

Sin o-sar de-cir por quien. Per-di-dos con tal vi-to-ria
 Que-de so-la es-ta me-mo-ria.

EXAMPLE 13.9 *Anonymous, Muchos van de amor heridos (E-Mp II-1335, fol. 59r, no. 92)*

example is also found in the Palace Songbook, in which five versions of the same polyphonic song were copied (Fiorentino 2009; Fiorentino 2013b: 21–46): *Muchos van de amor heridos* (E-Mp II-1335, no. 92: see Music Example 13.9), *Meu naranjedo no ten fruta* (no. 310: see Music Example 13.10) and *No puedo apartarme* (no. 361) are anonymous, whereas *¡Si abrá en este baldrés!* (no. 170) and *Pues que ya nunca nos veis* (no. 271) are attributed to Encina.

In this case, five different texts (from the delicate love song *No puedo apartarme* to the obscene *¡Si abrá en este baldrés!*) with different metrics and strophic forms have been adapted to the same musical theme based on a variant of the so-called ‘folia framework’ (v-i-VII-III-VII-i-v-i). The polyphonic structure of these pieces is made up of the predictable and repetitive intervals typical of *fabordón*, according to two patterns: first, parallel thirds between Tenor and Tiple, with the Contra alternating thirds and fourths below the Tenor and the Bass alternating octaves and tenths below the Tenor (E-Mp II-1335, nos 179, 271, 310, 361: see Music Example 13.10); and second, parallel sixths between Tenor and Tiple with the Contra singing fourths and thirds

Meu na - ran - je - do no ten fru - ta, Mas a - go - ra ven;

Meu na - ran - je - do

Meu na - ran - je - do

Meu na - ran - je - do

7. .Γ. No me le to - que nin - guém Meu na - ran - je - do flo - ri - do
Meu na - ran - je - do flo - ri - do

EXAMPLE 13.10 *Anonymous, Meu naranjedo no ten fruta (E-Mp II-1335, fol. 217r, no. 310)*

above the Tenor and the Bass singing fifths and thirds below the Tenor (*E-Mp* II-1335, no. 92: see Music Example 13.9).

Other versions of the same polyphonic song, with variant readings and different texts, appear in later sixteenth-century sources, such as the ensaladas by Mateo Flecha el Viejo and Bartomeu Cárceres (five versions), or Santa María's *Arte de tañer fantasía* (1565), which offers important evidence about its origins and functions (Fiorentino 2013b: 60–98). Santa María reproduces the refrain of the song with a devotional text, *No niegues Virgen preciosa*, in a chapter of his treatise devoted to the improvisation of *fabordones*, and adds the following explanation (see Figure 13.2).

The other way of playing the Contra in thirds with the Tiple, is only suitable for performing sonetos and villancicos, and it is an artless device ['cosa de poco arte']; it is used only by women and men who do not know music ['hombres y mugeres que no saben de música'] (Santa María 1565: fol. 48r).

fabordones.
inal.

do mi num. Laudate nomen domini.

Tiple.
Alus.

Tenor.
Bafus.

No niegues virgē preciosa tu fauor, aquí estu feruidor.

¶ La otra manera de tañer el contra alto tercera del tiple, solamente sirue para sonetos y villancicos, y cosas semejantes, y así es cosa de poco arte, lo qual comunmente se usa, entre hombres y mugeres que no sabē de musica.
¶ Exemplo.

FIGURE 13.2 Tomás de Santa María, *Arte de tañer fantasía* (1565), ii, fol. 48r (detail)

No niegues Virgen preciosa formed part of a repertory that belonged to 'women and men who do not know music', so Santa María is describing an oral tradition of polyphony, performed by ordinary people—the reference to 'mugeres' is particularly revealing, due to the marginal role of women as professional musicians in sixteenth-century Spain—in order to sing secular 'sonetos y villancicos' (Chapter 14). The repertory of this oral polyphonic tradition is clearly related to the *fabordón* through structural and musical analogies (the use of repetitive and predictable intervals that generate sequences of root position chords) and because both repertories were sung by heart. *No niegues Virgen preciosa* shares another important characteristic with *fabordones*: its use as a formula to sing several kinds of strophic texts with refrain. The expression 'hombres y mugeres' may refer to courtiers who enjoyed themselves singing simple polyphony, as is described in the *Hechos del Condestable*. The 'hombres y mugeres' could also have been people of lower social status, reflecting Covarrubias's claim that the origin of the villancico lay in the oral repertory of countryfolk. This kind of simple and semi-improvised polyphony would have

been a perfect resource for actors expected to sing the songs included in plays by Gil Vicente, Juan de la Encina or other writers when the interpretation of written polyphony is not explicitly indicated. What is certain is that 'learned' composers from the age of the Catholic Monarchs not only used melodies from the popular tradition but also employed and imitated its semi-improvised polyphonic and chordal idiom (Fiorentino 2013b: 233–45).

Instrumental Music

Around the middle of the sixteenth century, professional instrumentalists mastered the techniques of improvised counterpoint described in the treatises devoted to vocal music. For example, according to Diego Ortiz (*Trattado de glosas*, 1553), in order to improvise a fantasia with harpsichord and vihuela de arco (*violón*), the two players needed to play 'in the same way as "contrapunto concertado" is sung'; in order to improvise ('discantar') over both a 'canto llano' or a 'tenore italiano', the vihuela player had to be skilled in 'contrapunto suelto' (one voice improvised over plainchant); finally, in order to improvise a fifth voice over a four-voice polyphonic composition, the vihuela player needed the same skills as those singers capable of improvising counterpoint over 'canto de órgano' (Ortiz 1553, 2: fols 26r, 30r and 35r). According to Miguel de Fuenllana, a professional vihuelist had to learn 'canto de órgano, contrapunto' and 'compostura' (Fuenllana 1554: fol.[vii]v). Santa María stated that a good player had to practise 'contrapunto sobre canto llano y sobre todo de órgano' until he mastered those techniques (Santa María 1565: fol. 122r). Indeed, in Santa María's treatise, in which several improvisational processes are explained as indispensable to perform instrumental genres such as fantasias, glosas, diferencias or instrumental *fabordones* (Roig-Francolí 1995), several chapters are devoted to improvised counterpoint.⁴⁴ The scarcity of musical sources and the lack of treatises of instrumental music which describe improvisation techniques from the age of the Catholic Monarchs make it difficult to establish the extent to which musicians were skilled in improvising, and which kinds of improvisations a lutenist, vihuelist, organist or consort of instruments would have performed (Chapter 3). While it would be tempting to extrapolate backwards from the praxis and repertoires of the mid-sixteenth century, such a method could lead to questionable results if not corroborated by strong evidence.

44 The chapters of Santa María's treatise devoted to improvised counterpoint are found in book 11, fols 63r–120r.

Although almost no organ music from the time of Ferdinand and Isabel has survived, organists had an important role during the liturgy, playing alternatim with the choir or in some cases substituting vocal polyphonic music (see Chapters 3 and 7). For example, according to the *Regla Vieja* of Seville Cathedral, at the 'misa de tercia' or main Mass, the Kyries were to be performed 'in organis' (Ruiz Jiménez 2011: 260). The organist would probably have improvised a counterpoint over the Gregorian melody: this praxis is reflected in Cabezón's three-voice Kyries, where the cantus firmus is placed in the Tenor in equal-length notes and the outer voices perform counterpoint, as in vocal 'contrapuntos concertados' (Cabezón 1578: fols 5r–6r). The same compositional-improvisational process is employed in Cabezón's two- and three-voice hymns, another liturgical genre that, according to the *Regla Vieja*, was played by the organist, and, in some cases, sung in improvised counterpoint (Cabezón 1578: fols 2r–8v; Knighton 2001: 99; Ruiz Jiménez 2011: 261–62). Another Mass item that was performed in certain circumstances 'in organis' was the Benedicamus (Ruiz Jiménez 2011: 261), a chant that was also often sung 'a fabordón' by the choir. The organist surely mastered the *fabordón* performing praxis in order to play the Benedicamus and the psalms in alternatim with the choir, as suggested by later sources of instrumental music, such as Santa María's treatise. That organists were acquainted with the same improvisational skills as professional singers would seem to be confirmed in the case of Lope de Baena, who served Ferdinand and Isabel both as singer and organist (Knighton 2001: 98). Their royal confessor fray Hernando de Talavera criticized organists for playing 'secular things, especially dances and such things' ('cosas seglares, especialmente danzas y cosas semejantes') during the liturgy (Knighton 2011: 100), revealing that organists improvised not only over liturgical chants, but also on dance tunes and popular music (Chapter 3): Cabezón's discantes or glosas could be considered an echo of this repertory.

Consorts of wind instruments clearly improvised over a Tenor in order to play 'bajas' and 'altas', the typical court dances of the age (Knighton 2001: 151; Polk 1992). A trace of these improvisational practices is found in Francisco de La Torre's three-voice and textless *Alta* based on the famous tenor-melody of *La Spagna* (*E-Mp* 11-1335, no. 321: see Music Example 13.11). In this piece, the Contra alternates repetitive and predictable intervals below the Tenor (mainly octaves and fifths) in a way that resembles the structures used in simple vocal counterpoint, while the higher voice performs a more florid melody developed around the intervals of sixth, tenth and third (and octave at cadences) over the Tenor. Very significantly, this same cantus firmus was used by Ortiz in six *recercadas* conceived as a model for learning how to improvise an instrumental 'contrapunto suelto' over 'canto llano' (Ortiz 1553: fols 30r–35r), as well as by

3/4

Tenor

Contra

5

10

EXAMPLE 13.11 *Francisco de La Torre, Alta (E-Mp II-1335, fol. 232r)*

Costanzo Festa (1485–1545) in his didactical collection of one hundred and twenty-five *Contrappunti* (Agee 1996). In a letter written to his Florentine patron Fabrizio Strozzi, Festa stated that ‘the basse dances are useful for learning how to sing counterpoint, compose and play instruments’ (‘le basse sono buone per imparare a cantar contrappunto, a comporre e a sonar di tutti gli strumenti’), a statement that emphasizes once again the similarity of competence in improvisational skills of singers and instrumentalists in the early sixteenth century (Agee 1985: 227–33). The earliest collection of vihuela music, Milán’s *El Maestro* (1536), at times clearly reflects improvisational practices of an earlier age, making use in several pieces of recurrent formulae and idiomatic writing (Gásser 1996; Griffiths 2003: 9). However, as John Griffiths has argued, during the second half of the fifteenth century the vihuela underwent a process of organological and technical change (Griffiths 2010: 10; see Chapter

3). Therefore, the kind of improvisations performed by Milán would have been impossible to perform on the ‘versatile’ fifteenth-century vihuela (played both with fingers or with a bow) with its restricted polyphonic potential. During the same period, the lute also underwent a radical change of repertory and technique with the progressive adoption of fingers instead of the plectrum in order to pluck the strings. The age of the Catholic Monarchs can therefore be seen as a transitional period for lute and vihuela repertories and for the skills needed to improvise music on these instruments. As Maricarmen Gómez has pointed out, the precursors of the ‘Spanish lute school’ were those celebrated lutenists, often playing in ensembles of two or three, whose presence is testified to in early fifteenth-century documents (Gómez [Muntané] 1992).

A sample of the repertory that might have been played by these ensembles of lutes or vihuelas later in the fifteenth century can be found in the twelve textless duos copied in mensural notation in the Segovia manuscript (*E-SE* ss, fols 200r–205r), all but one of which consists of a pre-existent tenor line decorated by a florid upper line (Banks 1999, 2006: 14–47) (see Chapter 3). While the majority of these pieces present musical features and ranges that are particularly suitable for a lute, one item—surely originally conceived as a vocal piece—may afford a clue as regards the improvisational skills of lutenists. The piece is a textless *Alleluia* composed by Tinctoris and used in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (1477) to explain a particular kind of extempore two-voice counterpoint on plainchant, when the Tenor, instead of singing the cantus firmus in equal-length notes, employs a simple rhythmic pattern: in this way the second singer has to improvise as if he were singing over a ‘figuratum cantum’ (Seay 1961: 111–12). The presence of Tinctoris’s didactic piece suggests that all the duos of Segovia manuscript could have been copied as examples of how to improvise two-voice counterpoint on instruments. This idea is strengthened by the presence of three duos by Adam, Tinctoris and Roelkin (the Superius of this last is even copied on a ten-line stave) all based on the famous tenor from Hayne van Ghizeghem’s chanson *De tous biens plaine* (*E-SE* ss, fols 201r, 202r, 202v–203r) (Music Example 13.12).

The copyist of the Segovia manuscript used the same didactic tools employed by theorists such as Ortiz or Lusitano, employing a single cantus firmus to illustrate several possible improvised counterpoints. The complicated proportions used in the versions by Adam and Tinctoris were not intended as a technical exercise rooted in notation, but constituted a typical feature of two-voice improvised vocal counterpoint. In particular, Adam’s version works through each proportion in numerical order (tripla, quadrupla, quintupla, sextupla, etc.), in a similar fashion to those examples of extempore counterpoint ‘a manera de proporción’ explained by Lusitano (Canguilhem



EXAMPLE 13.12 *Roelkin, De tous biens plaine* (E-SE ss, fol. 202v), bb. 1–4

2011: 74). Three other textless pieces by Alexander Agricola, written on *De tous biens plaine* and for three voices (E-SE ss, fols 173v, 180v, 194v), support the idea that at least some of these items were copied as models for learning instrumental ‘contrapunto suelto’ and ‘contrapunto concertado’.

The decades between the duos preserved in the late fifteenth-century Segovia manuscript—which would appear to reflect an improvisational practice very similar to vocal contrapunto—to the repertory of Milán’s *El Maestro* mark a transitional period during which lutenists and vihuelists adapted their skills to a polyphonic instrument in order to perform genres such as the fantasia, and learnt to control the vertical and chordal dimension of ‘consonancias’. John Griffiths has suggested that traces of this transitional style can be found in Alonso Mudarra’s *Fantasia que contrahace la harpa en la manera de Ludovico* since it probably imitated an old-fashioned improvisational style, and also in the ‘Spanish’ repertory of Joan Ambrosio Dalza’s *Intabolatura de lauto libro quarto* (Venice, 1508) (Mudarra 1546: 13r–14v; Dalza 1508; Griffiths 2010: 31–33). The *Caldibi castigliano* and the *Calate alla spagnola* included in Dalza’s collection possibly reflect the vihuela repertory and its improvisational style around 1500.⁴⁵

The *Caldibi castigliano* is, in fact, a version of the famous theme *Calvi vi calvi, Calvi aravi*, that, according to Salinas, had quintuple metre and was very

45 These pieces were included in Dalza’s collection because of the cultivation of the vihuela in sixteenth-century Italy, but also because of his possibly Spanish origin: although ‘Joanambrosio’ Dalza is referred to as ‘Milanese’ in the preface, the surname Dalza was unusual in Italy and had Aragonese origins; see González-Doria 1987: 510.



EXAMPLE 13.13 *Joan Ambrosio Dalza, Calata a la Spagnola (Intabolatura, fol. 49r), bb. 1–8*

popular among Spanish Moors for singing and dancing (Salinas 1577: 339; García Gómez 1956). In Dalza's version, the original metre is no longer clear, and the melody is repeated fourteen times with significant thematic and rhythmic changes in only two instances. It cannot thus be considered strictly a set of variations on a bass or harmonic scheme, as occurs in Dalza's pavanas or in later Spanish *diferencias*; rather, Dalza's *Caldibi* seems to be a transitional piece strongly rooted in improvisatory practice based on reiteration more than variation. The six *Calate a la Spagnola* are dance-pieces that share similar motivic material arranged in different ways, modes and rhythms; in these pieces, the repetitive and simple bass-line has an important structural role, although in many cases the basses seem to be treated as modal drones (Music Example 13.13), quite far-removed from the 'tonal' perspective shown in other pieces in this collection.

During the age of Catholic Monarchs, it would appear that the improvisational skills of professional instrumentalists were not so different from the abilities mastered by professional singers. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the sixteenth century differences began to emerge between vocal and instrumental music: for example, the new procedure of variation over harmonic-melodic schemes gained ground on the earlier *cantus firmus*-based structure found in written and oral instrumental traditions (Esses 1992, 1: 563–75). Indeed, despite the differences in the musical results, the two procedures clearly shared a similar improvisational process, so that musicians who began to improvise on harmonic schemes were really performing a *contrapunto* over the simple and repetitive bass-line of a popular tune, instead of a *tenor* (Fiorentino 2013b: 161–66, 209–11). More importantly, players of polyphonic instruments needed to develop special skills in order to manage the vertical dimension of music, employing and connecting different *consonancias* and bypassing the rules of vocal counterpoint. The roots of this new conception of composition and improvisation can be seen in some pieces from the *cancionero* repertory, in

the compositional-improvisational processes described in treatises from the beginning of the sixteenth century, and in *fabordón* structures (Fiorentino 2013b: 169–208). In the Spanish kingdoms, the vertical conception of music that was practised from the second half of the fifteenth century began to appear as independent of vocal schemes from *El Maestro* (1536) onwards, and was finally systemized as the basis for composing and improvising music in Santa María's *Arte de tañer fantasía*.

Conclusions

At the time of Ferdinand and Isabel, the oral and unwritten tradition of music had an important role in all spheres of cultural and social life: extempore counterpoint, which constituted the basis for musical training of every professional singer, and unwritten *fabordones* had a central role during the liturgy; the oral practice of accompanied songs cultivated by professional musicians, nobles and courtesans, or the unsophisticated polyphonies of 'hombres y mugeres' performed both at court and on the streets, had an important role in the early development of polyphonic villancicos and romances; instrumental improvisational practice, which in this period shared several techniques with vocal counterpoint, was introduced into church to accompany and complete the liturgy, as well as in secular contexts to perform several kinds of music for entertainment and dancing; and vernacular repertoires of villancicos and romances were disseminated orally among all social classes and the vast heritage of poems, songs and styles of popular tradition was adopted by court musicians in order to create, as Covarrubias pointed out, 'merry songs adopting the same form and style' ('a este modo y mensura cantarcillos alegres').

This multi-layered and complex situation suggests multiple oral traditions rather than a single tradition, although clearly these oral traditions cannot be considered as isolated or as belonging to specific cultural backgrounds or social classes. The poet-composer Juan de Encina is a good example of the complex cultural and social stratification of society: as the son of a Salamanca shoemaker, he surely absorbed the oral repertory of popular music from childhood; as a choirboy at Salamanca Cathedral, he learnt to be skilled in extempore counterpoint so that later he attempted to make a career as a professional singer; as a composer, he frequently adopted and elaborated melodies or polyphonic patterns typical of popular tradition; the 'blue' text he wrote for *¡Si abrá en este baldrés!* (*E-Mp* 11-1335, no. 170) is compatible with his refined poems of courtly love or with his future ecclesiastical posts as archdeacon or prior.

All the oral traditions of music analysed in this chapter existed before the time of Catholic Monarchs and would continue uninterrupted during the Renaissance and beyond. However, the age of Ferdinand and Isabel constituted an important transitional period in many ways: the concept and techniques of extempore counterpoint underwent significant changes; oral traditions began to emerge in written sources and popular music burst into courtly song thanks to a popularizing trend that was paralleled in Aragonese Naples and other regions of Italy; lute and vihuela players developed new improvisational skills; and in the field of instrumental music a vertical and chordal approach to composition and improvisation began to emerge, which was quite independent from vocal models. Nevertheless, one of the most significant changes of this transitional period resulted from the increase in production and circulation of musical sources and treatises that reached unprecedented levels in the sixteenth century with the development and spread of music printing. Those improvisational skills and specific repertoires, which previously had been transmitted orally, began to be disseminated by means of treatises and written music. The age of Ferdinand and Isabel constituted a transitional period from a musical culture in which orality had a primary role, to a written musical culture that began to take precedence over oral tradition.

Lost Voices: Women and Music at the Time of the Catholic Monarchs

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The ‘phenomenon of women’s invisibility’ or the systematic omission of women from historical accounts, making it seem ‘as though only men have participated in events thought worthy of preservation’ (Kleinberg 1988: ix), inevitably results in the search for scattered traces in documentary records of women’s position in history and their cultural status. This phenomenon of lost women’s voices is pertinent to the history of music at the time of the Catholic Monarchs. Most of the studies of music in the early modern Iberian world have focused on important institutions—such as the royal court, noble houses and cathedrals—as well as on composers, musical genres and written music. The application of categories such as ‘composer’ and ‘musical work’ to the study of early modern music would inevitably lead to women’s musical activities being overlooked; but, as Robert Darnton has suggested: ‘we constantly need to be shaken out of a false sense of familiarity with the past, to be administered doses of culture shock’ (Darnton 1984: 4). In the period in question, the teaching of music was based on oral and memorized practices, and the boundaries between performance and composition were far from clear. Given both the problem of women’s professional status in a period when women were usually classified according to their condition in relation to men as girls, maidens, wives, widows or nuns,¹ and the moral restrictions imposed on women, sources and methodologies other than those employed in a creation-centred musicology are required to study the role played by women in musical life during this period. Women do not remain completely invisible or ‘silent’ in written records, but rather are indirectly reflected (as ‘in a three-way mirror, when what one

1 These were the five types of women established by Francesc Eiximenis in his *Llibre de les dones* (c. 1396): ‘La segona part tracta delles en special segons cinc maneres de dones: car algunes son infantes. Altres donzelles. Altres maridades. Altres vidues: el altres religioses’ (Eiximenis 1495: s.f., ‘tabula’). Juan Luis Vives’s treatise of 1524 is structured into three books on maidens, married women and widows (Vives 1528), while the whole of Luis de León’s *La perfecta casada* (1584) is dedicated to married women (León 1584). Juan de la Cerdá’s late sixteenth-century treatise on the status of women is divided into four sections devoted to maidens, wives, widows and nuns (Cerdá 1599).

sees is a reflection of a reflection of a reflection'), making it necessary to read between the lines (Erdmann 1999: xxi).

Women can become more visible in history when it is approached from the perspective of everyday life (Vigil 1994: 2). Thus the close analysis of written records that document oral traditions, such as literary texts and inquisitorial records, can afford a glimpse of women's musical activities in the early modern period. Methodologies used to record popular culture, termed by Peter Burke 'oblique approaches', are very useful when writing women's history, for women's history, like popular culture, is 'an elusive quarry' (Burke 1978: 65). It might be thought that the absence of women from historical records is motivated by their confinement to the domestic milieu. The points of overlap between the private and the public—those semi-private spaces—as well as those between the written and the oral, not only help to make women's musical practices more visible, as well as more audible, but can also offer a window onto the musical culture of the age. In other words, the musical life at the time of the Catholic Monarchs can be approached through the broadening of 'the entire field of historical research' involved in exploring the history of women (Kleinberg 1988: xi; Bueno Domínguez 1995: 296–97).

An important angle that is often overlooked is that of religious history. It has been argued that 'Christianity was the most important source of ideas about women for sixteenth-century Europeans', because 'none of the major intellectual movements of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries' (humanism, Reform and Counter-Reformation) changed 'the Christian ideal for women—silence, obedience, and chastity' (Erdmann 1999: ix–xii; see also Marshall 1989: 2). James Amelang also draws attention to the relevance of studying religious history in order to approach the history of women, particularly in Spain, as 'religion provided women with a rich and expressive vocabulary, and served as a system of social communication in which, for diverse reasons, women were distinguished as especially active participants'.² Mysticism, as a religious phenomenon that emerged in the sixteenth century, gave women in Spain a greater protagonism than anywhere else in Europe (Haliczer 2002: 8; see also Knighton 2010). This broader 'public' picture involved a negotiation between real life and appearance at every level. Manuel Peña points out that the cultural history of daily life can be analysed as a 'space of mediation between the individual and society, between being and having-to-be, between wearing and appearing,

2 Amelang 1990: 191: 'la religión puso a disposición de las mujeres un vocabulario rico y expresivo, y sirvió como sistema de comunicación social, en el que, por diversas razones, las mujeres se distinguieron como participantes especialmente eficaces'. Translations into English in this essay are my own.

between saying and thinking, between the private sphere and the public sphere'.³ This double approach to the relationship between women and music at the time of the Catholic Monarchs from the perspective of the especially close links between women and religion and through the conceptual framework offered by the dichotomy between real life and appearance may help to uncover women's musical activities that would otherwise remain silent to the historian's ears.

The particularly strong link between women and religion in Spain was a decisive factor in the configuration of the types and functions of female patronage of music at the time of the Catholic Monarchs. The endowment of sung Masses and Offices was a type of musical patronage that was widespread among a broad cross-section of women in the early modern period. Music books connected with women via 'official' links such as ownership or dedication included plainchant manuals and books containing devotional lyrics to be sung using melodies known from oral tradition. The connection between women and religion is also visible in the moral consideration of music reflected in the treatises of female conduct in which music was rejected when associated with banquets and parties and, therefore, as a form of public leisure. At the same time, 'honest' music was considered to be an acceptable leisure time activity in a more private context, and a convenient way of avoiding idleness. 'Honest' music was that which was considered to motivate people to be virtuous; for instance, a later commentator illustrated the concept through Homer's account of Agamemnon leaving a musician in his house so that 'honest' music would incline his wife Clytemnestra to faithfulness; she only committed adultery when the musician was killed.⁴ In a contemporary, real-life context, Hernando de Talavera's treatise *De como ordenar y ocupar el tiempo*, written in Granada in about 1492 at the request of María Pacheco, Countess of Benavente, 'honest music' is included among the 'honest pastimes' that the countess was to practise in order to 'avoid idleness'.⁵ These moral controversies, together with the problems raised by women's role in the professional sphere, consti-

3 Peña 2012: 18: 'La historia cultural de la vida cotidiana puede ser analizada como un espacio de mediación—con sus respectivos tiempos—entre el individuo y la sociedad, entre el ser y el deber ser, entre el vestir y el aparentar, entre el decir y el pensar, entre la esfera privada y la esfera pública...'

4 Ponce de León 1608: 299: '[...] se colige bien de lo que finge Homero del musico que dexo Agamenon en su casa, para que con la musica honesta compusiesse el animo de su muger Clytemnestra, incitandola siempre a honestidad, y no cayó en el adulterio hasta que mataron al musico'.

5 Talavera c. 1496: unfoliated [Chapter XII]: 'Leuantada ya la mesa: y hecha oracion tan bien al comienço como al cabo, podeys entonces pasar tiempo: quanto media hora en alguna recrea-

tute a conceptual framework for an understanding of women's music-making in this period.

This essay aims to analyse the role of women in musical life at the time of the Catholic Monarchs by exploring some of these different nexus between women and music, such as patronage of music, ownership of music books, and amateur and professional music-making, which have traditionally remained invisible in historical records, hidden behind the musical activities of women's husbands, brothers or sons. These links will be studied by establishing parallelisms between the history of women's music and the history of religion in three different but closely related spaces: the court sphere, involving women in positions of power; convents, where not only nuns but also laywomen operated; and contexts other than court and convent, such as domestic settings where amateur and professional female musicians were active. Music traditions at court and in convents were firmly established before the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel, but there were notable cultural and social shifts over the period. Between the 1450s and the 1520s, important changes occurred that appear to have exerted influence on the connections between women and music as, for example, the invention of music printing, which opened up the potential for music education (see Eisenstein 1979). There is also evidence for a shift as regards women's music-making as social practice during the period, notably in that women from a wider range of social spheres began to share the musical experiences common to the background and education of queens and princesses.

Music and Women in Positions of Power

A shift can be observed from the fifteenth-century debate over the nature of women (or *querelle des femmes*) as to whether woman was essentially good or evil, and it was in the sixteenth century when women began to be considered as 'persons', and their social function and models of behaviour began to be discussed.⁶ Most of the education treatises of the age concerning women

cion: o de honesta e prouechosa fabla con algunas buenas personas: o de alguna honesta musica: o de alguna buena leccion y esto seria lo mejor avnque non para la digestion'.

- 6 Kelly 1982: 7: 'The contents of early feminist theory reflect the declining power of women of rank and the enforced domestication of middle-class women'; see also Vigil 1994: 44: 'Mientras que en el siglo xv, lo que María del Pilar Oñate llama la "controversia feminista" había girado en torno a si las mujeres eran malélicas o benéficas, el tema fundamental del debate sobre ellas en el siglo xvi fue el de su educación. Los humanistas adoptaron una actitud más práctica, y en vez de dedicarse a insultar a las mujeres o a ensalzarlas, decidieron elaborar modelos

(mainly addressed to urban women of substantial means) held them responsible for the education of children, established the domestic milieu as the woman's sphere, and defined and classified women according to their role vis-à-vis men. One of the clearest examples of the control of women through their representation is Fray Martín de Córdoba's *Jardín de nobles donzellas*, written in 1468 or 1469 (Córdoba 1542; García 1956; Goldberg 1974). Conceived for the education of the future Queen Isabel (1451–1504), this book reflects the anxiety about 'the unprecedented challenge that a powerful female sovereign poses to the patriarchal status quo' (Weissberger 2004: xiv).⁷ Barbara Weissberger has challenged the traditional view of this treatise as 'pro-feminist' and as 'a defence of female sovereignty', and has claimed that the work 'seeks to contain Isabel's power' mainly by two means: first, 'by expounding the traditional theological view of an essentially carnal and irrational femininity' that needs to be controlled by men; and second, by modelling 'the young Princess Isabel as queen consort rather than queen regnant' (Weissberger 2004: xv, xxiii, 30; see also Haro Cortés 2009). This argument coincides with Joan Kelly's belief that humanism did not mean equality between women and men, because even though noblewomen began to be educated along similar lines to their masculine counterparts, it was a male tutor who shaped women's outlooks (Kelly 1977: 152). With regard to Renaissance Spain, Elisa Garrido also asserts that women had a superficial involvement in culture, limited to the patronage of artists and the passive reception of knowledge, which led to a consolidation of the male-dominated mentality (Garrido González 1997: 235).

As regards music history, Pilar Ramos has suggested that female musical practices in Spain were 'far from being comparable to the flourishing musical activity of Italian women of the same time', whether at court or in the convent, even though sixteenth-century theatre musical tradition, in which female singers dominated, constituted an exception (Ramos [López] 2005: 117). According to Ramos, during the Renaissance stricter rules regarding the morality of music were imposed on women in Spain than during the late Middle Ages, and the moral status of music was lower in the Iberian world 'than in Italian or Franco-Flemish lands mainly because of moralists' criticism of leisure' (Ramos [López] 2009: 255, 271). For instance, the Spanish version of Juan Luis Vives's *Instrucción de la muger christiana* discussed music in a chapter 'on festivities and banquets' addressed to maidens as one of the categories of

de comportamiento e intentar convencerlas para que se adaptaran al cumplimiento de funciones intradomésticas'.

7 Weissberger's study links to Mark Breitenberg's analysis of the 'anxious masculinity' reflected in the literature that emerged around Elizabeth I of England; see Breitenberg 1996.

women, and so clearly connected to secular entertainment. As Ramos points out, this chapter is not included in the Latin (1524) and English (1529) editions of Vives's book, commissioned by and dedicated to the Queen of England Katherine of Aragon (1485–1536)—Isabel's daughter—for the education of her own daughter Mary Tudor, but was an addition by the translator of the Spanish editions (from 1528). Ramos's hypothesis is that the rejection of female practical music in Spain in the context of secular entertainment can be seen as a consequence of 'Muslim and Jewish cultural heritage' (Ramos [López] 2015). This intriguing idea calls for further corroboration and may reflect only a partial truth. For example, it is not known whether the differences between Italian and Spanish female musical practices might equally reflect patterns of conservation, since at least in the higher echelons of society, women were involved in a network of transnational contacts which to some extent may have determined musical thinking in that period. It has been argued, for example, that Neapolitan women—some of them of Aragonese origin—were taken as models by noblewomen elsewhere in Italy (Edelstein 2000). The court of Naples functioned as a connection between the Iberian world and the rest of Europe not only regarding models of feminine conduct, but also the transmission of music.⁸

Music was an important component of the public image of female and male rulers and other people in positions of power, as the Council of Constance (1414–18) paradigmatically showed.⁹ Women of high birth with some degree of power played an active role as patrons of music in the Crown of Aragon during the first decades of the fifteenth century (Knighton 2011b); for instance, Yolande of Bar (1365–1431) contributed to the dissemination of Machaut's music in the Crown of Aragon and stimulated the vogue for French song among women,¹⁰ and minstrels were favoured by Leonor of Albuquerque and Maria, Queen of Aragon (Gómez [Muntané] 1992: 589–90). A panegyric for Queen Isabel written by the royal chronicler Andrés Bernáldez (1450–1513) highlights the role of music and musicians who accompanied Isabel as an integral part of the

8 For example, Tess Knighton indicates that the fifteenth-century polyphonic manuscript preserved at El Escorial (*E-E* IV.a. 24) 'reflects the importance of the Neapolitan connection for the diffusion of the international song repertory to the Iberian Peninsula' (Knighton 2008a: 49).

9 See Strohm 1993: 107: 'Music for public and representative purposes features prominently in the existing reports about the Council [of Constance] [...]. In this sense at least, it also marked the climax of a medieval tradition: the use of music in order to display authority'.

10 These practices contrasted with—or even contributed to—the rules imposed by Francisc Eiximenis in his *Libre de les dones* (c. 1396), in which music was rejected as a form of leisure. On Yolande of Bar, see Riquer 1994, and Terés Tomàs 2011.

magnificent impression created by her court and retinue: 'Who can tell of the greatness and harmony of her court... the singers and harmonic music in the ceremonial of divine worship... the multitude of poets, troubadours and musicians of all kinds'.¹¹ Heraldic wind-players, of whom many were employed in the Castilian royal household, were also associated both with high status and institutions of power (see Chapters 3 and 5). Given that music formed part of royal discourse, it is difficult to determine the degree to which queens and princesses were active music lovers or whether their musical patronage was simply determined by their status and the necessity of projecting an image of power and authority. Indeed, Isabel's supposed love of music and musical training has proved controversial in music historiography (Aguirre Rincón 2003: 307–9; and a contrasting view in Salvador Miguel 2008: 235). The historical imagination has evoked perennial images for which there is a lack of concrete evidence: for example, the literary historian Sullivan claimed that Juan del Encina participated in the musical entertainment of Isabel and her maids while they embroidered (Sullivan 1976: 129–30; cited in Knighton 2001: 156). However, Isabel was responsible for the education of their children (Liss 1992: 251–53; and Weissberger 2004: 135), and her concern for her daughters' general and musical education must have been comparable to that for Prince Juan, given that they were also subsequently praised for their musical skills.¹² Luis Coloma's account of the visit of Cardinal Cisneros to the private rooms of Queen Isabel and her children likewise indulges in historical imagination when he states that Isabel 'made doña Juana play a religious hymn on the claviorgan, and made doña María sing, with her sister's accompaniment, some villancicos by Juan del Encina'.¹³ This may be rather fanciful, but there is evidence to suggest musical knowledge on the part of the princesses.

11 Gómez-Moreno & Mata Carriazo 1962: 162–63: '¿Quién podrá contar la grandeza, el concierto de su corte, y los prelados y letrados e altísimo Consejo que siempre la acompañaron; los predicadores, los cantores, las músicas acordadas de la onrra del culto divino, la solemnidad de las misas y oras que continuamente en su palacio se cantaban; la cavallería de los nobles de toda España, duques, maestros, marqueses, condes e ricos onbres, los galanes, las damas, las justas, los torneos, la multitud de poetas e trovadores e musicos de todas artes; la gente de armas e guerra contra los moros que nunca çesavan; las artillerías e ingenios de infinitas maneras?'; cited in Knighton 2014: 208.

12 Oettel 1935: 303: 'La misma preocupación que por la educación de su hijo mostró Isabel respecto a sus hijas Isabel, Juana, María y Catalina, hecho tanto más digno de observación cuanto en aquel tiempo no era frecuente tal preocupación por la educación de la mujer'.

13 Coloma 1929: 172: '[Isabel] hizo tocar a doña Juana en un *claviórgano* un himno religioso, y cantar a D.^a María, acompañándola su hermana, unos villancicos de Juan de la Encina [...]':

The relationship with music of the Catholic Monarchs' second daughter Juana (1479–1555) can be taken as a case in point to analyse the dichotomy between love of music and music as symbol of authority (Figure 14.1). At least some of Juana's contemporaries considered her behaviour in general and her strong interest in music in particular to be childish and excessive—as opposed to the 'moderate' comportment and musical interests of her mother—and indicative of her incapacity to govern effectively (Knighton 2014: 220). Juan de Anchieta had been responsible for the musical training of the royal children (including both Prince Juan and Princess Juana) and, when Isabel died, he travelled to Flanders to form part of Juana's household, where he was wont to sing with her in her chambers and taught music to her children, including the future Charles v (Berwick y de Alba 1907: 321; Duggan 1976: 84–85; Aizpurúa 1995: 20–22; and Knighton 2001: 323). However, there is no evidence that Juana composed music as another female aristocrat related to the Spanish court at that time did: a motet-chanson entitled *Se je souspire* attributed to Margarite of Austria (1480–1530)—widow of Prince Juan—is included in a manuscript chansonnier compiled for her around 1516. This manuscript also contains some of her poems set to music by Pierre de La Rue (Picker 1996), and the song attributed to Margarite supports Paula Higgins's hypothesis that some noblewomen displayed an understanding of music beyond their image as 'passive promoters of the work of gifted men' (Higgins 1993: 182).

A political link between music and royal power also emerges in Juana's case, since there may have been a correlation between her political marginalization and her possession—or rather lack of possession—of a chapel that included polyphonic singers (Knighton 2014: 218–25). As 'queen consort' she had no polyphonic chapel of her own, but when her husband Philip the Fair died in 1504 she continued to pay his Franco-Flemish chapel for several years (Duggan 1976). Commentators of the period were agreed on the importance music held for her personally; as Queen of Castile she must also have been aware of the importance of music—and of a chapel capable of performing polyphony—to her personal royal status and to that of her son and heir, Prince Charles. Although at present we have less detail about individual princesses or noblewomen in Spain than, for example, in Flanders or Italy, nevertheless the question regarding the link between music and public image is an important one. William Prizer has identified two patterns of female musical patronage in late fifteenth-century Mantua and Ferrara: first, Isabella d'Este (1464–1539) and Lucrezia Borgia (1480–1519) did not patronize sacred music, but secular vocal works (frottola) and devotional music (lauda); and second, they employed neither singers of sacred music nor players of loud instruments, but solo singers, players of string instruments, dancing masters and *tamborini* (Prizer 1985a;



FIGURE 14.1 *Juana dancing with Philip the Fair* (Essen, Historisches Archiv Krupp, Villa Hgel)

and Prizer 1993). Their choices were determined by the social expectations of the age, according to which 'noblewomen were expected to have in their households neither loud instruments, the rightful attributes of the warlike prince, nor a personal chapel' (Prizer 1993: 197). Juana's mother, Isabel, as Queen of Castile, had had her own, ever-expanding chapel, including a large group of chapel singers, throughout her reign (see Chapter 1), and Juana would have expected a polyphonic choir as a symbol of her status; however, after the return of the Flemish singers in 1507, she was denied this (Knighton 2014: 208).

Women in privileged social positions and nuns were special categories protected from the stigma of immorality that attached itself to female performers in public: noblewomen were required to cultivate musical skills in order to attract and entertain a husband, while nuns' music was justified as a means of praising God. Evidence can be found for musical practices involving the participation of both women and men at court at the time of the Catholic Monarchs, so that music could alternatively be seen as a way in which women entertained and were entertained in the closed, privileged environment of the court. In the lively cultural milieu of the Valencian ducal court of Germaine de Foix and Fernando Duke of Calabria (Nelson 2004), *El libro de motes* (Valencia, 1535), written by the vihuelist Luis de Milán and addressed 'to the ladies' of the court, consisted of the evocation of a courtly game that involved a series of orders presented in verse and given by women to men, who had no option but to obey (Schleuse 2015). The men's replies—similarly in verse—are also included. The description of the game contains references to singing, dancing and playing the vihuela. Although these activities were supposedly carried out by the male courtiers on the orders of the ladies, women no doubt actively participated as well. For example, in one of the poems, the lady commands the man to stand up and dance without music, and the man responds: 'I would not seem to be mad / when dancing without music for you / if both of us dance together'.¹⁴ Such musical entertainments at court formed part of a well-established tradition. At the palace of the Constable of Castile in Jaen, the participatory musical pastimes included the singing of popular lyric forms and dance songs such as cossantes and rondeles that were often improvised to be full of double entendres and sexual innuendo: 'when the dancing had finished,

14 Milán 1535: 'Levantaos a baylar, / que con tal disposición / bien podéys baylar sin son. // No parescería loco / en baylar sin son por vos / si baylásemos los dos'. Another example is the following game, which includes a reference to playing the vihuela: 'A la noche yo quería / que cantéys en la vihuela: / nadie de mi mal se duela, / pues que todo es alegría. // A la noche cantaré: / nadie de mi mal se duela, / pues él mismo me consuela'. For a critical edition of *El libro de motes*, see Vega Vázquez 2006.

he [the Constable] ordered cossantes and rondeles to be sung, in which he and the Countess and all the other ladies and gentlemen participated for a long time' (Knighton 1997: 667).¹⁵ Such a detailed account is lacking for Isabel's court, and her attitude towards potentially 'licentious' participatory cossantes may have been somewhat different; her personal morality and emphasis on virtue is reflected in her correspondence with Hernando de Talavera, who in his role as royal confessor (and so inevitably male), advised Isabel not to participate in dancing in public.¹⁶ However, her involvement in the ludic aspect of musical entertainment at court is clearly depicted in Jerónimo de Pinar's *Juego trobado*, a work dedicated to Isabel which was included in Hernando del Castillo's *Cancionero general* of 1511 (see Chapters 2 and 13).¹⁷ Pinar's 'game in verse' involves songs destined for members of the royal family and about forty ladies of court and is rich in references to singing; for example, in a song dedicated to 'another lady' (*De otra dama*), the lady in question is asked to sing with 'pretty voice' and 'good heart'.¹⁸

Another pastime at Isabel's court was the singing of devotional poetry as a form of 'honest' musical entertainment that probably involved male and female courtiers. This aspect of court entertainment offers a good example of the importance of religion in the study of female musical activities in the Renaissance Iberian world. Collections of devotional verse in songbooks (*cancioneros*) were aimed not only at children and mothers in charge of their education, but also at women in general as a kind of 'pious musical entertainment' connected with similar traditions throughout Europe, such as the Italian spiritual lauda (Wilson 2009). Emilio Ros-Fábregas has demonstrated the close

15 Mata Carriazo 1940b: 155: 'E acabando de dançar, mandaua cantar cossantes & rondeles, en los quales él & la señora condesa & todas las otras damas & gentiles onbres andauan por vna grand pieça'.

16 Ochoa 1870, 2: 19 (letter written by Hernando de Talavera between 28 September and 31 October 1493 and addressed to Isabel): 'Mas lo que á mi ver ofendió á Dios multipharium multisque modis, fue las danzas, especialmente de quien no debia danzar, las cuales por maravilla se pueden hacer sin que en ellas intervengan pecados; y más la licencia de mezclar los caballeros franceses con las damas castellanas en la cena [...]'

17 Castillo 1511: fols 183r–185r at 183r: 'Comiençan las obras de pinar. y esta primera es vn juego trobado que hizo a la reyna doña ysabel con el qual se puede jugar / como con dados o naypes y con el se puede ganar / o perder / y echar encuentro / o azar / y hazer par / las coplas son los naypes / y las quatro cosas que van en cada vna dellas / han de ser las suertes'; see Sanz Hermida 1996.

18 Castillo 1511: fol. 184r: 'Uso tomad vn auellano / porques fruta seca y sana / y ell aue sera vn milano / quando mas buele de gana / y cantad esta cancion / con la boz fauorescida / dicha de buen coraçon / esperança entristescida / y el refran de luengas vias / dizen que luengas mentiras'.

connection between the *cancioneros* published in Toledo in 1485 and 1508 (an enlarged edition) by the Franciscan friar Ambrosio Montesino (Montesino 1485, 1508), and the circle of women that surrounded Queen Isabel (Ros-Fábregas 1993, 2008: 90). Indeed, most of the dedicatees of Montesino's poems were women (seventeen out of twenty-three), including the queen herself and her eldest daughter Isabel of Portugal (1470–98), noblewomen and abbesses of Toledo convents (San Clemente, Santo Domingo, Santa Isabel and Santo Domingo el Real), thus suggesting the performance of these songs in both courtly and convent spaces. The women to whom Montesino dedicated his poems formed part of the large circle of noblewomen who surrounded Isabel at court: Beatriz de Bobadilla, Marchioness of Moya (1440–1511), the queen's chief lady-in-waiting; Teresa de Toledo, Countess of Osorno and daughter of the Duke of Alba; María Pimentel, Duchess of Infantado; Marina de Mendoza, daughter of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Duke of Infantado; María Enríquez, Duchess of Alba; the Duchess of Alburquerque (probably Francisca Álvarez de Toledo, the Second Duchess); Guiomar de Castro, Duchess of Nájera; the Countess of Coruña (possibly María Manrique de Sotomayor (d. 1532), the Second Countess); Inés de Guzmán (probably the Duchess of Villalba); Marina de Guevara (possibly the wife of Alonso Téllez Pacheco, royal counsellor of the Catholic Monarchs); and Juana de Peralta, daughter of the Constable of Navarre.¹⁹ It is likely that the noblewomen residing at court sang Montesino's lyrics in the royal chambers as a way of mutual entertainment—in a format that may have taken many hours—while they were sewing or embroidering and thus not always in the presence of men. In this way, books of devotional verse are inextricably linked with women at the time of the Catholic Monarchs. Other 'honest' music may have been performed in the queen's chamber, such as devotional songs preserved in the Palace Songbook (*Cancionero Musical de Palacio*), or a more historical song such as that published rather later in Enríquez de Valderrábano's vihuela anthology *Silva de sirenas* (1557); *Argamina nombre le dio* is a sung paean to several Castilian queens that culminates in praising Isabel as 'perfection in all things' (Music Example 14.1).

*Argimina nombre le dio,
la loba santos exemplos,
Constança la restauo,*

Argaminia, the she-wolf, gave her name,
and set a holy example;
Constanza restored her,

19 In addition to King Ferdinand, Montesino's male dedicatees were: Fray Juan de Tolosa, Franciscan Provincial in Castile; Álvaro de Zúñiga, Prior of the Order of St John of Jerusalem; Alonso Téllez Pacheco, Lord of Montalbán; and the Cardinals Mendoza and Cisneros.

<i>Eluira la liberto</i>	Elvira freed her,
<i>dos hermeseldas mill templos,</i>	Two Hermeseldas, a thousand temples,
<i>Sancha caso las donzcellas</i>	Sancha married the maidens,
<i>Urraca flor de las bellas,</i>	Urraca, flower of the beautiful,
<i>Verenguela muy pomposa,</i>	Berenguela very ceremonious,
<i>Ysabel en toda cosa</i>	Isabel, perfection in all things
<i>perficion de todas ellas.</i> ²⁰	And above all others.

The *cancioneros* of devotional verse published by Montesino include some indication of the melodies to which the songs were to be sung, but the semi-improvised singing of poetry to a plucked instrument was also a widespread skill, shared by some women in court circles. For example, the noblewoman and poetess Tecla de Borja (1435–59) from Gandia (Valencia), ‘played the lyre and composed poetry’ (‘tocava la lira i poetitzava’), but only a small part of her verse is still extant (Massó Torrents 1936: 412; Fita Colomé 1897; Serrano y Sanz 1903–5, 1: 167–68; Gómez Molleda 1955: 190–91).²¹ Given the mention of a plucked string instrument, the lyric verse of Tecla de Borja was presumably intended to be sung, whether through music learned from oral tradition or with music composed or improvised by her (Gómez [Muntané] 1992). Indeed, the case of Tecla de Borja suggests a connection between the Aragonese and Italian traditions of oral music and sung poetry in which Pietrobono del chitarino (?1417–97), a singer and lutenist who spent the major part of his career in Ferrara, excelled (Lockwood 1975, 1984: 103–18; Pirrotta 1984: 90–91, 94–96).²² As with Tecla de Borja, despite Pietrobono’s widespread fame among his peers, no music by him has been preserved. Many other male improvisers to the lute worked in Italy, such as the Catalan Benedetto Gareth, known as ‘Il Chariteo’, which again exemplifies musical influences via the Aragonese court of Naples (Atlas 1985: 10) (see Chapter 13). The semi-improvised singing of poetry would support the hypothesis that Renaissance women ‘participated in the musical

20 Valderrábano 1547: fol. 43v: ‘Esta cancion esta contra hecha a otra francesa. Trata de ciertas reynas que fueron en españa, a lo que cada vna en virtud fue inclinada. Entonase la voz segunda en tercero traste. Tañer se a esta cancion el compas apresurado. Primero grado’.

21 A poem composed by Tecla de Borja as a reply to another written by Ausiàs March (c. 1397–1459) is preserved in a sixteenth-century manuscript of his works in the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid; see March 1546.

22 Even though the invention of the recitative has traditionally been attributed to Jacopo Peri around 1600, more recent theories maintain that it emerged before the Baroque period, being developed in monodic works with instrumental accompaniment at the Neapolitan court; see Hill 1997, 1: 119–20.

Voz

Y - sa - bel en to - da co - sa Y -

Vihuela
en Mi

7

- sa - bel en to - da co - sa, Y - sa - bel en to - da

14

co - sa Per - fi - ción de to - das e - - llas, _____

21

Y - sa - bel en to - da co - sa, Y - - sa -

28

-bel en to - da co - sa, Y - sa - bel en to - da

34

co - sa, Per - fi - ción de to - das e - - - llas.

EXAMPLE 14.1 *Enríquez de Valderrábano, Argamina nombre le dio (Silva de sirenas (1547), fol. 43v), final section in homage to Isabel of Castile*

culture of Europe more fully than surviving records document' (Lota Brown & Boyd McBride 2005: 266). Given the important role played by music as a vehicle for poetry, *cancioneros* as collections of written verse can be considered a type of music book without notation, since they contain verse that was intended to be sung. Thus the patronage of books of pious verses to be sung constitutes a type of unrecorded music patronage that functioned for women as a way of expressing their religiosity. Not only noblewomen but also nuns very probably sang Montesino's verse, and other devotional poems.

Music, Women and Convents: Nuns, Patronesses and Musical Foundations

Pedro Cátedra has pointed out that Cisneros undertook the circulation of Montesino's *cancionero* throughout Toledan convents, where it was used for 'collective reading', in a similar manner to its use at court among Isabel's circle of noblewomen.²³ Convents served as a privileged sphere where women could take professional roles from which they were generally excluded, including that of musician. It might be argued, however, that even in the case of cloistered nuns, who were apparently operating in an independent 'women's sphere' or 'women's culture',²⁴ music was conceived as a means of communication with a male audience. The studies carried out, among many others, by Colleen Baade and Soterraña Aguirre for Spain, Robert Kendrick and Craig Monson for Italy, and Barbara Eichner for Germany, demonstrate that nuns' music was not only a means of praising God but also a way of adding to the musical life of the convent's urban hinterland (Baade 2011; Aguirre Rincón 2004; Kendrick 1996; Monson 2010; and Eichner 2011). For instance, Caterina Boïl, a nun of the Cistercian convent of Santa Maria de Valldonzella in Barcelona, and abbess between 1478 and 1503, was praised for her musical skills by the notary Antoni Vallmanya in a poem entitled *Sort* (1458), which alludes to her performance of a *lay* and her sensibility to courtly traditions.²⁵ The

23 Cátedra García 2005: 80: 'sólo unas decenas más tarde empezará a circular impresa la versión de Ambrosio Montesino, que, por cierto, Cisneros procuró llegara a todos los conventos femeninos y sirviera para las lecturas colectivas'.

24 These concepts have been used by Craig Monson in order to understand 'the convents of the post-Tridentine Catholic world'. While it is considered that the concept of the women's sphere 'was male-determined', the concept of women's culture 'recognizes some element of women's agency in history'; see Monson 1995: 8–9.

25 Pelagi Briz i Fernández 1867: 280–81: 'Clarament viu ab forma cortesana / é gest estar semblant una deéssa / d'art musical mostra ser capitana / axí canta como sentit de mestressa

convent of Valldonzella was located outside the walls of the city of Barcelona, near the gate of Saint Anthony, and it served as a residence for royalty and aristocracy, who were welcomed with music when they arrived at the convent before making their high-profile entries into the city. According to custom, the city councillors welcomed the monarchs outside the city walls and accompanied them to the convent of Valldonzella (Durán i Sanpere & Sanabre 1930–47; Raventós Freixa 2006: 87–88). As an aural symbol of power, the royal retinue proceeded to the sound of trumpets and drums (of both the city and the king), together with wind-players, usually placed on platforms at strategic points along the route to the convent. For example, according to the official chroniclers of the city, the Catholic Monarchs arrived in Valldonzella on 23 October 1492; the following day they entered the city through the gate of Saint Anthony accompanied by drums, trumpets and wind-players (Cases i Loscos et al. 1994: 271–72). On 17 January 1503, Philip the Fair also stayed in Valldonzella before his entry into the city, the abbess in that period being the singer Caterina Boïl (Cases i Loscos et al. 1994: 304; Paulí Meléndez 1972: 53).

Convents were spaces where women were able to carry out activities related to musical patronage that were widely accepted. The Franciscan convent of Santa Clara, originally situated between Espejo street and Santa Clara street in Madrid and destroyed during the French invasion in the nineteenth century, offers a good example. This institution was founded in 1460 by Catalina Núñez (d. 1472), a noblewoman of Isabel's circle.²⁶ Catalina was a *conversa*, widow of Alfonso Álvarez de Toledo, chief treasurer of Enrique IV and *contador mayor* of Castile at the time of the Catholic Monarchs.²⁷ Catalina and her family supported Isabel during the civil war and, according to contemporary chroniclers, she was highly esteemed by the queen.²⁸ Other women belonging to the queen's circle also founded monastic institutions in Madrid; for example, Beatriz Galindo (?1465–1535), tutor of the royal children, founded the Jeronimite convent of the Immaculate Concepción in 1504 and the Franciscan convent of the same invocation in 1512 (Cantera Montenegro 2011). The items provided by the patroness Catalina Núñez for the monastery of Santa Clara are

/ é ab cant molt fi é manera artizada / passa un lay molt gloriós d'oir / lo sentit seu basta per discernir / tot cas d'amor axí n' be stilada / molt afrontada / e ben gosada / lo seu nom es Na Boyl Caterina/ de totes mes gentil é que Lavina'; cited in Knighton 2011b: 528.

26 The papal bull confirming the foundation was granted by Paul II on 19 November 1468.

27 On Álvarez de Toledo, see López 1953, 2: 241–42; he and his wife were also patrons of the Cistercian monastery of Monte Sión in Toledo.

28 The friendship between Catalina and Queen Isabel was mentioned by Gil González Dávila, who even claimed to have seen letters (now lost?) from Isabel to Catalina; see González Dávila 1623: 280.

listed in an inventory drawn up by the nuns in 1473.²⁹ This inventory, which has been transcribed and studied by Pedro Cátedra, includes a minor collection of seven books, showing how a convent library began to take form from a small nucleus (Cátedra García 1999: 23ff.; Cátedra García 2005). There were two liturgical books: a responsory ('otro libro que se llaman Responsorio santural e dominical que costó dos mill maravedís, el qual la dicha señora mandó comprar en sant Françisco de Segovia') and a psalter ('un salterio que mi señora mandó fazer escripto en pargamino, que costó çinco mill maravedís'), both commissioned and paid for by Catalina. The other five books consisted of pious readings; for example, the convent received a copy of the *Flos Sanctorum*, a work that often formed part of a legacy from mother to daughter, as discussed below: 'a book entitled Flor [sic] sanctorum written on paper, which belonged to doña Mencía, may she rest in peace, and passed to doña Juana, her daughter, who gave it to the already mentioned lady [Catalina] so she donated the book to us [the nuns of the convent of Santa Clara]; it is valued at 1,000 maravedís'.³⁰ The four other devotional books may well also have originally belonged to noblewomen and subsequently had a new life in the convent (Cátedra García 1999: 24).

In addition to providing the names of the nuns living at the convent in 1473,³¹ the inventory affords a glimpse of the décor and layout of the choir in the convent: there was a rug with roses on the steps, a total of six benches (two of them with bench covers), white and red hangings ('sargas') on the walls and an altar near a set of chairs, a green and red carpet on the steps through which the choir was reached, and two wooden lecterns—one large and painted green and the other small.³² No organ is mentioned in this first inventory of the items

29 The inventory forms part of the collection of don Juan Dexeus, from Barcelona, which contains documents related to the houses of the Álvarez and the Núñez de Toledo. For a transcription of the complete document, see Cátedra García 1987: 317–29.

30 Cátedra García 1987: 324: 'Un libro que se llama Flor santorum escripto en papel, que fue de doña Mencía, que Dios aya, e cupo a doña Juana, su fija, la qual le dio a la dicha señora para que nos lo diese, que vale mill maravedís'.

31 María de Gauna, abbess; Mari Alfonso de Segovia, vicar; Juana Sánchez de Moya, *provisora*; Catalina Núñez, master of the order; Catalina Díaz de Godoy, porter; María Álvarez de Caravantes, porter; Marina Atamayo, sacristan; Catalina Gonçalves de Segovia, nurse; and Leonor de Plazencia, *mayordoma*; see Cátedra García 1987: 317.

32 Cátedra García 1987: 325–27: 'una alonbra de unas rosas que se pone en las gradas del coro, que vale seys mill maravedís'; 'quatro vancales de alonbra, los dos dellos que están en dos vancos del coro de la iglesia e el otro en la grada del altar mayor donde pone los pies el preste e el otro que se pone en un vanco del cuerpo de la iglesia, que valen dos mill maravedís'; 'unas sargas blancas e coloradas que están en el coro de las sillas, que valen

endowed by Catalina Núñez; however, it is known that music played an important role in the Franciscan communities, as Peter Loewen has recently demonstrated (Loewen 2013).³³ In some Clarissan convents, the ceremonies at Christmas were marked by plays that included music, such as the *Representación del nacimiento de nuestro Señor*, written between 1458 and 1468 by Gómez Manrique for his sister María, *Vicaria* of the convent of Calabazanos, which concluded with the sung lullaby 'Cantad fijo mío, chiquito' (Cátedra García 1987: 314–15). According to the historiographical tradition of this event at the convent, Princess Isabel attended the first performance of the work, although there is apparently no concrete evidence to corroborate this (Salvador Miguel 2012: 142). Indeed, in sixteenth-century Italy and Spain a tradition of religious theatre with a musical component flourished not only in the court milieu, but also in convents as a kind of 'spiritual fun and learning for women' (Weaver 2002) (see Chapter 4).

Details concerning payment for the celebration of sung Masses and Offices endowed by a broad cross-section of women and men are found both in individuals' wills and the account books of religious institutions. In 1477, Queen Isabel paid a yearly rent of 10,000 maravedís to Seville Cathedral to provide for a celebration of the Octave of the Immaculate Conception which included Vespers, a procession, a solemn Mass with singers and organ, and a solemn responsory with its prayer; a votive Mass of the Holy Trinity with procession, organ, singers and sermon to be celebrated on 1 March; and celebration of the feast of St John the Evangelist with first Vespers, procession, Mass, sermon and second Vespers (Ruiz Jiménez 2014: 81–82). Post-mortem Masses were considered to be the most efficient way of relieving the suffering of the soul as it passed through Purgatory. Masses were celebrated on the day the person died, nine days later, thirty days later and one year after their death, and music as part of these ceremonies was frequently stipulated in wills and foundation documents. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of a collection of documents from the Convent of Santa Clara, dated between the sixteenth and the nine-

dozientos maravedís'; 'una manta de estrado verde e colorada, que se pone en las gradas por do suben al coro, que vale quinientos maravedís'; 'otro altar para el coro de las sillas de pies e tablas para donde está el Corpus Christi, que costó çient maravedís'; 'un façistor de madera grande pintado verde costó trezientos maravedís'; 'otro façistor pequeño de madera, que costó çient maravedís'; 'dos vancos para el coro de la iglesia costaron dozientos maravedís'.

33 Loewen's study covers the period between 1210 (foundation of the Franciscan Order) and 1300, and analyses the important role played by music in Franciscan hagiography, art, theology, philosophy and prayer.

teenth centuries and preserved at the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid,³⁴ is the information that the documents from the earlier years provide on the endowment, mainly by women, of sung Masses and anniversaries. These documents can thus provide references to female musical patronage and female members of society who experienced music through attendance at musico-liturgical events in convents.

Some of the noblewomen who acted as patronesses also formed part of the circle close to the Catholic Monarchs. A good example is that of Juan de Cuero and his wife Catalina Ruiz de Tapia, who in 1501 were appointed *camareros* of the youngest daughter of the Catholic Monarchs, Katherine of Aragon, and who travelled to London to serve her when she became Queen of England (Quintana 2005: fols 214v–217v; Álvarez y Baena 1790, 3: 10–32). The couple returned to Spain nine years later and founded a chapel in the convent of Santa Clara in Madrid, where they wished to be buried. One of the documents preserved at the Archivo Histórico Nacional is Catalina Ruiz's will, dated 1531.³⁵ She stipulated her burial in the chapel that she and her husband had founded in the convent. If she died in the morning, all the Masses that could be celebrated that day had to be dedicated to her soul, including a sung Requiem Mass with deacon and subdeacon. If she died on a day when the celebration of Masses was not allowed, all the Masses she stipulated were to be celebrated as soon as possible. At the chapel where she was to be buried, two hundred Masses had to be celebrated—it is not specified whether these Masses were to be prayed or chanted. She paid half a real for each Mass. In addition, she reiterated a demand previously made by her and her husband according to which two Masses had to be celebrated weekly (on Mondays and Saturdays) at their chapel, including a responsory said by the priest over their tombs. To endow the celebration of these Masses and responsories, she paid 4,000 maravedís to the nuns of the convent. She also financed two *treintenarios llanos* for the souls of her parents, brother and all her family antecedents at the church of Saint Just in Alcalá de Henares; another *treintenario llano* was endowed for the soul of her husband at the church of Santiago in Madrid. A *treintenario* comprised thirty-three Masses, but it is not clear whether 'llano' refers here to plainchant ('canto llano') or to prayed Masses. Another woman who moved in royal circles, whose will—dating from 1514—is among the documents from the convent

34 Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional [AHN], CLERO-SECULAR_REGULAR, 3932/3938. This collection comprises twenty-four books, seven files, and one folder. Cátedra García draws attention to the importance of these documents (he also mentions fifteen vellum documents from 1503 to 1658), not yet analysed for the study of the history of the convent; see Cátedra García 1987: 317 n. 30.

35 Madrid, AHN, CLERO-SECULAR_REGULAR, 3936 [document 1].

of Santa Clara, was Elvira de Galdo, widow of García de Alcocer, secretary and guardian of Enrique IV (Portilla y Esquivel 1725: 335; Rábade Obrado 1990: 270). She founded a funerary chapel in the convent church and paid an income of 1,000 maravedís to the nuns to provide for the celebration of a weekly Mass on Fridays, and a Mass of the Holy Cross with its responsory in her chapel. Another Mass was to be celebrated every Saturday in her chapel for her soul and that of her husband. For the day of her death, she endowed the celebration of Masses by the clergymen of the churches of San Juan and Santa Clara, as well as a *novena* (*novenario*) celebrated by the nuns of the convent.

Thus the documents that act as sources for studying the early years of the convent of Santa Clara in Madrid reveal a link between music patronage, Franciscan devotion and noblewomen from the court of the Catholic Monarchs. For a later period, many wills preserved at the Archivo Histórico Nacional are abundant in musical references,³⁶ as well as a book of entries and professions of nuns that has been used by Colleen Baade as a source for identifying nun musicians (Baade 2005).³⁷ This documentation shows not only that the nuns themselves were involved in musical activities in convents, but also that other women actively used convents as cultural centres and performative spaces where it was possible to establish, through the music performed by nuns and priests, a connection between the earthly and the celestial worlds. This form of musical patronage involving the use of music for devotional purposes was widely practised in the early modern Iberian world.

Women and Music in 'Other' Contexts: Domestic Settings and Professional Spheres

The paucity of references to female musicians in historical records from the time of the Catholic Monarchs reflects complex issues surrounding the nature of female professionalism at that period. Mauricio Molina has pointed out that, in the medieval period, female performers 'were generally considered to be sinful women', which was not prompted by their particular profession, but by the fact that they had a profession at all (Molina 2010: 87). Based on a study of the literature of the period, Molina presents examples that suggest that

36 For instance, the will (probably dating from the seventeenth century) of María de Salazar, aunt of Magdalena de Aldana, a nun of Santa Clara, contains many references to sung Masses with deacon and subdeacon; she specified polyphonic music for some of these Masses, as well as the participation of confraternities and brotherhoods in her burial (Madrid, AHN, CLERO-SECULAR_REGULAR, 3936 [documents 10 and 12]).

37 Madrid, AHN, CLERO-SECULAR_REGULAR, 3937.

terms such as 'juglaresa' were generally synonymous with courtesan, so that when female musicians were considered to be honest women, this had to be specified explicitly. Moreover, female performers 'were perceived as challengers to the medieval patriarchal intellectual system' (Molina 2015). The link between female musicians and morality ('deshonestidad') went beyond the medieval period. There are isolated cases of female minstrels at the Aragonese court during the first decades of the fifteenth century, such as Graciosa Alegre, from Valencia, who had previously worked at the French royal court (1409–10) in the service of Queen Isabel of Bavaria as well as at the Navarrese and Castilian courts (Gómez Muntané 1979, 1: 26; Knighton 2011b: 519–20). Further examples are Catherina, a singer and dancer who received royal protection in 1424 'since her Moorish dress was attracting disrespect at court', being associated with prostitution (Gómez Muntané 1979, 1: 174; Knighton 2011b: 520); and Guyomar de Sabas, from Mallorca, who entertained the courtiers with her musical skills and was advised by the Prince of Viana in 1459 to desist from singing and dancing as she had reached a certain age (Rodríguez Risquete 2011, 1: 170–71; Knighton 2011b: 530–31). There are only a few examples of Spanish noble houses hiring female musicians at the time of the Catholic Monarchs; a singer named Leonora was working for the house of Benavente in 1499 (Freund Schwartz 2001a: 496). In her will of 1500, Isabel de Zúñiga y Pimentel (1480–1520), Duchess of Alba, left a pension of 3,000 maravedís per year to 'Ana, the singer', who was probably a chamber musician (Ana is also referred to as 'Ana of the duchess').³⁸ However, it seems likely that these cases are the visible vestiges of an often unrecorded tradition of female musicians working for noble families in private settings.

Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that some of the women hired by nobility as maids or servants also worked as musicians, even though they are always mentioned in historical records merely as servants. Female royal servants occasionally attracted praise for their musical skills. At the court of Isabel's mother, Isabel de Portugal (c. 1428–96), the queen's female dwarf was praised for her singing skills in a poem by Fernando de la Torre that begins as follows: 'If God give you as much grace in everything as He did in singing, I would like to marry you' (Figure 14.2).³⁹

38 Freund Schwartz 2001a: 84–85: 'In her will Doña Isabel left a pension of 3000 mrs per year to "Ana, the singer". A marginal note implies that she served the duchess personally, perhaps as a chamber singer'; Freund Schwartz 2001a: 85 n. 207: 'The marginal note calls the singer "Ana de la duquesa"'. The will of the duchess is preserved in Madrid, Archivo del Ducado de Alba, C. 22–75, No. 1.

39 Torre c. 1449: fol. 101v: 'Sy asi como graciosa / vos fizo Dios en cantar / vos feziera en toda cosa, / con vos quisiera casar. / Con vos quisiera fazer / mi vida siempre jamás, / alegra

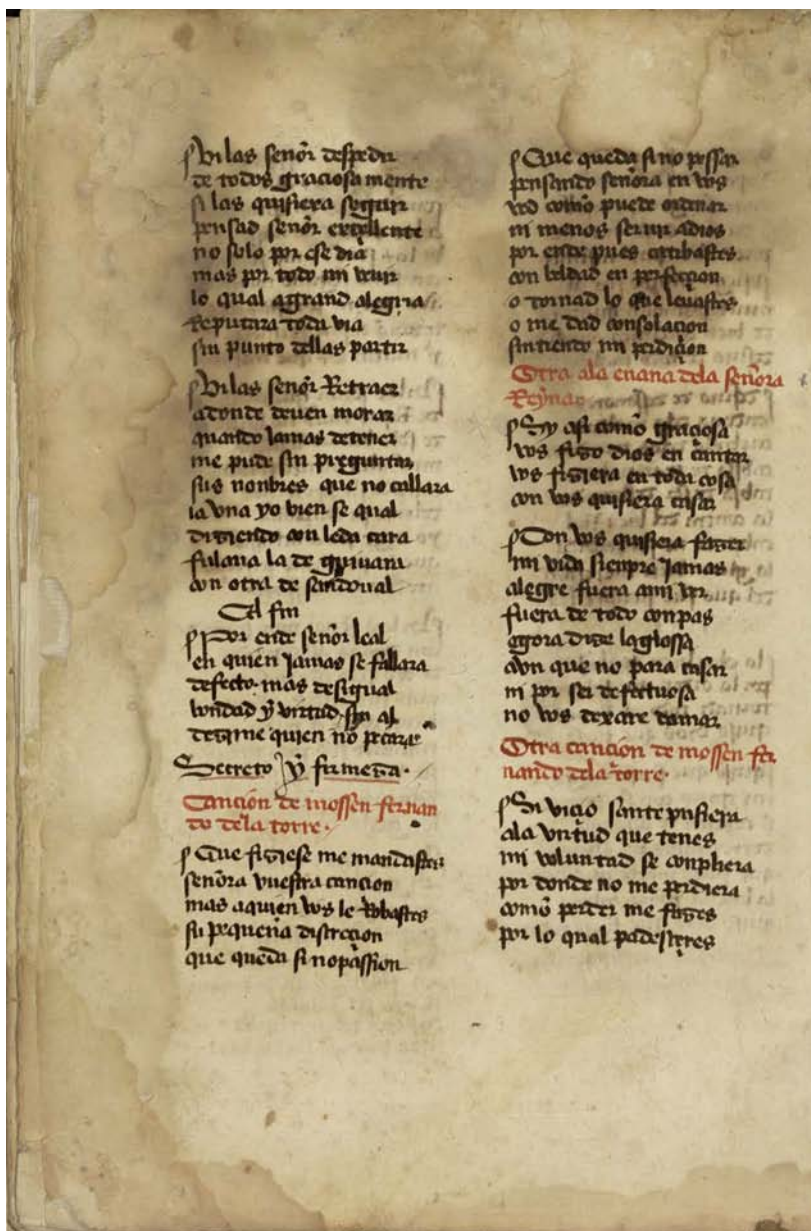


FIGURE 14.2 Song by Fernando de la Torre dedicated to the female dwarf of Queen Isabel de Portugal (c. 1428–96); Fernando de la Torre (c. 1420–75), *Libro de las veynte cartas e quistiones con sus respuestas y algunos metros* (c. 1449) (E-Mn MS 18041, fol. 101v: 'Otra a la enana de la señora Reyna')

A slightly later example is reported from the ducal court of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Third Duke of the Infantado (1500–31). Fascinated by the musical skills of María Maldonada (known as La Maldonada), he hired her for the service of his daughter, replacing another servant musician in her employ. The duke then appears to have fallen in love with La Maldonada, showered her with gifts, including musical instruments (vihuelas, a small clavichord and a harpsichord), and a book of polyphony; he married her a few months before he died, regardless of his children's disapproval (see Chapter 5) (Pecha *Historia*: fol. 214r–v; Layna Serrano 1942, 3: 117–18; Freund Schwartz 2001a: 374–75). A somewhat later case confirms the practice of hiring female musicians under the label of 'servants'; Isabel de Plazaola (born c. 1542–43) is referred to in the records of the 1564–65 Inquisition prosecution of her mother Isabel Ortiz as a singer and player highly esteemed by noblewomen throughout Castile who was to be employed as a musician in the service of Juana de la Lama, Duchess of Albuquerque, in Milan (Mazuela-Anguila 2013). In 1575, a lawsuit was brought by Plazaola and her mother against the Duchess of Albuquerque and her family for dismissing Plazaola before the end of her six-year contract. What is most remarkable in the records of this lawsuit is that Isabel de Plazaola is never referred to as a musician, but always as a servant. Thus without the information extracted from the inquisitorial records concerning her mother's prosecution, it would have been impossible to determine that the female protagonist of this lawsuit was a musician.

Further examples of women's invisibility in historical sources in the context of professional employment occur with women who worked as printers.⁴⁰ Generally, clues of women's presence in the printing industry emerge only when the head of both the household and the workshop died and his widow took charge of the business. However, even in such circumstances, women's names hardly ever appeared in colophons, since the works that were produced in their time were signed 'the widow of'. Slightly later examples include that of María Solórzano, who married the Saragossa printer Bartolomé de Nájera in 1545 and was widowed in 1561. She was in charge of the workshop between 1562 and 1572, printing the 1562 edition of Juan Martínez's *Arte de canto llano* (Seville, 1530) as the 'widow of Bartolomé de Nájera' ('biuda de Bartholome de

fuera a mi ver / fuera de todo compás. / agora dize la glosa, / avnque no para casar, / ni por ser defectuosa, / no vos dexaré d'amar'; edition and study in Díez Garretas 2009: 261, no. 154.

40 In addition to studies of individual figures such as Isabel de Basilea, Brígida Maldonado and Jerónima de Gales, for a collective volume on women printers in the Iberian world, see Garone Gravier & Corbeto i López 2009.

Nagera') (San Vicente Pino 2003: 219). Juan Luis Vives recommended that widows should either remarry or become nuns in order to avoid the undesirable freedom associated with widowhood (Vives 1528: 450). In the case of female artisans such as printers, marrying another printer was a means of strengthening the family business, or holding the reins on behalf of a son who was destined to take charge of the printing-house. The association between woman printers and widowhood might suggest that women's involvement in printing was circumstantial and provisional; however, since printing workshops were family businesses usually located within the printer's household, women were very probably working in them even during their husbands' lives, participating 'in all aspects of the business' (Dyer 1998: 65), even though they are rarely documented as doing so. Another example is that of Bartomeva Riera, mother of the Barcelona bookseller Miquel Riera, who in 1524 had five 'small chant manuals from Saragossa' ('art de cant de Saragosa, petit'), probably copies of the *Arte de canto llano et contrapunto et canto de organo* (Saragossa, 1508) by Gonzalo Martínez de Bizcargui, and six 'small chant manuals in French' ('art de cant, petit, en frances') (Madurell Marimón 1968: 208; Ros-Fàbregas 2001b: 36). This suggests that she was involved in her son's business. In other words, it is problematic to estimate the division of responsibility between men and women in the printing business, given the indivisibility at the time between household and workshop.⁴¹ As a consequence, the few cases in which there is evidence to relate woman printers and music books may be just the visible trace of years of invisible work. It is impossible to know whether female printers were musically literate or whether they relied on male composers and proofreaders. Craftswomen involved in other businesses such as string-making constitute another case of female activities connected to music that may remain hidden among historical records. For instance, according to a contract of 1526, Alonso de las Moras from Burgos was required to deliver 'all the strings made by his wife' to Pedro de Arratia, a *violero* from Valladolid (Diego Pacheco 2009: 375).

The ways in which women related to print and book culture, including music books, in this period were many; social factors continued to be important, even as the cultural revolution spearheaded by printing meant that book ownership and use were already beginning to change. Primarily, it was women in privileged positions who were associated with important collections of

41 Alice Clark argues that there was 'no hard and fast line dividing domestic occupations from other branches of industry, and thus it has not been possible to discover how much of women's labour was given to purposes of trade and how much was confined to the service of their families' (Clark 1992: 290); see also Wiesner-Hanks 1993.

polyphony: the coats of arms of Juana and Philip the Fair appear in a polyphonic manuscript of 1505 (*B-Br* 9126); and Juana herself owned a number of music books, as attested to by inventories of 1545 (Hernández González 1998: 406–7, no. 34) and 1555 (Ferrandis 1943: 171, 227, 229–30, 234; Ros-Fábregas 2002a: 18–19). Another major source of Franco-Netherlandish polyphony, the so-called Chigi Codex, contains the coats of arms of both Elvira Fernández de Córdoba (d. 1524), daughter of the Gran Capitán, and María Manrique (d. 1527), Duchess of Terranova and Elvira's mother (*I-Rvat* C.viii. 234, fol. 19v; Ros-Fábregas 2002b: 244–51). The creation of music books in the vernacular, the decrease in price resulting from printing, and the design of small-format volumes such as plainchant manuals, must have increased the individual ownership of music books among groups previously excluded from music associated with and disseminated among the élite (Mazuela-Anguita 2014). The noblewoman Leonor Pimentel (d. 1486) owned a book of polyphony, according to her inventory of possessions dated 1490 (Beceiro Pita 2003: 34). However, music books are also found in inventories of women who did not belong to the nobility: a book of polyphony is included in the 1510 inventory of Yolanda de Soria, wife of Mateo Belsequer, a merchant from Saragossa (Pedraza Gracia 1993: 173; Knighton 2006: 233). Connections such as ownership or signs of use between women and books of instrumental music are rarely found in this period. Slightly later, Gonzalo de Baena alluded to the potential use of his *Arte nouamente inuentada pera aprender a tanger* (Lisbon, 1540) in the musical education of girls, perhaps girls belonging to the nobility or girls preparing to becoming nuns, but in principle by anyone who could afford his book.⁴²

It has been argued that, while men owned books on diverse subjects, women possessed mainly devotional libraries (Rojo Vega 1985: 26–27; Rojo Vega 1988: 560; Mayo 2008: 159). Even the books owned by Queen Isabel have been regarded by Elisa Ruiz García as a selection of texts considered exemplary for the religious education and improvement of a woman, independently of her

42 Knighton 2012a: 32: 'All these rules are presented here for those who are not so skilled or who have not learnt the rudiments, that is, young boys and girls and the like, since for all others the first rule alone should be sufficient'. In the eighteenth century a different perspective is reflected in Josefa Amar y Borbón's *Discurso sobre la educacion fisica y moral de las mugeres* (Madrid, 1790), where it is maintained that instrumental music is more useful for women than vocal music, as it can be practised alone, and to cultivate skills that require much company is dangerous for women (Amar y Borbón 1790: 200): 'la música instrumental es más útil que la vocal, porque se puede exercitar á solas'; 'quando se busca la propia utilidad en la instruccion, se ha de procurar tambien depender lo ménos que se pueda de los otros, y en las mugeres siempre es peligroso cultivar habilidades que requieren mucha comparsa'.

social condition.⁴³ Women's inventories of books reveal a strong tendency to ownership of chant books or didactic manuals, and hence it could be suggested that these types of books may have formed part of 'women's books', a 'precise commercial category' in the sixteenth-century book market (Plebani 1996: 36). Women's books were generally small-format volumes—indeed, they were often called *libritos de mujeres* (that is, 'women's little books')—and written in the vernacular, two characteristics associated with the early modern world. Lorenzo Arribas argues that didactic music texts in the vernacular were often associated with female convents (Lorenzo Arribas 2008: 11). For instance, one extant mid-fifteenth-century *Art del cant plà* in Catalan occupied fols 72v–89r of a Latin liturgical book belonging to the Clarissan convent of the Most Holy Trinity in Valencia.⁴⁴ Even though 'women's books' could cover a variety of subject matters, didactic material relating to personal devotions and Christian improvement stand out as the most common topics.⁴⁵

Libritos de mujeres were incorporated into women's dowries and formed part of legacies from mothers to daughters (Rojo Vega 1985: 26–27; Penketh 1997: 275–76). Medieval sources, such as the *Sachsenspiegel* ('a collection of Saxon custom laws first compiled by Eike von Repgow in about 1215'), indicate that the household items to be passed from mother to daughter included 'books connected with religious observance' (Groag Bell 1988: 156–57). Susan Groag Bell claims that this custom is demonstrated by the case of books of hours, which 'were traditional gifts for young girls learning to read and were often included in a bride's trousseau' (Groag Bell 1988: 160).⁴⁶ Groag Bell draws attention to the existence of a Dutch book of hours 'inscribed with the names of six generations of women', and suggests that the lack of testamentary

43 Elisa Ruiz García has challenged the historiographical tradition that has depicted Queen Isabel as a major book patron; see Ruiz García 2003 and 2004b. On the music books belonging to Isabel according to an inventory drawn up before 1501, see Sánchez Cantón 1950: 59, 83–85; and Ros-Fábreas 2001b: 58–59. On the music books in the 1545 inventory of Isabel's possessions, see Ruiz García 2004b: 559–63; and Knighton 2008a.

44 Later the book formed part of the private library of Roc Chabàs, a canon at Valencia Cathedral. Felip Pedrell borrowed the book from this library to publish the plainchant manual in 1912 as *Art del cant plà* in the collection *Recull de textos catalans antics*; see Pedrell 1912. The choirbook is now preserved as *E-Bbc M1327 Gfol*.

45 Groag Bell 1988: 160: 'Because women's public participation in spiritual life was not welcomed by the hierarchical male establishment, a close involvement with religious devotional literature, inoffensive because of its privacy, took on a greater importance for women. [...] These books of piety included gospels, Psalters, lives of the saints, and, in large part, Books of Hours.'

46 On the Books of Hours belonging to Queen Isabel, see Ruiz García 2002.

evidence of legacies between mothers and daughters 'may suggest that such bequests were customary (as in the *Sachsenspiegel*) and required no documentation' (Groag Bell 1988: 157). Queen Isabel herself sent manuscript Books of Hours and breviaries to her daughters María and Katherine of Aragon when they were respectively in Portugal and England (Ruiz García 2002: 412; Ruiz García 2004a: 230). Given the similarities between books of hours and chant manuals—both typologies shared a devotional purpose, an association with particular religious ceremonies, and a duality between the private and the public, the written and the oral—it would not be surprising that the latter were also included in dowries as 'women's books' and were bequeathed from one generation to the next. However, due to the scarcity of testamentary evidence, it is difficult to know whether chant manuals were also included in dowries as 'women's books', because, in contrast with the luxurious material characteristics of most Books of Hours, chant manuals were short-lived literature with less chance of survival. A different type of matrilineal passage of books was through the donations made by noblewomen to convents, as witnessed in the case of Catalina Núñez and the convent of Santa Clara in Madrid already discussed.

The evidence for professional woman musicians working for the nobility, of female printers who may well have been musically literate, and of a broad cross-section of female owners of music books suggests that there was a 'culture of informal education for women'; this process must have been 'so natural' that it 'remained unmentioned and therefore almost invisible'.⁴⁷ As a consequence, in-depth analysis of the relationship between women and music in early modern private settings outside court and convent necessitates using sources that document daily life, such as literary texts and inquisitorial records. Inquisitorial prosecutions for witchcraft frequently involved women who participated in musical meetings, singing, playing musical instruments and dancing, since music and dance were two of the diabolical and lascivious activities attributed to being a witch in Renaissance demonology treatises (Mazuela-Angueta 2015). Thus musical iconography, demonology books and, especially, Inquisition prosecutions for witchcraft present descriptions and representations of female music, musical instruments and lyrics sung by

47 Nader 2003: 6: 'In one aspect of life, education, these essays reveal a previously unknown or unexamined culture of informal education for women. The authors found no descriptions of the means by which women received education in childhood, yet every action and written record of their adult years reveals a level of education that far exceeds the stereotype of girls simply learning to sew and embroider. [...] From birth, females trained to be wives, mothers, and widows. Educating girls seemed indispensable and natural, so natural that the process of women's education remained unmentioned and therefore almost invisible'.

women who were considered to be witches. These records reveal the low moral status which was attributed to these lower- and middle-class women, and form a counterpart to the restrictive picture given by the books on the education of women published in Spain during the period. However, in contrast with these treatises, inquisitorial records enable us to scrutinize the relationship between women and music, providing traces of the participation of women in musical life, and suggesting women's prominent role in the oral transmission of music.

Some inquisitorial records have been studied from the philological perspective as they contain references to the lyrics of witches' songs, and some of these songs still persist in oral traditions. For instance, in 1529 Teresa del Puente was accused of being a witch, as she had been seen very late at night in the company of other witches singing the song: *Pámpana rota / racimo de albar / nunca vi dueñas / a tal hora bailar*.⁴⁸ The Palace Songbook includes a setting of a three-voice villancico with very similar lyrics (*E-Mp* 1335, fol. 8r), attributed to Francisco de La Torre (fl. 1483–1504), a singer in the choir of the Aragonese royal chapel and later master of the choirboys in Seville Cathedral (Asenjo Barbieri 1890: 208 (lyrics), 557 (music); Romeu Figueras 1965, 2: 251–52; Pedrosa 1991; and Frenk 2003: 62) (Figure 14.3; Example 14.2). The philologist José Manuel Pedrosa has shown that variants of these lyrics persist in different oral traditions today (Pedrosa 1999). Thus, even though it is difficult to find direct evidence for women's music-making at the time of the Catholic Monarchs, the use of indirect source material offers a means of confronting the invisibility/inaudibility of women.

The exploration of the points in which private and the public contexts overlap—such as the musical life at female convents—and those in which oral practices are captured in written sources—such as books of verse, courtly games and Inquisition records—helps to bring together different parts of a complex mosaic of interrelated female musical activities at the time of the Catholic Monarchs. The study of the relationship between women and music through the history of religion—the field of activity which was socially accepted for women in the world of appearances—using methodologies borrowed from other disciplines such as philology and the history of popular culture, and taking into account sources such as Inquisition records, inventories and literature opens new vistas to the development of further research to put women on the map of music history. The context of social display, or observing moral prescriptions and displaying religious zeal, contrasts with the

48 Inquisitorial prosecutions of Gil de la Huerta and his daughter Teresa del Puente (1529): Cuenca, Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca, file 106, expedientes 1498 and 1510; cited in Corrente Martínez 1990: 69. The text of this popular song is included in Frenk 2003: 62.



FIGURE 14.3 Francisco de La Torre, Pánpano verde (E-Mp II-1335, fol. 8r)

musical initiatives of women in their private contexts. The study of daily life suggests that the function of female musical activities in Iberian lands was not only to express religious zeal by practising or patronizing 'honest' music. In the private milieu, women also promoted music and musicians and were involved in music-making at all levels of technical accomplishment as professionals and amateurs. The focus of music research on important institutions, composers and written music in a time when the boundaries between performance and composition were indistinct may have fuelled the phenomenon of lost women's voices in the fifteenth century; however, the use of other sources and methodologies and the historical perspective of everyday life makes women's musical practices more audible. These approaches allow us not only to catch a glimpse of the active musical life of women in private and public contexts but also to learn about the percolation of music into the cultural framework.

First system of the musical score. It consists of four staves: a vocal line (Soprano/Alto) and three accompaniment staves (Contra, Tenor, and another Contra). The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are: Pan - pa - no ver - de, ra - zi - mo al - uar; A - qui so - mos to - das tres.

Second system of the musical score, starting at measure 7. It continues with the same four-staff structure. The lyrics are: quien vi - do due - ñas a tal o - ra an - dar las dos de ol - me - do la o - tra de Al - mo - roz. The system ends with a double bar line and the word 'Fine'.

Third system of the musical score, starting at measure 12. It continues with the same four-staff structure. The lyrics are: En - zi - nue - co en - tre - llas en - tre las don - se - llas. The system ends with a double bar line and the word 'D. C.' (Da Capo).

EXAMPLE 14.2: *Francisco de La Torre, Pánpano verde* (E-Mp 11-1335, fol. 8r; Cancionero Musical de Palacio, no. 11)

Musical Lives: Late Medieval Hispano-Jewish Communities

Eleazar Gutwirth

We cannot hear the music accompanying the Dance of Miriam portrayed in the illumination to a Catalan-Aragonese codex of the Haggadah (c. 1320s) (Figure 15.1).¹ Yet, without music there is no dance, and the musical instruments depicted attest to an interest in music-making by the late medieval painter and his patron. The question of the religion of the artist/observer or of his model—was he a Christian?—was raised in the nineteenth century and continues to engage scholars. However, there can be no question as to the Jewish character of a Passover Haggadah and the decorum attendant upon it. The patron's tastes, no less than the artist's, determined the outcome, as did the Hebrew texts that frame the picture. The influential scholar Ramón Menéndez Pidal averred that we could hear the music of the Jews of the time of the Catholic Monarchs; it had been petrified like submarine coral thanks to the magic wand of tradition (Gutwirth 1994–95: 481ff). Yet behind the 'tradition' collected in the twentieth century, some have discerned the music of a tango (Seroussi 1990).

I History and Music

Numerous additional examples of the problems with sources could be produced, but the most famous is the description of the music-making of the Jews at the time of their expulsion by the Catholic Monarchs in 1492. In the 1930s, Thomas Walsh accepted uncritically the narrative of the expulsion written by Andrés Bernaldez (c. 1450–1513), chaplain and confessor to Diego de Deza, Archbishop of Seville, and sometimes referred to as the priest of the southern Andalusian town of Los Palacios y Villafranca ('cura de los Palacios'), which Walsh translated as: 'the rabbis encouraged them and caused the women and boys to sing and play tambourines and timbrels to make the people merry'

¹ The Sarajevo Haggadah is available in a number of facsimiles. On the instruments, see Molina 2010, and for an art historical study, see, for example, Franco Mata 1993.

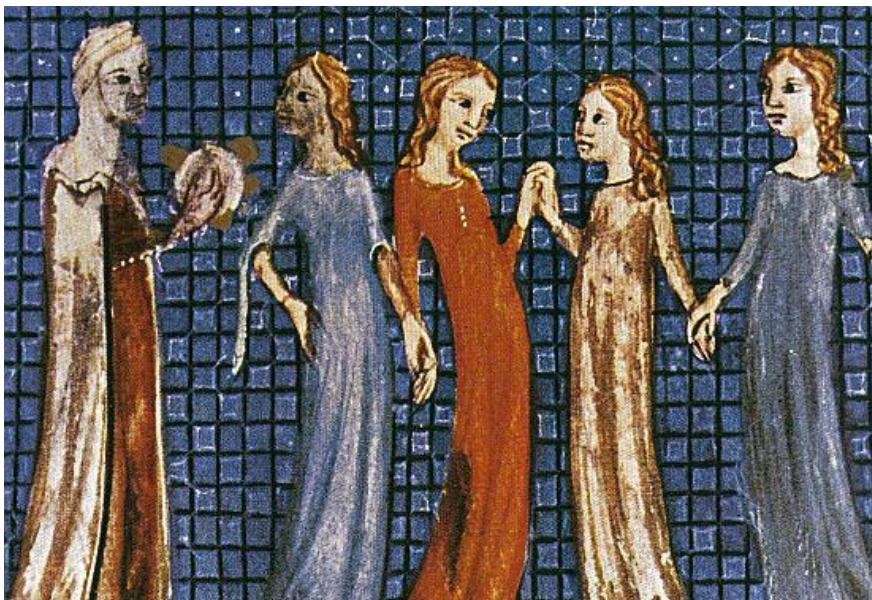


FIGURE 15.1 *In the 1320s in the Crown of Aragon, an observer imagines a Jewish dance to the music of the tambourine (Dance of Miriam; GB-Lbl Add. 27210, fol. 15)*

(Walsh 1935: 471). Given that Bernáldez's chronicle of the Catholic Monarchs—entitled *Memorias* and not *Historia* (Gómez-Moreno & Mata Carriazo 1962)—is a source of the narratives of expulsion, discovery and conquest, the question of credit and credibility becomes central. Indeed, a long tradition believed in Bernáldez's description of the expulsion (which includes the above passage on Jewish music) and the passages on Jews in such fifteenth-century Castilian chronicles as 'impartial' (Gutwirth 1984). Many readers paraphrase his lines on music as if the book offered a realistic, transparent description. More recently, research on areas where Bernáldez's assertions can be tested—because numerous independent archival records, particularly concerning the military history of the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, survive—has led to the assertion that his account is reminiscent of a film set: 'Huge conscripted armies of knights and foot soldiers; vast requisitions of beasts of burden and supplies or provisions; towns and city walls that are destroyed and rebuilt as if by magic, making the modern reader automatically think about contemporary "cinema cities".'²

2 Azcona 1964: 505: 'Levas gigantescas de caballeros y peones; requisas impresionantes de bestias de carga y de mantenimientos o vituallas, ciudades y murallas que se destruyen y reedi-

The study of Bernáldez's passages on the Jews under the Catholic Monarchs has led to somewhat different conclusions: while an uncritical acceptance of the *Memorias* was not contemplated, a wholesale dismissal was not necessary. There were archetypes, models, frames or tendencies—literary, theological, political—which could help to read his chronicle (Gutwirth 1984). For the cleric, the model was the Bible, and the biblical books of the Psalms and Exodus help to understand Bernáldez's narratives: 'When Israel went forth [from Egypt, the house of Jacob from a people of strange language, Judah became his sanctuary, Israel his dominion...]' (Ps. 114: 1–2); and 'Praise him with *timbrel and dance*; praise him with strings and pipe! Praise him with sounding cymbals; praise him with loud clashing cymbals!' (Ps. 150: 3–5); and '[...] the singers in front, the minstrels last, between them *maidens playing timbrels*' (Ps. 68: 25) (author's emphasis). Bernáldez's passage can now be read as a mosaic composed from these fragments: exodus; singers; women; and musical instruments (*tambourines* and *timbrels*).

II Ancient and Medieval

Bernaldez is useful—not as a case of instant gratification of curiosity or direct access to the reign of the Catholic Monarchs—but because he introduces us to a number of issues: the question of *history*—in history of music—that is to say, evidence, its status and handling; and also the dynamic relationship between the ancient and the medieval in fifteenth-century representations of music: in Bernáldez's case the Bible, its medieval readers and readings. There are other aspects to this dynamic. The medieval character of Miriam's dance, in the Haggadah miniatures produced for late medieval Hispano-Jewish communities, is evident not only in the text, the use of vellum, and the scribal hand to which they are inextricably linked, but also in such physical features as the hairstyles and attire of the women musician-dancers. The hairstyles in the dance scene of the Aragonese Haggadah (Figure 15.2)—as in the Budapest, London or Manchester analogues—are evidently medieval, western European and frequently French-inspired. There is a clear distinction in the Sarajevo Haggadah between the music-playing woman on the left with a headdress and the other dancers whose hair remains uncovered. Such a distinction follows the *halakhic* legal distinction between married and single women of late medieval *taqqanot* (bye-laws) that prevailed in Hispano-Jewish communities. The

fican como por ensalmo, que involuntariamente hacen pensar al lector moderno en las actuales "ciudades del cine".

tunics are similarly medieval, and the use of histories of Spanish dress could help to further art historical analyses of Haggadah illuminations. The second woman from the left seems to wear a wide-sleeved tunic, reminiscent perhaps of the well-documented *alcandoras* of the late Middle Ages. Although there is some attempt to represent an undulating, swaying movement in the depiction of the dance scene, there is no intimation of leg movements: possibly the more level flooring developed in the early modern period was to allow for prescribed regular leg movements.

Despite such clearly medieval cultural elements, there are also traces of antiquity. The frame drums in the late medieval Haggadot have been traced back to ancient Mesopotamia where they were seen as fertility symbols (Molina 2010). One modern approach to the Dance of Miriam in the late medieval Spanish Haggadot is suggestive:

The biblical imagery of late Antiquity is characterized by the illustration of the text episode by episode so that the narrative is enriched by added elements that feed the Jewish myth. This specific illustration is familiar today from Christian monuments and manuscripts. Through a means of transmission whose traces are difficult to follow, these traditions have survived until the Middle Ages. Certain elements also appeared in the biblical cycles of the Haggadot in fourteenth-century Spain. However, an image-by-image comparison between the Haggadot cycles and those of Christian monuments shows that the latter cannot be considered to have served as models for Jewish painters. The biblical images of the Haggadot probably derive from a tradition formed in Jewish circles before 200AD and transmitted, possibly by Jewish communities in southern Italy or North Africa, to artists working in the Iberian Peninsula in the fourteenth century. It is probably thanks to a parallel line of transmission that certain elements of this tradition reached Christian artists whose works allow us partially to reconstruct ancient tradition.³

3 Sed-Rajna 1988: 49: 'L'imagerie biblique de l'Antiquité tardive se caractérise par une illustration du texte épisode par épisode, ainsi que l'enrichissement du récit par des éléments puisés dans la légende juive. Cette illustration spécifique est connue aujourd'hui grâce à des monuments et manuscrits chrétiens. Par une transmission dont les voies sont difficiles à tracer, ces traditions ont survécu jusqu'au Moyen-Âge. Certains éléments en apparaissent également dans les cycles bibliques des Haggadot exécutés en Espagne au XIV^e siècle. Toutefois, une comparaison image par image entre les cycles des Haggadot et ceux des monuments chrétiens montre que ces derniers ne peuvent pas être considérés comme ayant servi de modèles aux peintres juifs. Les images bibliques des Haggadot dérivent probablement d'une tradition créée en milieuux



FIGURE 15.2 *The Dance of Miriam (upper right) from the Catalan-Aragonese copy of the Haggadah (c. 1320s) (GB-Lbl Add. 27210, fol. 15)*

Indeed, without entirely duplicating it, the connection with the Byzantine Vatican Octateuchs (particularly the scene of the Dance of Miriam in the twelfth-century Greek Codex 746 (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica), fol. 194v) and Dura Europos inextricably links late medieval representations of dance and music-making in manuscript illuminations of late medieval Hispano-Jewish communities to the—ultimately ancient—Greek sources of Hellenistic cultures. These are the cultures that conflate the Orphic Erikapaios and Erekh Apaim (Liebes 1992: 74), Elias and Helios (Dequeker 1986), or Orpheus and David (Haklilí 1998: 247).

These ancient Hellenic/Hellenistic sources of inspiration are evident also in the field of musical theory or *musica speculativa*. Aristotle, Galen and Pythagoras are still discernible behind the evident, immediate and sometimes explicitly acknowledged Arabic and Hebrew textual antecedents. In the field of philosophy in general, Wolfson believed in a *longue durée* project of reconciling faith and reason (including musical ideas) which was common to Jews, Christians and Muslims, and which preserved a certain coherence from the days of the Hellenistic Jewish philosophers of Alexandria (for example, Philo) to the moderns (for example, Spinoza) (Wolfson 1977). This would seem to be the case, despite the assumption/fact that Judeo-Hellenistic texts were largely lost or ignored in medieval Jewish communities. A later, by now classic, work on a Jewish thinker who wrote about music and lived in the age of the Catholic Monarchs bears the pointed title *The Philosophy of Isaac Arama in the Framework of Philonic Philosophy* (Heller Wilensky 1956).

III Greek and Hebrew

Theories of acoustics in late medieval Hispano-Jewish communities have been traced to Aristotle (Adler 1975). Ancient ideas lie behind their analogy of worldly music to the music of the spheres. For example, Boethius, following Galen, established a close correspondence between musical ratios and the heartbeat. In Galenic physiology, the function of the heartbeat and the pulsation of the arteries was to disperse blood enriched with vital spirit. Any reader,

juifs vers l'an 200 et transmise, peut-être via les communautés juives d'Italie du Sud ou d'Afrique du Nord, jusqu'aux artistes de la péninsule ibérique du XIVe siècle. C'est probablement grâce à une filière de transmission parallèle que certains éléments de cette tradition sont parvenus aux artistes chrétiens dont les oeuvres permettent de reconstituer partiellement l'antique tradition.'

translator of or commentator on Avicenna's *Canon of Medicine* (1025) which follows this tradition, was therefore confronted with the endorsement of the music of pulse. One such reader and commentator was Jacob Campanton who has been identified through recent discoveries in the Geniza with the author of a vernacular Castilian text in Hebrew characters (Gutwirth 1992b). He has been identified as the fifteenth-century author of the *Compendium* of the commentary by Solomon ibn Yais (d. 1345) on Book 1 of the *Canon*. Ibn Yais refers to the pulse beat, intervals and rhythmic proportions (Adler 1975: sv, no. 210). Shem Tob ibn Shaprut of Tudela (Adler 1975: sv; no. 370) also assumes the analogy of the pulse as well as the mathematical foundations of the musical intervals and rhythmic proportions. His work is based on the Hebrew versions by Lorki and Meati of the *Canon* current in late medieval Hispano-Jewish communities, as well as Arabic texts. Isaiah b Isaac (Adler 1975: sv, no. 440) was another late medieval Hebrew author whose commentary on the *Canon* discusses pulse intervals and rhythm, note composition, and acuity and gravity of notes. The author's name is given as 'Isaiah b Isaac b Nathan b Joseph b Immanuel b David b Isaac from Cordoba' so that his Hispanic origin is beyond doubt, and he cites his father as a scholarly authority. There are others as well, all of whom were contributing to a Jewish tradition of discussing musical theory and creating a vocabulary for writing about music in Hebrew. All of them continue in late medieval Spain a chain of transmission of ancient Hellenic/Hellenistic thought. It could be argued that these translators and commentators of the *Canon* were part of the background to the dissertations on, or elaborations of, musical ideas that were disseminated orally and textually in Hebrew by such authors of the time of the Catholic Monarchs as Isaac ben Moses Arama (c. 1420–94) and Isaac Abravanel (1437–1508).

IV Notes, Text and Image

Another source on music from late medieval Hispano-Jewish communities belonging to this ancient-medieval dynamic is that of the vernacular bibles ('biblias romanceadas'). This process of *romanceamientos* began early on—at Jewish infant school—and fifteenth-century Hispano-Jewish authors who refer to them have been identified. The final products belong on a different plane. Rabbi Moses Arragel, who worked in Maqueda between 1422 and 1433, wrote in a variety of genres, but his translation of the Bible into the vernacular is of interest here (Paz y Meliá & Paz 1920–22; Gutwirth 1991, 2003, 2012a). The process of translation implied producing equivalents to the ancient texts drawn from the surrounding reality, represented by the spoken vernacular,

Castilian *romance* to be understood by non-clerics. The question of biblical music, musicians and musical instruments is far from simple and still preoccupies scholars and requires a great deal of study, something which is not made explicit by Arragel. But he refers in his translations (for example, of Chronicles I, 15:21) to musical instruments by their names in the *romance* of contemporary Castile.⁴ He also memorializes the names of the musicians in the biblical text. In his translation of Chronicles I, 15:22, Arragel writes in a way which contrasts with a spontaneous initial reading of the text (fol. 490r–v).⁵ To understand the fifteenth-century author's own views on music, it is enough to cite the King James Version of the Bible: 'And Chenaniah, chief of the Levites, was for song: he instructed about the song, because he was skilful.' The pleasures of vocal music ('amenos del canto'), the admiration for the high reaches of the voice ('el alçar dela boz'), and the conflation of musical skill and spirituality ('era propheta') present in Arragel are omitted in the King James Version.

In Chronicles I, 15:24, we find a list of musicians' names as well as mention of musical instruments.⁶ The impression on the reader of *romance* texts of fifteenth-century Castile is that the names of musicians are worthy of remembrance and that they fulfilled important religious functions. This does not support the perceptions of musicologists unaware of Arragel, such as Eric Werner who felt that in the Middle Ages the science of music was respected by the Jews while the 'occupation of the musician is considered cheap and contemptible' (Werner 1977: 522–24). In the fifteenth century, Arragel mentions ancient *cantores*, thus creating a genealogy for his contemporary cantors, and attributes the playing of 'buzinas' to ancient musicians. The bearers of the Ark were 'cantores'. Other musical terms in the vernacular of fifteenth-century Castile are mentioned in Chronicles I, 15:28⁷ and in Chronicles I, 16:2.⁸ The Christian *romance* reader/s to whom the translation was addressed would understand that in the biblical era the Levites sang cantigas and kept their 'notes' in the Tabernacle. Music was associated with glorification and lauda-

4 ' & elipheleu machanias obed edom ieyel azazias con çitharas de ocho cuerdas que fazian fuerte canto'.

5 ' & bananias prinçipe de los leuitas era propheta & amenos del canto & el alçar dela boz era propheta que era omne muy prudente... '.

6 'sabanias & iosaphath nathanel amasay zacarias banayas & eliezer los sacerdotes yuan tocando con buzinas delante del archa del señor & obed edom & ihiyas eran porteros del archa & cantores'.

7 'todo Israel leuaron el archa del señor con iubilacion & con son de tronpas & con buzinas & çinbalis & nablis & çitharas'.

8 'avn destes semaneros que guardasen enel tabernaculo & la nota dela cantiga que enel choro cantassen los leujtas'.

tion: for example, in *Chronicles* I, 16:4.⁹ Some instruments are repeatedly mentioned: for example, in *Chronicles* I, 16:5;¹⁰ or in *Chronicles* I, 16:6.¹¹ The Maquedan Rabbi's vernacular Bible created a new reading public for statements about music; it also provided, for fifteenth-century readers of the Castilian vernacular—as did the Midrash for Hebrew readers—an association between metalwork—forging, rhythmic pounding—and music as in Arragel's translation of *Genesis* 24.¹²

Arragel's 'notas' of *cantigas* afford another example of the rich ancient versus medieval dynamic. Clearly, he could not have had in mind 'notas' such as those in the manuscripts of Obadyah the Proselyte: their rarity precludes this. The visual impact of the juxtaposition in these manuscript fragments of a *pyyut* in Hebrew characters and the neumes of Gregorian chant continues to surprise,¹³ despite the notes represented in the illumination of a late thirteenth-century Hebrew manuscript at the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma (Metzger & Metzger 1982: 365). Yet they may not be as irrelevant as might be thought. Ameisenowa's study of the artwork in the Mosseri Bible, what she calls 'The Spanish-Jewish Illuminated Bible of about 1400' (Ameisenowa 1937), includes yet another visual representation of musical notes accompanied by Hebrew text. The Hungarian musicologist Bence Szabolcsi seems to have been the first to attempt a musicological rather than art historical study of it (Szabolcsi 1947), and he believed it to be a Jewish musical document of the Middle Ages: indeed, the oldest 'noted biblical melody'. For him, it was 'not an imaginative, symbolic suggestion of music but real notes and under them real words: the first verses of the Song of Songs'. According to Szabolcsi:

The notation follows the well-known types of the 'Roman plainsong notes' of the fourteenth century, using only three lines in the manner of church songbooks. The two melody-lines which proceed, following the Hebrew writing, from right to left, are divided by the double winding of the scroll into six, partly fragmentary sections; the melody, however, continues within these sections as well as the words, ... song tune, perhaps

9 'constituyo delante del archa del señor delos leuitas quien la ministrase & recordase lasu obra & quien glorificase & laudase al señor dios de Israel'.

10 'asaph el príncipe & segundo de zacharias ieyel samiramothe iehiel mathathias eliab bananias obed edom iehiel con organos de psalterio & çitharas & asaph con çimbares resonantes'.

11 '& bananias & yazechiel los saçerdotes siempre con buzinas delante del archa del señor'.

12 'su fijo segundo enseño la musica; al tercero, arquimista e armero, conuiene saber, que fazia lanças, espadas e sus semejantes'.

13 See the facsimile of the manuscript *GB-Cul/T-S K5.41* in Gutwirth 1981: 2.

copied by the illuminator from Hebrew liturgical manuals used at the time or recorded with the aid of a musician... We see here the melody-type... from those Gregorian 'lection' tunes... a psalmoidal recitative of a few tones (scarcely surpassing the trichord or tetrachord), with frequent symmetrical cadences and with a pure declamatory rhythm, ... A particularly close connection seems to exist between our melody and the music of certain mystery-plays of the fourteenth century... with the characteristic tune of the dramatic 'Complaint of the three Marys'...

Gunther did not publish views on the matter, but was cited by Metzger to the effect that 'it is the notation used from 1380 onwards for French ballades and rondeaux as well as the Italian ballate of the end of the Trecento' ('c'est la notation utilisée à partir de 1380 pour les ballades et les rondeaux français aussi que les "ballate" italiennes de la fin du trecento' (Metzger 1976: 37, n. 9). However, Jehoash Hirshberg maintains that none of these theories apply and that the notation is impossible (Hirshberg 1986).

The same Bible codex is also of interest because of its representation of the 'Dance of Miriam'. Ameisenowa describes the scene as elegant or charming ('reizend'): the five dancing maidens are graceful, their clothing is magnificent, they are crowned with flowers and are dancing in a roundel. Miriam stands before them playing a drum; she is accompanied by a child. The young maidens wear fashionable attire, the waist or belt girdled high; Ameisenowa draws attention to the décolletage. The clothes are flowing, the bell-like sleeves are excessively wide—again reminiscent of the *alcandoras*. In the background, there is a group of trees; at the top a border of acanthus leaves and flowers that originate in the head of a putto. She also notes the similarity of the clothing to the (mostly 1420s) *Sketch book* of Bergamo or the *Teatrum sanitatis* at the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome. The reader wonders at times whether the art historian implies some connection (despite the dates and place) to (the predecessors of) Botticelli's *Primavera*, or the ideas of Harmony and Grace behind the dance.

V Music and Musicians

Arragel's musical references—'cantigas', 'choros' and 'cantores'—recall and contrast with the perceptions of Jewish synagogal music by another late medieval Castilian author in the vernacular whose works are included in the *Cancionero de Baena* (compiled before 1445). Pero Ferruz sets up a dialogue between himself and the rabbis of Alcalá in which one of the main themes is

that of cantorial music. Ferruz invests poetically in the theme, going so far as to introduce into the Castilian text the Hebraism *hazanim* (precentors).

[...]
mas cuando viene el alva,
un rabí de una grant barva
óigolo al mi diestro lado.

[...]
 but when dawn breaks.
 I hear to my right
 a rabbi with a big beard.

Mucho enantes que todos
viene un grant judío tuerto,
 [...]
que con sus grandes bramidos
ya querrían mis oídos
estar allende del puerto.

Well before anyone else
 comes a great, one-eyed Jew
 [...]
 who with his great bellowing
 makes my ears
 want to be beyond the port.

Rabí Yehudá el tercero
do possa Tello mi fijo,
los puntos de su garguero
más menudos son que mijo,
e tengo que los baladros
de todos tres ayuntados
derribarién un cortijo.

Rabbi Yehudá the third,
 where my son Tello lodges,
 the 'points' from his throat
 are finer than millet,
 and I think that the howling
 of all three together
 would bring down a *cortijo*.¹⁴

Kayserling's mid-nineteenth-century readings resulted in influential emphases on *verspotten* (taunting or sneering at) and negative attitudes towards Jews or judaizers in the *Cancionero de Baena*. Those attitudes are certainly present, and are explored in studies on satire and invective (Kayserling 1859; Scholberg 1971). However, anthologists of the *Cancionero de Baena* have sensed that this poem has an element of gracefulness and humour ('cierta gracia'), and have gone so far as to imagine that the undated text must be prior to the 1380s because it reflects such a friendly ambience. More recent research has noted the links between music, religion and polemics, while a more detailed reading of this particular text would emphasize a richness and ambiguity that can only be detected by contextualizing it in the history of the period and its precise social, legal and political conjuncture. The poem on Jewish music refers to bellowings ('bramidos'), but also to the nightingale ('ruiseñor'), throat ('garguero') and 'points' ('puntos'): the overall theme is that of the sleeplessness caused by Jewish music. Recent research has been able to reconstruct some of the

14 The *cortijo* was a medieval Spanish building.

resonances and irony of the text by documenting such conventions of the genre as: early morning scenes, sleeplessness on the part of the courtier, night-ingles, and urban noise as opposed to the sounds of the country (Gutwirth 2007).

It is worth considering Ferruz's 'puntos' in more detail. In general, Ferruz's satire is directed at a synagogal cantor who pays attention to the musical aesthetics of his art. This critique depends on a putative contradiction between ethics and aesthetics, between the beauty of the music and the 'moral fibre' of the cantor or musician. This would appear to be the background in medieval sources: a good example is the letter addressed to Yehuda ben Asher (1321–49, possibly in Toledo) which retells the story of a precentor who had sworn that he would not eat outside his house, and who had also taken an oath that he would cease to engage in gambling. Yehuda was already familiar with the story, but here he was asked for his juridical opinion. This is a common problem in Hispano-Jewish communities from at least the thirteenth century and probably earlier. It is clearly stated that in addition to his musical duties, the precentor was also a scribe and a slaughterer—again, a not unusual combination for a hazzan. Yehuda responds that the hazzan is considered an envoy of the congregation to God, and someone lacking in credibility does not reflect well on the congregation that sends him. However, in practice, Yehuda avers that if the precentor repents, he may continue to sing the prayers (Yehuda b. Asher, 1972).

The story is especially revealing because, despite the highly specific legal and local circumstances, the main tendencies of a tension between ethics and aesthetics, between the vocal performer or hazzan as a member of the established communal hierarchy and the hazzan as an alienated artist or social outcast, is by no means restricted to this local Hispano-Jewish community in the late Middle Ages nor to Jewish society alone. It was not exoticism or racial slur that moved Yehuda's father, Rabbi Asher ben Yehiel of Toledo, to criticize the precentors who sang only what was most likely to win applause. A historical (if somewhat moralizing) account of the institution of the hazzan maintained that:

Their vanity also led them to prolong single notes in an unsuitable manner and to insert interludes of song... Thereby the prayers were greatly lengthened, concerning which the Midrash *Ḳohelet* complains in the words of Ecclesiastes 7:5: 'It is better for a man to hear the rebuke of the wise than for a man to hear the song of fools'. All complaints on this score, however, were of no avail.... The morality of the *hazzanim* was not always the highest, and they were continually censured for vanity. According to Asher ben Jehiel..., they sang only what was most likely to win applause.

VI Poetry, Mysticism and Philosophy

‘Prolonging’ is one way of understanding the subtext of Pero Ferruz’s critique of ‘puntos del garguero’; and yet there may be more to this focus on ‘puntos’. There is in this allusion to ‘puntos’ in Castile c. 1400 an echo of contemporary interest in the physical and bodily aspects of voice production, and it is worth taking into account the significance of the multivalent, (and untranslatable?) ‘puntos’ in late medieval Spain, as expressed in the well known lines from *El libro del buen amor*:

*De todos instrumentos yo, libro, só pariente:
bien o mal qual puntares, tal diré ciertamente;
qual tú dezir quisieres, ý faz punto, ý tente,
si me puntar sopieres, siempre me avrás en miente.*

These lines provide a useful example of how a complex late medieval Castilian text can sometimes lead to widely divergent translations. Marisa Galvez translates: ‘I the book am ancestor of all instruments / I can tell how well or badly you pluck my strings / what you desire to find you will choose and find / if you know how to play me I shall stay in your mind’ (Galvez 2–12: 44); while James Burke writes: ‘I the book am related to all the musical instruments / good or bad as you point [pluck the strings] thus will I surely ring forth’ (Burke 1998: 42).

The vast corpus of studies on these lines of the *Libro del buen amor*—from at least Américo Castro onwards—has had the merit of documenting the importance of ‘puntos’ in the period’s musical, notarial and grammatical thought. Its point of departure is that ‘puntos’ is not a transparent ‘translatable’, easily identifiable medieval category, otherwise there would not be such a long list of opinions on the subject. We should bear in mind Molho’s highly influential study, its later reformulations and his assertion:

it would not be completely out of place to hypothesize that in addition to denoting singing (‘solfeo’), the ‘puntar’ of the *Libro del buen amor* might refer in a second and coincident reading, to the diacritical signs (‘puntos’) that in the Arab or Hebrew traditions mark the vowels—which, as their name (‘vocales’) suggests, are letters of the voice. In that case, the ‘yo-libro’ manuscript (that is, mute and about to produce speech), would be represented, by analogy with semitic script, as a text or *suite* made up exclusively of consonants, that the knowledgeable reader would ‘puntar’ or punctuate making the vowel diacrisis sound. It is odd that those who

defend a *mudéjar* or bicultural reading of the *Libro del buen amor* have not noticed this possible analogy, which is far from being implausible.¹⁵

An alternative *mudéjar* or bicultural [or, indeed, tricultural] reading must be left for another occasion, but here I would note Pero Ferruz's return to a focus on 'puntos' about half a century after Juan Ruiz, as well as other roughly contemporary Iberian discussions of 'puntos'. An early example is the interest shown in 'puntos' [Hebrew: *nequddot*] by an author usually dated to Castile c. 1400: Shem Tob ibn Shem Tob. His *Sefer ha-emunot* (Ferrara, 1556) is still being used for its citations of ideas and texts by earlier authorities that he helped to disseminate and in which he was evidently interested. In Idel's translation the complex text reads:

Those who served in the glorious Temple were expert in the subtleties of the *nequddot* which went forth from their mouths when they made music in known measure and with reference to the musical instruments of David 'the most pleasant of Israel's songs' ... at the moment when the melody emanates from their mouths with ... pleasant voice rising and falling, extending and shortening according to the Holy Spirit of specified measure according to the prophets ... and on the basis of the pattern of the notes/*nequddot* which are drawn according to the melodic evolution of the rising and falling sounds ... some of them are high pitch and others are low pitch, some are small and others are large [rhythmic values?]. The measures and the drawings [of the notes according to] the melodic evolution of the sounds are all based upon and directed to the inner spiritual qualities—then the Holy Spirit awakens, shines and craves... (Idel 1982).

Profayt Duran's *Maase Ephod* was written around the same time—in Perpignan, in 1403—and was addressed to the sons of a contemporary, socially prominent figure, also from the northeast of the Peninsula. Its purported subject was the Hebrew language, the language of the Bible. Much of it was concerned with

15 Molho 1983: n. 6: 'no sería hipótesis del todo descartable que además de denotar solfeo, el *puntar* de *Libro del buen amor* 96–70 refiriese, en una lectura segunda y coincidente, a los puntos diacríticos que en la tradición árabe o hebrea notan las vocales,—las cuales, como su nombre indica, son letras de la voz. En tal caso, el *yo-libro* manuscrito, es decir mudo y por desmutizar, se nos representaría, por analogía con la escritura semítica, como un texto o *suite* exclusivamente consonantica, que el lector sagaz *punta* o *puntúa* haciendo sonar la diacrisis vocálica. Es extraño que los defensores de la lectura mudejar o bicultural de *Libro del Buen Amor* no hayan reparado en esa posible analogía, no del todo inverosímil.'

grammar, which, in the case of Hebrew, necessarily involves prolonged attention to vocalization and diacritics. That is to say that the author's enhancement of his own book entailed an elevation of the subject of 'puntos' and diacritics or 'points':

Because oral communication can be assisted by living speech which stops and continues at the right place, which can be strong or weak at the appropriate moment and which may be assisted by signs and winks and surprise and question and pleading and imperatives and other means which make written communication deficient as it is dead speech. And in oral communication the speaker could make himself understood by the use of the movement of his eyes and hands and head to convey anger and will/desire; and Ezra the scribe and the men of the Great Assembly invented the cantillation signs for this holy book's language to perfect it as far as is possible for a non-oral, written text.¹⁶

Identification of the main source for Duran's statement requires no effort, as he explicitly acknowledges the *Kuzari*'s influence. In the first half of the twelfth century (possibly in the 1120s) Ha-Levi had composed a treatise of religious and cultural apologetics that for some has become an emblem of particularism. Part of this tendency is the exaltation of the Hebrew language. Within this section (Hirschfeld 1905: 2.72), we find the antecedent that serves as inspiration for Duran.¹⁷ Duran's selection of the passage from the *Kuzari* is, it may be argued, of significance. He refers to contemporary practice, 'if you listen to

16 I rely for the translations and analysis on my paper on 'Orality and Textuality in Medieval Spain' given at the Gilman International Colloquium in Tel Aviv (Gutwirth forthcoming). See also Gutwirth 2011a.

17 'The purpose of language is to transmit that which is in the mind of the speaker to the mind of the listener. This purpose can be fully realized only when speaking face to face, for spoken words are better than written words. The saying is from the mouth of scribes and not from the mouth of books because oral delivery is aided by pauses, linkages of phrases, raising and lowering of the voice, gestures and other means of expressing surprise, questions, narrative expectation, fear, pleading and other means which discourse itself is unable to convey. The speaker may even be aided by the movement of his eyes, his eyebrows, his whole head, and his hands to express anger, pleasure, supplication or pride to the extent that he wishes. In the remnant of our language a divine creation and product subtle but profound signs are imbedded to promote the understanding of the meaning; they serve in place of the aids in oral delivery. These are the taamim according to which the Bible is recited...' (Judah Hallelevi, *Kitab al khazar* (*Kuzari*), translated from the Arabic in Hirschfeld 1905, Pt. II: 72).

songs...': that is, Duran refers to a possibility of hearing Gentile songs by his readers, in his own day, and at the same time refers to Jewish practice as following present Gentile practice 'because they have mingled with the nations'. Again, the description makes sense if it refers to cultural practice in the present (that is, in 1403). Duran describes this practice as the relation of high to low or strong to thin voices, and this description fits what we know about vocal music and perceptions of it in Duran's period and geographical location.

However, the main idea, clearly enunciated by Ha-Levi and a number of medieval Jewish scholars who follow him—and an idea that is fundamental to these texts—is the distinction between oral and written communication. It is perhaps precisely because it is so clearly enunciated—mainly by Hispano-Jewish writers from Ha-Levi onwards—that it has attracted less scholarly attention than the less comprehensible passages. The notion is that of the opacity of language, particularly written textual language. This basic idea sees musical notation—and therefore techniques of song and recitation—as a path to intention that bridges the gulf between oral and written communication. Without this basic notion, particularist discussions of Biblical Hebrew have little coherence. And yet, this idea is clearly one of the major themes of the thought of cultures that follow the ancient Greek sources. Thus we read:

He who thinks, then, that he has left behind him any art in writing and he who receives it in the belief that anything in writing will be clear and certain, would be an utterly simple person ... if he thinks written words are of any use except to remind him who knows the matter about which they are written... Writing, Phaedrus has this strange quality and is very like painting; for the creatures of painting stand like living beings, but if one asks them a question, they preserve a solemn silence. And so it is with written words; you might think they spoke as if they had intelligence, but if you question them, wishing to know about their sayings, they always say one and the same thing ... is there not another kind of word which shows itself to be the legitimate brother of this bastard one... (Phaedrus: the living and breathing word of him who knows of which the written word may justly be called the image...) (Phaedrus 274).

At the root of these apparently particularist, apologetic discussions is a problem common to various cultures: that of communication and meaning. A reading of both Jewish and Christian writings in medieval Spain makes such comparisons possible. The idea of the 'punto', 'puntares' or knowing how to 'puntar' is, Molho writes, a reference to the *punctus* of musical notation and therefore to techniques of song and cantillation or recitation. These late

medieval hispanic authors—Juan Ruiz, Ferruz, Shem Tov and Profayt Duran—voice, in different languages, their version of ‘puntos’. It has to do also with the opacity of written languages and of musical notation as a path to intention.

Profayt Duran’s ‘Eighth path’ comes in a series of pedagogic injunctions which are subsumed under the aim of helping to memorize what one has learnt. The eighth path is the longest of the paragraphs and is described as more relevant to Bible study, that is to say, to what is ostensibly the major theme of the whole book:

learning and engagement with the biblical text should be by means of song and melodies for this is what adds desire and delight for the reader because of the pleasantness of the song, and it awakens the passions or forces and strengthens them, and it also improves the faculty of memory...

It is clear that for Duran there is no wholesale condemnation of music. In a book written with an explicitly articulated pedagogic purpose, music is presented as an educational tool. The preoccupation with memory, which may be found in contemporary treatises of education and is a feature of Duran’s thought (Gutwirth 2011b), also supports his argument in favour of music in education. The question of Judaism’s general attitude to music—usually raised in treatments of the subject of medieval Jewish music—appears, therefore, as badly posed. Duran himself, frequently a critic of his contemporaries, nevertheless praises the custom in Hispano-Jewish communities of singing the prayers of the High Festivals.

VII Music and Court

The Jewish and ‘judeoconverso’ minstrels (*juglares*) at the court of the Catholic Monarchs had a long history of precedents for a Jewish musical presence at court, implying a royal tradition. ‘Your humble minstrel Bonafos’ (‘vuestro humil Bonafos juglar vuestro’) is the author of a letter in the vernacular dated 22 October 1365 addressed to Carlos II, King of Navarre (Baer 1929, 1: 968, no. 594). Bonafos had been swindled by a certain Jento Padre, who had obtained communal certificates of his death. Such documents may be reinterpreted as shedding some light on the presence of late medieval Jewish minstrels at court. Their small number in relation to other court minstrels (as in Sancho IV’s account book of 1293–94) may not be the only significant parameter. Bonafos’s case reveals a degree of permanence among Jewish royal court minstrels that

may not be found among their English or French equivalents, despite their larger numbers. The demographics need to be taken into consideration as regards whether or not their number at court reflects their percentage of the population. In 1364, Bonafos received a fiscal privilege, as did his companion Jacob Evenayon from Pamplona in 1366. In 1367 a payment in wheat is recorded in the royal accounts, and in 1379 he is documented as absent from the kingdom of Navarre for three years. Mention is made of the house that he had been granted by the king in the Jewish quarter of Pamplona. This is apparently an example of an artistic family or dynasty rather than an individual, reflecting the family factor in the choice of professions in Hispano-Jewish communities; indeed, in 1381 payments of 100 solidos are made to Bonafos *el joven judio juglar* (Baer 1929, 1: index sv).

One of the longstanding assertions about fifteenth-century Jewish culture in general, and musical culture in particular, concerns the notion of decline, which in turn is related to the attacks on the *juderías* of the summer of 1391. Such equations are problematic, as more recent research has highlighted. The presence of Jewish musicians can be documented in Catalonia even after the attacks of the shepherds in the 1320s, and those following the Black Death (1348–50). In 1352, for example, a Jewish minstrel was the recipient of a grant by the Infante: 'Item, to Juceff Asivil, a Jew from Borja..., which the Lord Prince ordered be given him as a favour for playing an instrument called a vihuela on the road to the town of Huesca' ('Item done an *Juceff Axivil, juheu de Borja...*, los quals lo senyor infant li manava donar graciosament per co, com li tochava deuant un estrument de ploma apellat viala (*sic*) anant per lo cami de la ciutat de Oscha') (Baer 1929, 1: 566). Another example of a court musician concerns the string-player Saçon Salomon, who, in March 1391, received a privilege from the queen annulling his excommunication (Baer 1929, 1: 414). Contrary to the received idea of decline, Salomon does not disappear from the records after 1391; he continues to appear, as a royal minstrel ('minister de casa del senyor rey') in household documents until at least 1400. Thus the distinction pre- and post-1391 is not supported by the evidence. Likewise, the Jew Abraham Mayor was appointed by King Martí I to be 'a sworn public agent in the city of Saragossa for the welcome and pleasing service both in the capacity of agent and in practising the office of string-player' ('curritorem public et juratum civitatis cesarauguste ob grata et accepta servicia per te ... tam in dicto curritorie officio quam in exercendo officium ministrerii instrumentorum cordarum'), with his two sons as *familiars et domesticos nostros*. In Saragossa in 1399 (some years *after* 1391) Abraham Mayor transferred to his sons, Samuel and Jucé, 'my houses in the Jewish quarter of the city, opposite the houses belonging to Jehua Avencitas and next to those of Jento Gascon, on the public thoroughfare' ('unas

casas mias sidas en la judería de la dita ciudat, que affruentan con casas de Jehuda Avenvitas et con casas de Jento Gascon et con carrera publica') (Baer 1929, 1: 414).

VIII Transgression and Education

The a priori assumptions of a distancing between Jewish liturgical chant and the court, between internal and external musical performance, is refuted by the sources. For example, the praise of music in Day of Atonement prayers mentioned by Duran leads to the theme of the musical chanting of the Day of Atonement prayers in the Hispano-Jewish community of Monzón in the mid-fifteenth century. This was considered to be a unique honour, a privilege belonging to the notary Açach Bonastruch. In around 1458, his opponents appear to have used their influence with some 'knights and ladies of this region' ('cavalleros e duenyas de aqueixas tierras') to prevent his chanting of the prayers (Baer 1929, 1: 542). Bonastruch used his influence at the royal court of King Juan II of Aragon, Ferdinand the Catholic's father, to obtain a letter addressed to the *aljama*, ordering them to allow him to chant the prayers in the 'fiesta de quipur'. Local Christian Spanish nobility in fifteenth-century Spain is thus revealed to have been debating the question of Yom-Kippur music, with the king deciding, in the final instance, to support one group against another. Thus in medieval cities and courts even the innermost aspects of music could be affected by social history, and that history was not one of Jewish homogeneity and isolation.

One aspect of lack of homogeneity might be that of the difference in attitude to music between young and old. This involves the association of education and music as discussed in Duran, but other ideas may also be found. For example, this question reappears in a work frequently attributed to a Jewish author from the time of the Catholic Monarchs. In the eighth chapter of the *Shevet Yehudah*, an amiable polemic or dialogue is constructed in which 'the great King don Alfonso of Spain' articulates a series of questions about or accusations against the Jews. The conversation takes place in the presence of an audience of courtiers. The king introduces a series of questions by saying: 'you have sins of another kind and the populace rises against you because of its hatred and also because of your sins'. The Jews respond:

Let our king tell us what are the sins which are conducive to the hatred against the Jews and we shall accept them as a faithful servant accepts his master or as a son accepts his father.¹⁸

The king begins a series of accusations. The fifth of these is:

Why do you teach your children music? You should always be in mourning. God in heaven manifested that you are bad and dispersed you among the nations, something he did to no other nation...

The Jews respond:

concerning music, no suffering soul will be able to resist being seduced by what it sees among its neighbours, all the more so in the case of youths and lads whom no force is able to control and who lack the wisdom of avoiding the illicit.

The king answers: 'you have an argument'. The story imagines a medieval Spanish Christian king who learns the *gemara*, remembers it and cites it. The Christian Spanish king of the story is worried that the Jews of Spain might be transgressing the prohibitions referred to in the Babylonian Talmud (TB Gittin, fol. 7r):

An inquiry was once addressed to Mar 'Ukba: 'Where does Scripture tell us that it is forbidden (in these times) to sing (at carousals)?' He sent back (the following quotation) written on lines: 'Rejoice not, O Israel, unto exultation like the peoples, for thou hast gone astray from thy God' (Hosiah 9:1). Should he not rather have sent the following: 'They shall not drink wine with music, strong drink shall be bitter to them that drink it?' (Isaiah 24:9). From this verse I should conclude that only musical instruments are forbidden, but not song; this I learn [from the other verse].

Or TB *Sota*:

When the Sanhedrin ceased [to function], song ceased from the places of feasting; as it is said, 'they shall not drink wine with a song etc.' (Isaiah 24:9).... How do we know that the text ('They shall not drink wine with a song') applies to the time when the Sanhedrin ceased? Rabbi Huna, son

¹⁸ For the translations, see Gutwirth 2004.

of Rabbi Joshua, said: 'Because Scripture states: The elders have ceased from the gate, the young men from their music'. Rabbi said: 'The ear which listens to song should be torn off'. Rabbi said: 'When there is song in a house there is destruction on its threshold'; as it is stated: 'Their voice shall sing in the windows, desolation shall be in the thresholds, for He hath laid bare the cedar work...'. Rabbi Huna abolished singing [...] Rabbi Joseph said: 'When men sing and women join in it is licentiousness; when women sing and men join in it is like fire in tow...'. Rabbi Johanan said: 'Whoever drinks to the accompaniment of the four musical instruments brings five punishments to the world'; as it is stated: 'Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink, that tarry late into the night, till wine inflame them! And the harp, and the lute, the tabret and the pipe, and wine, are in their feasts; but they regard not the work of the Lord...'

Thus the *Shevet Yehuda* (no less than Bernáldez) raises questions as to what exactly are the 'fictional' and the 'factual' components of the narrative. The book's attention to 'teaching music'—as in Profayt Duran—leads naturally to codex Florence, Bblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabecchi III, 70 which originally formed part of the collection of the great Italian bibliophile Antonio Magliabechi (or Magliabecchi (1633–1714)). Its contents have been described as the lecture notes of a music student, including some notational exercises (Adler 1975: 110). The reasons why it may be relevant to fifteenth-century Hispano-Jewish communities are twofold. Firstly, the watermarks are associated with Perpignan around 1453 (at a time when Perpignan—until the Treaty of the Pyrenees of 1659—was still part of the Crown of Aragon). Secondly, the *le'azim*, or vernacular words employed in the Hebrew text, may be interpreted (as far as is known) as Catalan. The work's subject matter includes intervals, counterpoint, proportions and notational devices, and is oriented towards Paris: the authority of the music theorist Jehan Vaillant (fl. 1360–90) is mentioned in reverent tones. There is a late medieval Hispano-Jewish context for this, not only in the French influence on the visual arts and the epistolary exchanges between Aragonese and French rabbis, but also in biographical cases such as that of Shlomo ha Levi /Pablo de Burgos who is said to have journeyed to Paris to pursue studies in scholasticism, or Hasdai Crescas's affinities with Parisian scholasticism, or contacts with French individuals in Barcelona (Gutwirth 2005).

IX Education and Class

The allusions in Duran and the *Shevet Yehuda* to ‘teachers of music’ raise again the question of education in Hispano-Jewish communities. It has been argued that one of the contexts for early education was the family (Gutwirth 1992a), hence the dynasties of professionals in a number of fields, including musical performance at the royal court. It is worth briefly looking at the case of Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro, teacher of court music and dance, who is usually studied—with good reason—as a purely Italian phenomenon. Given the importance of family in musical education, it is significant that his father came from Sicily, where, in the fifteenth century, the court included Iberian components—not least the Aragonese monarch himself—and also a strong contingent of peninsular *judeoconversos* and Jews. More significant still is the long Hispano-Jewish tradition of elevating the status of musical activities through theorizing and philosophy. This in turn raises the question not only of Pythagoreanism, but more pertinently, the notion that the categories of the circle of Marsilio Ficino—dance and music as linked to Universal Harmony, already present in Guglielmo’s thought—were available only on Italian soil, as is assumed by readers of Hebrew musical texts of the age of the Catholic Monarchs, such as Arama and Abravanel.

Apart from tutors, textual and dynastic channels of education, transmission of knowledge and influence, another channel is that of apprenticeship. A documented example is that of the Saragossan *judeoconversos*, the brothers Jayme and Alfonso de Gracia, who taught music in Saragossa in the 1420s and 30s (Marín Padilla 2004). Some idea of the contours of such educational situations can be gained from contracts, one of which concerns the obligation to teach music to Simuel Jaba. From a modern perspective, this contract of apprenticeship of 1425 might be seen as a local curiosity, but it might also serve as a model of what such educational situations could entail; it has survived alongside others where Alfonso de Gracia undertakes to teach music to conversos. The contract of apprenticeship focuses on a number of points (travel, duration of the engagement), including detailed descriptions of clothing, but in order to understand the implications of the case, other documents also need to be examined. The Jaba family was well rooted in the Saragossan *aljama*. About a century earlier, a document dated 22 August 1332 concerning a litigation in the *aljama*, mentions David Jaba as one of those present and ‘Rabi Simuel Jaba fil-lyo de Rabi Salamon Jaba’ as a witness (Baer 1929, 1: 268, 271, 510). Jaba was an *adelantado* (a technical term of the *aljama* administration) of the *aljama*. Jayme de Gracia is mentioned not only in contracts but also in litigation records (Gómez [Muntané] 1987). The annulment of the apprenticeship

contract by the pupil, Jaba, in 1426, only one year after it started, is relevant here. Indeed, on 14 May 1430, Alfonso the Magnanimous, in response to a request from Juan I, King of Navarre, intervened on behalf of Jayme de Gracia in his litigation with Simuel Jaba. The document also mentions that Jayme was minstrel at the court of Navarre (López Calo 1975–76; Gómez Muntané 1987); therefore, at least one of the converso brothers who obtained pupils or apprentices was a court musician, teaching a young Jewish musician. The discord between teacher and apprentice lasted for years and reached beyond local boundaries and as far as the royal court.

Such reconstructions of educational situations can be enriched by the evidence from the time of the Catholic Monarchs and by avoiding gendered approaches; indeed, women had their own educational systems. An example is that of doña Nabila in Guadalajara who was known as a ‘rabiça’. Recent analyses of her work focus on her teaching activities; she would show her pupils how to sing, and the songs were performed in antiphonal manner with the chorus responding to her initial solo performance so that close coordination was essential. These performances were accompanied by traditional folk music or mouth-music accompaniment; they involved not only vocal musical performance but also hand-clapping (Gutwirth 2011a). The socio-economic position of the laundress and ‘rabiça’ contrasts with that of Jews at court such as Honoratus de Bonafide, Bonafos juglar, Jento, Saçon, Mayor or Alegre. Another documented aspect of her music teaching and performance was that of leading funeral music; dressed as a rabbi, she is said to have performed funeral prayers in the form of *endechas* with her female choir: she would clap her hands on her knees and face, and the choir would respond.

X Ceremony and Music

Doña Nabila, the ‘rabiça’, and her *endechas* present us with the problem of interpreting primary sources. Indeed, the usual narratives of Jewish musical and choreographical participation in royal funerary rites are only part of the picture, and tend to overlook the ‘other half’ of the evidence. Recent work has therefore tried to advance beyond these narratives and concentrated on finding ancient and late medieval evidence for the Jewish perspective on royal funerary rites so that they might be analyzed in their late medieval context. Ancient Jewish texts, for example, had relaxed prohibitions against women’s voices in funerary rites; the ancient permission—perhaps encouragement—to mourn gentile monarchs was still being reiterated in Hebrew in Jewish courtly texts of late medieval Castile (Gutwirth 2014). This could be helpful in under-

standing public Jewish musical events related to the monarchy. Thus, according to the local *Libro de los Jueces*, following the death of Ferdinand the Catholic's uncle, Alfonso the Magnanimous (28 June 1458) the event was marked publicly in Teruel in August by the Jews chanting the Lamentations of Jeremiah (Laliena Corbera & Iranzo Muñío 1991). It is not entirely clear how the local judiciary could possibly understand or identify a Hebrew text, but the musical nature of the event is clearly indicated. It had precedents such as the ceremonial mourning for the death of Alfonso III in 1291, where the Jewish funereal choreography was carefully orchestrated according to precise symbolism and tradition; it has been argued that the Jews initiated the representation (Lourie 1982).

Something similar occurred with the ceremonies of royal entries ('*entradas*'). Undoubtedly, evidence for royal entries increases in the late Middle Ages, and local histories are constantly enriching our data with original contributions. Yet it is clear that neither a purely local nor even Iberian focus does justice to the antiquity of the symbolism and its comprehension. Blessings for monarchs were regulated in ancient Jewish texts. Some of the ideas and details of entries were present in texts from the ancient world which circulated in the Middle Ages, such as Josephus's *Antiquities*. A good example is the description of Alexander the Great's entry into Jerusalem, his meeting with the Jewish Priests, and his being shown the Bible. Such 'meetings', 'entries' and 'showings' occurred throughout the Middle Ages; they involved music, choreography, and the use of symbolic 'props'. Thus the events surrounding the journey from Castile to Saragossa of Ferdinand of Antequera on 5 August 1412 included Jewish participation in the festivities of the the king's coronation. The Jews dressed like Christians, and danced girded with silver ribbons, with their minstrels going before them. They participated in this manner throughout the days of celebration: they went through the streets with their rejoicing ('*alegrías*') until they reached the royal palace. Presumably the Jewish *juglares* were themselves responsible for the choreography, which seems to have fully integrated the item that made an impression on the chronicler: '*cintas de plata*' (Gutwirth 1984; Gutwirth 2004).

A re-enactment occurs in 1481 at the time of the entry of the Catholic Monarchs, as joint rulers of a united Spain, into the city of Saragossa. This was understandably treated as a symbolic event, and ritual pageantry marked and publicized the occasion. The Jews of Saragossa devised a symbolic act to signify their participation but, simultaneously, their image of themselves in the polity: the presentation to the monarchs of a gift which consisted of twelve calves and twelve sheep, while twelve Jews carried particular items of silverware. The choreography or devising of the pageantry by the Jews integrated such objects and animals (coffins, silverware, calves or rams) into the

movement, enhancing their performance with these 'props'. The names of the individuals or groups who devised these events are not known, but they created a Jewish pageantry that was understood by their Christian fellow citizens. The number symbolism that lay at the heart of the Jewish Saragossan pageantry of 1481 affords an example in which the props appealed to shared beliefs in ancient Biblical stories (Gutwirth 2004). Funerary rites and royal entries have to be seen in conjunction with other city rituals such as Jewish processions for rain. Although descriptions are meagre, it is difficult to think of them without an element of chanting, as also in the case of Jewish processions held to mark a military victory—for example, the victory in Sardinia by the infante don Alfonso: the description of the procession in Huesca in 1324 specifically alludes to 'the chanting of their hymns' (Ledesma Rubio 1991: 209).

The chronicle *Shevet Yehuda* contains a passage that, in contrast with others, is explicitly attributed to the author from the age of the Catholic Monarchs, Shelomoh ibn Verga, in which the chronicler refers to royal court pageantry in a city. The attitude reflected in the Hebrew text is not one of condemnation of pageantry or of such aural-visual symbolic creations. On the contrary, it may be understood as an attempt to enhance and add value to such symbolic activities. According to the text, when Shelomoh ibn Verga was in Malaga in order to redeem the war captives (in the late 1480s or early 90s), the court was preparing a pageant that aimed to represent the Passover at the Temple with silverware, choral music, priestly choreography, and other elements. According to the text, 'the King' had a dialogue with Jews about the musical pageant and affirmed that if the Jews had had such solemn ceremonies in the past and had now lost them, then death was preferable to life (Gutwirth 2012b). A number of themes are underlined by this text from the age of the Catholic Monarchs: the spaces for music (music and Malaga, the city explicitly named in this text);¹⁹ music and identity (the Jews had music *in the past* but not now, music at the Temple of Jerusalem); and, evidently, music and religious polemics (for example, the medieval theology of supersessionism). Recent research has addressed these themes, and archival records have been brought to bear on the question and been shown to have preserved some of the variations on the theme of Judeo-Christian polemics involving music. The spaces for music-making have also begun to be reconstructed, with the recent introduction of the distinction between private and public in polemics, and in performance of music and dance (Gutwirth 1998).

19 Confirmation of the text's historicity could be useful. I note, therefore, that the taking of Malaga in August 1487 was indeed followed by a royal procession and was commemorated by a ceremony at the feast of the Assumption in 1491.

XI Instruments and Music

The Jewish musicians, and even musical theorists, who appear and disappear from today's accounts as a natural event, or a curiosity not amenable to historical analysis are, in fact, the final products of education in various forms—sometimes fraught, as in the case of Jaba, but always a process. Musical instruments reflect a similar pattern. Before instruments made their appearance at courts, weddings, funerals, fadas, and so on, they were originally objects of desire whose observation was considered pleasurable, which would explain their presence in Jewish visual art—if not in inventories—in late medieval Hispano-Jewish communities. In those communities, musical instruments (for example, those of the Levites) were a recurring theme in illuminations of Hebrew manuscripts. A lavish example from the Spain of the Catholic Monarchs is that of the Bible and Kimhi's *Mikhlol* commissioned in 1476 at La Coruña, by Isaac, son of don Solomon de Braga; the illuminations are by Moses Ibn Zabara. The famous illumination of Temple utensils includes what fifteenth-century *romance* Jewish texts termed the 'buzina', that is the *shofar* or ram's horn. The Kennicott Bible (Oxford, Bodleian Library) is not radically innovatory, but formed part of an established tradition, as do the illuminations in a Pentateuch completed in Barcelona 1325 in Hebrew Sephardi script (Rome, Communita Israelitica, MS 19) (Metzger & Metzger 1982: 278). A Castilian manuscript, possibly from about 1300, depicts a hare playing the bagpipe (Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 11). The Metzgers drew on the study of the concept of 'the world upside down' in Hebrew to explain this (Metzger & Metzger 1982: 211). In that same manuscript, a wolf is playing the rebec, the monkey a trumpet, and the goat a horn (Metzger & Metzger 1982: 212–13). The manuscript *GB-Lbl* Add. 14761 depicts a stringed instrument that does not seem to have been identified (Metzger & Metzger 1982: 155); it also shows an ensemble of musicians in Spain of around 1350–60 playing wind, string and percussion instruments, including tambourine, flute, rebec, bagpipe and drums (Metzger & Metzger 1982: 155). A recent study explicitly articulates the question as to the extent of their relationship with reality (Molina 2010). When observed in isolation, they could indeed be considered the products of artistic licence. For the historian of Hispano-Jewish communities, however, their relation to reality can be confirmed by various types of evidence that have been addressed in recent research. Thus, for example, Alonso, a convert to Christianity, who worked as a 'tratante' or merchant, was accused of judaizing in testimonies dated 9 February 1500. For his wedding, described by witnesses as Jewish in character, he had brought two musicians from nearby Soria. One was called Martin a *vecino* of Soria, described as a 'tamborino', and the other Juan Navarro,

as a player of the treble shawm known as the *dulçaina* ('tañedor de dulçayna'). The musicians' task in this judaizing wedding was to sound the dawn call and breakfast for the newly married couple ('dar el alborada e almuerzo a los novios'). The 'alborada', then, was part of Jewish wedding celebrations, performed on a drum and a French-influenced woodwind instrument (Gutwirth 2011a).

XII Jewish, Christian and Muslim Music

Given that the question of musical contact between Jews and Christians has frequently been presented as a polemical matter, it is noteworthy that fifteenth-century Jews repeatedly acknowledge such influences. For example, Simeon ben Zemah Duran (Adler 1975: sv), who was born in Mallorca, avers that some of the 'pyyutin', or chanted liturgical poems, are Talmudic in origin, others are Arabic, which he describes as very pleasant and attractive, and some—which originated in France—were adopted from the Christians as regards the art of melody and rhythm. Simeon ben Zemah Duran thus listened to the music of the Christians, including music of French origin, compared it to the liturgical music of the Jews that he heard in the synagogue, and arrives at the conclusion that there is an influence. He is one of a number of antecedents to the text cited above, attributed to the age of the Catholic Monarchs, about the 'suffering soul' which is 'seduced' by Christian music.

Solomon Alami is another antecedent to the concern of the *Shevet Yehudah* with sacred and profane music. In contrast to the case of Profayt Duran, very little is known about his biography. It has been argued that Solomon Alami should be situated in Castile. He writes in response to the 1391 pogroms and the discriminatory legislation of 1412. In 1415, he composed his *Iggeret Ha-Musar* (or *Paroenetic Epistle*, to use Steinschneider's terminology) as a treatise advocating piety and the voicing of internal criticism. Part of the *Epistle* is arranged according to the senses, and is devoted to warning against the sins committed by each sense or bodily organ in turn. When discussing the sense of hearing, he articulates his critique of contemporary practice in the field of synagogue music. In another paragraph, he describes the situation following the calamities which befell his community: he is against those who 'happily eat their bread', 'wear gentile clothing', or 'shave off their beards'. Part of this list of immoralities—which could be described as evidence of transcultural practice in Spain in about 1415—is that 'they play musical instruments ('halilim')'. In another passage, he inveighs against the precentors in the synagogue: they are not chosen for their religious qualities, he maintains, but only for the

'pleasantness of their voices'. He seems to echo Duran when writing: 'They hear the music (lit. 'voice') of the words, but see no image apart from the sound of the syllables'. Elsewhere, Solomon Alami writes about prayer, emphasizing the importance of inner intentions and understanding. The most sustained development of a musical motif in this highly paratactic text is found in the section on the mouth, where the reference to music is located between the exhortation against laughter and that against the conversation of women:

Beware of the melodies of those who drink and of the songs of fools. They are the stupid cantors who interrupt the blessings with the introduction of amorous songs mixed with the darkness of desire. These are composed in the absurd metres of the Christians and Muslims which are designed to please the fools and the sick men who are comparable to women, as well as the young and the rascals, and they are like idolatry...

These basic attitudes are found within a long tradition of criticism of the cantors and music to be found in Jewish texts, at least as early as medieval Gaonic texts—and even earlier as discussed above. However, the identification of this tradition of tensions between musicians and moralists, jurists or leaders, is only a preliminary step in understanding their importance, since for a century characterized by so little information about musical practice in the usual surveys, they may serve to reconstruct a lost musical history.

As has been shown, Simeon ben Zemah Duran, Profayt Duran, Alami, as well as the *Shevet Yehuda*—all fifteenth-century individuals and works from Spain—acknowledge the influence of Christian music on that of the Jews, including synagogal music. They offer Hebrew texts which have antecedents, written in different genres, and with different aims; but they can now be shown to correspond to the context of that period and place. It is against this background of Hebrew texts on music that it is possible to appreciate that the *Sitz im Leben* of these texts lies in the frequent contact between musicians of different religions in the Hispano-Jewish communities of fifteenth-century Spain. Thus, for example, a Christian musician played at Moorish and Jewish weddings, though the sharpest memories of the witnesses at the wedding of Huda Carfati's daughter are of his consumption of the refreshments. In about 1474, in the village of Pina, the converso Juan de Zaragoza played the flute or recorder at a Jewish wedding that took place on Good Friday. He would also eat and drink (Gutwirth 2004). Tribulet was remembered as a 'tamborino' at the wedding of the son of the Jewish skinner ('peligero'), Cedosillo, and in about 1477, in Saragossa, the wedding of Clara Mateo's daughter was attended by Jewish players ('sonadores judios'). At the wedding of *maestre* Vidal Chinillo, son of

Noah Chinillo, the dancing continued until after the meal, and Jaime de Montesa's daughter danced at that wedding, while the Saragossan shoemaker *maestre* Juan Simon performed music.

Sometimes the relationships were more permanent. For example, in Épila 1479, Mahoma el Marruecos *tamborino* signed a contract with young Jews from Épila 'to serve as a minstrel and drummer on Saturdays and Jewish festivals' ('por serviros de juglar e sonar de tamborino todos los sabados e paschuas de jodios') (Marín Padilla 2004: 543–44). If the Sabbath or festival coincided with festivals of 'christianos o moros', he was not obliged to play, and the Jews could hire another minstrel at his expense. A month earlier, the 'young Christians of Épila' ('mozos christianos epilenses') had agreed to hire him as 'juglar e tamborino' for a hundred sueldos. In Arándiga, according to a testimony from 1490, Francisco de Tarrazona *tamborino* was active at Jewish weddings as well as at Christian and Muslim weddings, for example, the wedding of Jehuda Aniano (or Aninay) and the daughter of Jehuda Carfati (Marín Padilla 1998: 288).

XIII Court Musicians

Of course, not all musicians were the same. Rodrigo Catano, *tañedor* from Écija, was a *reconciliado*; in about 1495, the Inquisition fined him only 200 maravedís 'as he was very poor' ('por ser muy pobre') (Gil 2003, 2: 22). His case contrasts with that of Alonso de Ribera, another *tañedor reconciliado*, in San Lucar de Barameda, who had to pay 2000 maravedís (Gil 2003, 2: no. 128). Another Jewish musician of that period was *maestre* Gentil *alias* Mosse Cohen, *judío tanyedor*, who resided in the town of Tarazona, and who, in 1483, made a payment to a notary (Sanz Artibucilla 1949). Nevertheless, the difference between poor and rich, between communal and court Jewish musicians, is by no means one of total isolation. The court musicians must also be taken into account as agents of culture and channels of musical transmission between different social and religious groups; they are not outside the Hispano-Jewish communities, but an integral part of them. An aspect which helps to clarify this is the spatial one, as is clear, for example, from looking at the residents of a street in Pamplona, according to the Navarrese accounts of the 'cambras çagueras' in 1367. The court musician Bonafos and his son, Jento *el juglar*, have three *cambras* in the same street as the other Jews (for example, Juce Farach or Salamon Alborgue) in the parish of Santa Maria in Pamplona (Baer 1929, 1: no. 596).

The legal aspect, and its documentation, offers another perspective, largely through litigations that show that these musicians were part and parcel of

their community. This can be seen in the case of Alegre, the Jewish *juglar* at the court of Ferdinand and Isabel, about whom evidence is preserved in the Registro General del Sello of the Archivo General de Simancas. For example, a document dated 3 August 1480 contains a sentence or verdict given by Abraham Senneor as chief justice of the Jews ('juez mayor de los judios') in favour of Alegre the Jew; Senneor is acting in the case probably because one of the parties is a courtier (Gutwirth 1989). The same series, for the same date, includes a sentence against Isaac Portuguese, making him liable for the costs of litigation. Another document dated 13 March 1489 orders some Jews from Soria to pay a guarantee ('fianzas') to the *judio* Alegre; this had still not been paid by 7 October 1491. Alegre had access to the royal court in the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, and his presence was recorded alongside that of the Burgundian and other ambassadors, ecclesiastical dignitaries, and Castilian nobility at the high point of his career: the celebrations, in Seville, of the baptism (on 9 July 1478) of Prince Juan, who had been born on 30 June. As with the chronicler's attention to the number twelve in the Jewish musical and dance pageantries cited above, the number twelve is also foregrounded in the report on the royal baptismal festivities:

The duchess, very richly attired and turned out, arrived, accompanied by the most important courtiers, and the Count of Benavente, her relation, brought her to the palace on the back of her mule. She was accompanied by twelve ladies-in-waiting, richly dressed in silks, with heavy golden chains and valuable jewels; and the Duchess was wearing a rich robe of silk brocade, covered with large dew-drop pearls and a valuable chain round her neck, and a heavy scarlet cloak, lined with damask, which, when the day of celebration was over, she gave to the king's jester called Alegre.²⁰

Doña Leonor de Mendoza was the daughter of don Serafin de Ribera, the Governor (*adelantado*) of Andalusia and, through her mother, granddaughter of the Marquis of Santillana, who is thought to have had a special relationship

20 'Venía la duquesa muy ricamente vestida y aderezada, acompañada de los mayores de la Corte e trajola a Palacio el conde de Benavente, su pariente, a las ancas de su mula. Traia consigo doce doncellas, muy ricamente vestidas de sedas, con grandes cadenas de oro e ricos joyeles, e la Duquesa venía vestida de un rico brial de brocado, chapado con mucho aljofar de gruesas perlas e una rica cadena al cuello, e un tabardo de carmesi grueso, aforrado en damasco, el cual ese día acabada la fiesta, diólo a un truhan de Rey llamado Alegre.' (Gutwirth 1984)

with Jews and *judeoconversos* (Girón Negrón 2000). The chronicler slows his gaze to include the silks of the dresses, golden chains and jewels of the ladies-in-waiting, giving these items of apparel a prominence reminiscent of the emphasis on clothing in the contract of Simuel Jaba's apprenticeship which specified the converso music teacher's obligation to clothe his Jewish apprentice in a jerkin, and specific fifteenth-century Spanish items of apparel (*alcandora, ropa de piquadiello forrada de penya blanca*). Documents relating to a performer's attire become significant when researched in their cultural frame. A series of poems are devoted to variations on the theme of the gift of an item of clothing to the musician, fool, *juglar* or poet. These poems are mostly humorous, and that humour depends on certain conceits. A poem by Alfonso Álvarez de Villasandino (died c. 1424) demands clothing, and relies on the reader's awareness of the court's system of accounting (*aguinaldo*), and on listing a number of items of attire within one prosodic scheme. Another variant is found in the *Coplas que hizo don Jorge Manrique a una beoda que tenia empeñado un briál en la taberna* (Usoz y Río 1841: 126). Further motive for laughter at a musician's clothing is provided by the singer-poet's poverty, as in the *Coplas que hizo el Ádelantado de Murcia á un trobadór que vino a su casa muy desnudo* (Usoz y Río 1841: 128). This is the background to poems relating to Alegre and Juan Poeta. One of the additional components or variants is that of judaizing, a good example is found in the poem *Otra de un galán á Juan poeta, / enviándole un sayo con un Judío* (Usoz y Río 1841: 128):

<i>Este sayo, vos envío,</i>	I send you this tunic
<i>en tal punto le vistays,</i>	for you to wear,
<i>que del gozeys;</i>	and enjoy;
<i>y llévaoslo este Judío,</i>	and this Jew brings it to you
<i>porque mejor me entendays:</i>	so that you better understand me:
<i>ya me entendey.</i>	and now you understand/hear me.
<i>No por mengua d'escudero,</i>	Not for lack of a squire,
<i>ni de rapáz ni de paje,</i>	nor of a lad or a page,
<i>mas porque soys d'un plumaje;</i>	but because you are birds of a feather;
<i>él Judío, y, vos, marrano,</i>	he a Jew, and you, a marrano,
<i>entendereys su lenguaje.</i>	you'll understand his language.

Two points need to be underlined in this poem. First, the perfect awareness in the fifteenth century of a difference between a new Christian and a Jew. Juan Poeta was not a Jewish fool, but a (New) Christian fool, and the humour of the poems depends on this distinction: it is only because he is a Christian that his

similarity to the Jew is thought—within that culture—to be humorous. The similarity of one Jew to another would not have been a cause for wit or laughter. This needs to be understood since in some late twentieth-century readings of the *cancioneros* there is sometimes confusion between the two. More closely related to Alegre is another copla: *Otra copla de un caballero, / á Juan poeta porque Alegre el albardán / venia a la Corte á do él estaba*. The second point is that the poem depends on the humorous analogy of religion to the daily business of court notaries involved in copying ‘traslados’ from originals. It is doubtful whether it can be read as a straightforward comment on originality of music or song to the effect that the converso owes his output to the Jew. Possibly more research into concepts of musical and poetical plagiarism and originality at the time might aid comprehension of this poem about Alegre. In any case, the attitudes towards Juan Poeta are not the same as those expressed towards Alegre; on the contrary, *el judío Alegre* seems to have been more respected. Indeed, despite the presence of what to the modern reader is the obvious racism of the humour at Alegre’s expense, Alegre is differently treated to Juan Poeta by his other contemporaries; indeed, he becomes almost a kind of legendary or folk hero in tales such as that preserved in the *Floresta Española*:

When a jester, called Alegre, dismounted to go up to where King Ferdinand was in the palace, some courtiers, to play a joke on him, cut the tail off his pony, and went up to the king’s chamber. They invited the jester to go down first; and when he saw what they had done to his pony, he cut off the muzzles of all the mules, without being seen by the stable lads who were outside the palace door. When the king came out with the courtiers, with the jester before them, all the nobles mocked him, saying: ‘Look what a good tail your pony has’. He, dissimulating, looked at it, and crossing himself, said: ‘It really seems to have made your mules laugh since they’re wearing their teeth on the outside.’²¹

21 Santa Cruz de Dueñas 1947: 47: ‘Apeándose un truhán, que se llamaba Alegre, en palacio, para subir donde estaba el rey don Fernando, unos caballeros, por burlarle, cortáronle la cola a la jaca, y subieron al aposento del rey. Ofreciósele a este truhán descender primero; y como vió lo que habían hecho con su jaca, cortó a todas las mulas que allí estaban los hocicos, sin ser visto de los mozos de espuela, que estaban fuera de la puerta de palacio. Saliendo el rey con todos los grandes, como el truhán iba delante, todos los caballeros burlaban de él, diciendo: “Mira, que buena cola lleva tu jaca”. Él, disimulando, mirólo, y santiguándose, les dijo: “Verdaderamente que de eso se van riendo vuestras mulas como llevan todas los dientes de fuera.” See also Cuartero Sancho 1990.

The anecdote is apocryphal (for example, 'santiguándose'), and it is also unoriginal: the source is the humanist poet and historian Giovanni Pontano (1426–1503). The *Floresta* passage is, in a sense, the Spanish response to Pontano, and Alegre is the equivalent of the Italian protagonist. In any case, the noteworthy aspect is the memorializing of the Jewish musician long after the Catholic Monarchs' expulsion, in a Spain without Jews.

XIV Musical Ideas

The age of the Catholic Monarchs is also the age of the centrality of Italy, and that of the expulsions and the Inquisition, and the background to the exiles' life and works. Many of the exiles wrote about music: Isaac Abravanel (1437–1508), Meir Arama (d. 1556), Meir ibn Gabbai (1480–after 1540), the anonymous author of the *Kaf Ha-Qetoret*, and Albotini (d. 1519) are only some of the authors whose works excite interest because of the textual, conceptual and philological challenges presented by their intricate texts. Esoteric writings have attracted a great deal of public attention. Many of them appear at first sight to have been strongly inspired by thirteenth-century texts (by ibn Tibbon and Abulafia, among others). Their life stories and dates vary, but in those cases where the chronology has been studied and attempts have been made to date the ideas, the result has been to confirm their origin in the age of the Catholic Monarchs. Even Baer—despite the influence of Graetz's views on fifteenth-century decline—conceded that this was a revolutionary period of spiritual transformation (Baer 1968, 2: 426). Thus Meir ibn Gabbai (b. 1480) is seen as representing the philosophies of religion that were current among Hispano-Jewish communities before the expulsion (Baer 1968, 2: 427). Abravanel's exegetical projects began not in Italy, but in Lisbon, before 1484, and there was never any doubt that Arama was a fully mature author in the Iberian Peninsula before his last months in Italy. Yet repeated efforts to present these writings on music as impossible for anyone working on Iberian soil, and, therefore, as post-exilic in date and Italian in character, still pertain. There is no evidence for such assumptions. Behind these views there may well lie the old historiographical traditions expressed in—once influential—publications on the majority Christian population, with highly suggestive titles such as *Gibt es eine Spanische Renaissance?* or *Spanien das land ohne Renaissance* and their long-lived legacy.

Current research is uncovering a broader context for writings by authors from fifteenth-century Jewish communities about music and related concepts—such as the notions of microcosm and macrocosm or the Orpheus myth—in Christian vernacular texts. Here it is important to point out that the

ideas and texts of Marsilio Ficino (1433–99) and his circle, including notions of Universal Harmony, were not separated from the Iberian Peninsula by a hermetic border. Pietro Martire writes about discussions on the subject of Hermes Trismegistus in Salamanca in the 1480s, and it is possible that the manuscript copies of Ficino's *Pimander* of 1471 held in Iberian libraries arrived in Spain in the fifteenth century. Research into the manuscript collection of Burgo de Osma and El Escorial has led to a study of the Spanish glosses in Ficino manuscripts in Spain as well as the translation of Ficino's work into Castilian, completed in the 1480s by Diego del Castillo (Byrne 2007, 2012, 2015).

Abravanel's commentary on the Song at the Sea explains it in terms of poetic texts set to music and their musical performance: music is for spiritual elevation, understanding and remembering. His source may be found in the thirteenth century, in Ibn Tibbon (Adler 1975: 100). Arama on Genesis 6, as Adler explains, refers to the resonance between microcosm and macrocosm, which is compared to two equally tuned musical instruments producing a perfect consonance. Adler draws attention to Arama as the source of Moscato's notion that David's lyre played itself. Perfection of the world is the result of the tuning of the different strings of the microcosm in perfect consonance with the macrocosm. Musical talent is the attribute of the righteous or *zaddiq*, and universal harmony is established through observance of the Torah. The sinful conduct of Noah's generation caused cosmic disharmony (Adler 1975: 170). Judah Albotini wrote about music in his *Ladder of Ascent* (*Sulam ha-alyah*): 'he [the mystic] should continue to play on all sorts of musical instruments if he has such and if he knows how to play them; if not, he should make music with his mouth by means of his voice singing the verses of praise and out of love for the Torah in order to gladden the living soul which is partnered to the speaking intellectual soul' (Idel 1982: 166).

The category of prophecy was of great interest to medieval scholars and philosophers of the three monotheistic religions. The notion that prophecy is connected to music is ancient since it appears in the Bible—not least in the case of Miriam with which I began this essay. Idel refers to the Mekhilta on Exodus, a Midrash or exegesis which speaks of prophets as those 'who were like an instrument full of speech', and studies the links between music and prophetic kabbalah on the basis of sources which, in most cases, seem to come from Hispano-Jewish communities. The theories of the mystics as they appear in the Hebrew texts are indeed intricate and highly developed, but the basic concepts of a link between prophecy and music respond to historical realities. These concepts are present in regions without great scholarly traditions, and they appear among artisans and women. Although the 'movement' in about 1500 of conversos and conversas in Extremadura and La Mancha can be

described in numerous ways—apocalyptic, visionaries, messianism—the documents show that contemporaries themselves referred to the central figures as ‘prophets’.

The prosecutor in an Inquisition tribunal asserts that Maria Alvarez from Herrera had relations with Ynes ‘whom she held to be and believed was a prophetess... and she gave her jewels to wear believing that she would thus ascend to heaven better adorned, and there she would be married to the King of Judea’ (‘con la que tenia e creya por profeta... e le dava e ponía joyas creyendo que con aquello subiría mas conpuesta al cielo e que alla se aya desposado con el hijo del rey de Judea’). In her ascent to heaven the prophetess heard: ‘that there was music above’ (‘que allí sonava encima’), and the angel told her: ‘friend of God, those who play music there above are those who have been burned here on earth’ (‘amiga de dios aquellos que suenan ally arriba son los que han quemado aca en la tierra’) (Baer 1929, 2: 529–30). The prophetess was surrounded by the music and dance of the believers. A witness on 22 August 1500 asserts that ‘he saw how Beatris Ramires, wife of Juan Estevan, danced in the presence of the daughter ... when she talked about the matter of leaving for the promised land’ (‘vido como Beatris Ramires mujer de Juan Estevan baylar e dancar delante de la hija... quando dezia aquellas cosas de la yda a tierra de promisyon’). On 25 July 1501 Fernando ‘... de Herrera [...] said [...] one night going past Martín Ferrandes’s door, he saw dancing and pleasure in his house, and he went in and found Juana [...] dancing [...] saying that tomorrow we would go to the promised land’ (‘... de Herrera [...] dixo [...] una noche pasando por puerta de Martín Ferrandes vydo baylar e aver placer en su casa e entro e hallo baylando a [...] Juana [...] disyendo mañana nos avemos de yr a las tierras de promisyon’). ‘Propheta’ is the term used in the documents relating to Gómez Cardador in about 1540–41 (Baer 1929, 2: 535). The accusation referred to Maria Gómez la de Chillon ‘whom they also held to be a prophetess’ (‘a quien tambien tenían por profeta’), indicating that there were memories of and continuities with the movement of four decades earlier. The musical aspect is not in question. A testimony refers to Alfonso de Villareal: ‘... many women, all conversas from Almodovar went [...] and after dinner danced for some considerable time’ (‘...muchas doncellas todos conversos y vecinos de Almodovar fueron [...] y después de cenando hizieron muchas danzas bayles’).

Yet neither technical treatises, kabbalah, nor prophecy fully encompasses the wide range of musical attitudes, theory and practice. Some attitudes were embedded in language. The old Aramaic idiom *zeturta tehe*—‘is it to be like a song?’—expressed disdain for ‘songs’ which were perceived as matters learnt or uttered by rote without conscious reasoning and thus represented the very

antithesis of rational, juridical and legal discourse. This idea was still current among fifteenth-century Hispano-Jewish communities, and could be found in the texts of the Mallorcan-born Simeon b Zemah Duran (d. 1444) or the Saragossan Matityahu ha-Yzhari (fl. 1413?). The anonymous vernacular translation of the *Kuzari*, believed to have been produced in fifteenth-century Spain, refers to ‘speech of lips without understanding’ (*‘fabla de beços syn que entendamos’*) or ‘like birds who sing without knowledge or understanding’ (*‘commo las aves que dan bozes syn saber nj entendemento’*) (Lazar 1990: 69; Gutwirth 2007). These are not abstract ideas or concepts outside of history: they have been found in conversations between Jews, such as Abraham Senneor, Rabbi Mayor in the age of the Catholic Monarchs.

A possible conflation of the educational, mnemonic views with this conception of music as irrational and unconscious or pre-conscious might be found in the *Shevet Yehuda*. This text includes the story of a Christian courtier and another courtier who was Jewish; the king is old and seems to despise both. He asks a far-from-innocent question, alluding to the irrational quality of stories that may be defined as seafarers’ or wayfarers’ tales. The question concerns a point of discussion from the Talmud (bBB 73b), notoriously and obviously monstrous and marvellous: a frog as large as sixty houses was swallowed by a *tanin* (sometimes translated as ‘sea monster’) which was swallowed, in its turn, by a raven, which then flew up to a tree. Thus in this Hebrew text, the character of the Christian king introduces the category of the marvellous into a section saturated with philosophy and theology. What the Jew answers also has to do with the category of the marvellous. The ancients, he argues, would explain their teachings with the help of music, while the Jews, who did not know music, used an alternative to music, namely parables or rhetoric. The marvellous does not contradict philosophy or reasoning but rather leads to it. It is—like music—for the *‘am* (people): *le qarev et ha am* (to attract ‘the people’ or bring them closer).

From this perspective, another passage in the same book in which ‘the Pythagoreans’ are mentioned is of interest:

The king said to Tomas: ‘I have issued many warnings, but I believe that the qualities of a person are determined by the hour of his birth’. Tomas replied: ‘The Pythagoreans do not think so.’ [...] The King said: ‘What do the Pythagoreans believe concerning the question of whether the heavens have a voice?’ ‘They believe in the voice of heaven and that it is very sweet. But they have asked: “if their heat reaches us, why does the voice not reach us?” It is a reasonable argument...’ (Gutwirth 2009, 2015)

Perhaps the last word should be given to a Hebrew exponent of that typical medieval genre: the debate. In the age of the *danse macabre*, a section of Pulgar's book (read and copied in fifteenth-century Spain) is composed in that mode (Loewinger 1984: 168): the debate between life and death, in which death asserts its advantages. As in the text by Alami cited above, the medieval rhetoric of *amplificatio* (through the senses in this case) mandated attention to sound: 'Said Death: "Have you not seen the sounds voiced in anger and horror in humans and masses, the hammers and blows, let alone heard the news which reach you and are hard and evil in your eyes?"' As in Petrarch and in the *Celestina*, the reader is confronted with a catalogue of unpleasant noises here (Gilman 1972; Deyermond 1973): Death puts an end to them. The counter argument puts forward music as a reason for living: 'and who shall comprehend the sensual pleasure of the ear when hearing the sounds of the famously delightful middle voices, and hearing good news which settle the soul ... and the riddles and the stories and the songs and the chants in all manner of melody, psaltery, organ and stringed instruments?'

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Abbreviations

BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
CDIACA	Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón
<i>Census-Catalogue</i>	<i>Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550</i> , ed. Charles Hamm and Herbert Kellman, 5 vols (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1979–88).
<i>DHEE</i>	<i>Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España</i> , ed. Quintín Aldea Vaquero, Tomás Marín Martínez and José Vives Catell, 4 vols (Madrid, 1972–75).
<i>DMEH</i>	<i>Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana</i> , ed. Emilio Casares, 10 vols (Madrid, 1999–2002).
MME	Monumentos de la Música Española (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones).
<i>New Grove II</i>	<i>New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell, 29 vols, 2nd ed. (London, 2001).
<i>RISM</i>	<i>Répertoire International de Sources Musicales</i> .
TB	Babylonian Talmud

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